T. Jolley Esq.r F.S.A.

1891

A WORKE CONcerning the Trewneſſe of Chriſtian Religion, written in French:

Againſt Atheiſts, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetiſts, and other Infidels. By Philip of Mornay Lord of Pleſſie Marlie.

Begunne to be tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir *Philip Sidney* Knight, and at his requeſt finiſhed by *Arthur Golding*.

AT LONDON
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To the right Honorable

his ſinguler good Lord Robert Earle of Leyceſter, *Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the order of* the Garter, and of S. Michaell, one of the Lords of the moſt Honorable *priuie Counſaile, and Maiſter of the Horſe to the Queenes Maieſtie:* Lord Generall of her Maieſties Forces in the Lowe Countries, and *Gouernour Generall of the vnited Prouinces, & of their Aſſociates:* Arthur Golding *wiſheth long continuance of health, much increaſe of Honour, and in the life to come endleſſe felicitie.*

MAny cauſes do ſullie perſwade me (right Honorable) that this preſent worke which I preſume to offer vnto you, will in diuers reſpectes be vnto you verie acceptable. For vnto ſuch as are of greateſt wiſedome, vertue and Nobilitie, the wiſeſt beſt and weightieſt matters are alwaies moſt agreeable. And whereas al men are naturally deſirous of the ſoueraigne welfare, higheſt felicitie, or cheefe good, howbeit that verie few do knowe what it is, or wherein it conſiſteth, or which is the right waie that leadeth thereunto: And yet not withſtanding, without the knowledge of that truth, all their wiſedome is but meere ignorãce blindneſſe and follie, all their goodnes is but meere corruption and wic-

kednesse, and all their brauerie triumphe iollitie and pompe is but vtter miserie and wretchednes: This present worke treateth of the Trewnes, that is to say of the perpetuall and inuariable constancie and stedfastnesse of the Christian Religion, the onely band that linketh God vnto man, and men one to another, and all vnto God; the onely Lampe that enlighteneth mans wit with true wisedome, the onely waterspring that replenisheth his will with true goodnesse, and the onely mightie power that giueth strength and courage to mans spirite, whereby he is enabled both perfectlie to discerne and behold his soueraigne welfare or felicitie, which is God the verie founder furtherer and finisher of trueth or rather the verie trueth it selfe; and constantly to hold on with ioy to the obteinement of the same; than the which no greater thing can by anie meanes bee imagined. And in the discourse of this most graue & weightie matter, many deepe points of humayne Philosophie, and many high misteries of heauenlie Diuinitie, be learnedly breeflie and plainelie discussed and layd open, to the vnderstanding euen of the meaneſt capacities, that will vouchsafe to read aduisedly, and to conferre the partes together with diligence. For the Author of this worke beeing a man of great reading, iudgement, learning and skill, and therewith addicted or rather vowed (as appeareth by this and diuers other of his excellent writings) to the furthering of Gods glorie by his most faithfull and painefull imploying of himselfe in the seruice of his Church; hath conueyed into this worke, whatsoeuer he found either in common reason of all Nations, or in the peculiar principles of the cheefe Philosophers, or in the misticall doctrine of the Jewish Rabbines, or in the writinges of the Historiographers and Poets: that might conuenientlie make to the manifestation

ſtation of that trueth which he taketh in hande to proue. Where-by he hath ſo effectuallie brought his purpoſe to paſſe; that if anie Atheiſt Infidel or Iew hauing read this his worke with aduiſe-ment, ſhall yet denie the Chriſtian Religion to be the true & one-lie pathway to eternall felicitie, and all other Religions to bee meere vanitie and wickedneſſe; muſt needes ſhewe himſelfe to be either vtterly voide euen of humaine ſence, or elſe obſtinatelie and wilfully bent to impugne the manifeſt trueth againſt the con-tinuall teſtimonie of his owne conſcience. Not without iuſt cauſe therefore hath ſo great loue and liking of this worke of his beene generallie conceiued; that manie not onelie of Gentlemen in the Court and Countrie, but alſo of Students in both the Vniuerſi-ties, haue purpoſed and attempted the tranſlation thereof into our Engliſh tongue, as an increaſe of comfort and gladneſſe to ſuch as are already rooted & grounded in the truth, as a ſtabliſhment to ſuch as any way either by their owne infirmitie or through the wilines of wicked perſons are made to wauer & hang in ſuſpence, & as a meane to reuoke ſuch as of thẽſelues or by ſiniſter perſwa-ſions are gone away into error, & alſo (if it poſſible bee) to reforme the malicious & ſtubborne harted. Among which number of wel-diſpoſed and rightly zealous Gentlemen, I may not without iuſt deſert of blame omit to ſay ſomewhat (though farre leſſe than is meete) of that right worthie and valiant Knight, your good Lordſhips noble kinſman Sir Philip Sidney, whoſe rare vertue, valour, and courteſie matched with equall loue and care of the true Chriſtian Religion, being diſappointed of their purpoſed end by ouerhaſtie death in the verie enterance of his owne honorable race, haue left iuſt cauſe to his louing Countrie to bewaile the vn-timely forgoing of ſo great an Ornament, & the ſodeine bereauing

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of so hopefull a stay & defence. Whereof notwithstanding this cõfort remaineth, That he dying not languishing in idlenes, ryot & excesse, nor as ouercome with nice pleasures & fond vanities; but of manly woundes receiued in seruice of his Prince, in defence of persons oppressed, in maintenance of the onely true Catholike and Christiã religion, amõg the noble valiant & wise, in the open field, in Martiall maner, the honorablest death that could be desired, & best beseeming a Christian Knight, whereby he hath worthely wun to himself immortall fame among the godly, & left exãple worthy of imitation to others of his calling. This honourable gentleman being delighted with the excellencie of this preseut work, began to put the same into our Language for the benefit of this his natiue Countrie, and had proceeded certaine chapters therein, vntil that intending a higher kinde of seruice towards God and his Prince, not drawne thereto by subtile deuice of a wily Vlisses frõ companie of Courtly Ladies himself being disguised in Ladies attire after the maner of Achilles; nor discouered against his will by the wisedome of a Palamedes after the manner of Vlysses; but aduaunced through the heardinesse of his owne kinghtlie courage like to Prosilaus, he willinglie passed for a time from the companie of the Muses to the Campe of Mars, there to make triall as well of the Pike as hee had done of his penne, after the example of the valiant Julius Cæsar, whose excellencie in all kinde of knowledge and learning, could not holde him backe from seeking to inlarge his renowme by hazarding his noble person among the weapons of armed Souldiers. Beeing thus determined to follow the affaires of Chiualrie; it was his pleasure to commit the performance of this peece of seruice which he had intended to the Muses

or rather to Christes Church and his natiue Countrie, vnto my charge; declaring vnto mee howe it was his meaning, that the same beeing accomplished should be dedicated vnto your Honor; a matter so acceptable vnto me, both in respect of the charge it selfe, and of the partie that imposed it vpon me, and of the person to whom it was intended: that although in respect of the toilesome and tedious troubles wherewith I was then pressed and am yet still in manner oppressed, I coulde haue found in my heart to haue forborne the vndertaking of so great a taske at that time, yet notwithstanding I gladlie tooke it vpon me, and (by the goodnesse of God) haue faithfullie performed it to the vttermost of my skill. In his name therefore and as an executor of his will in that behalfe, I humbly offer this excellent wor' e vnto your good Lordship, as his and not mine. Wherein if anie words or phrases shall seeme strange, (as in some places perchaunce they maie) I doubt not but your good Lordship will impute it to the rareneße & profoundnesse of the matters there handled, not accustomed heretofore to be treated of in our language. For the auoiding of which inconuenience as much as might be, great care hath beene taken, by forming and deriuing of fit names and tearmes, out of the fountaines of our owne tongue, though not altogether most vsuall, yet alwaies conceiuable and easie to be vnderstoode; rather than by vsurping the Latin termes, or by borowing the wordes of anie forraine language, least the matters which in some cases are mistical enough of themselues by reason of their owne profoundnesse, might haue ben made more obscure to the vnlearned, by setting them downe in termes vtterlie vnknowne vnto thē.

Wherefore

Wherefore forbearing to withhold your Honor with anie further processe of wordes from reading the matter it selfe, which maie much more delight you: I referre both my selfe and it to your fauourable accep-tation. Written the 13 daie of Maie. 1587.

Your good Lordships most humble alwayes at your commaundement.

Arthur Golding.

To the Right High and

mightie Prince, Henrie king of Nauarre,

Souereigne of Bearne, and a Peere and chiefe Prince of the bloud royall of Fraunce.

IN this wretched time Sir, wherein vngodlinesse (which was woont but to whisper men in the eare, and to mumble betweene the teeth) hath beene so bold as to step into the pulpit, & to belke out blasphemies against God and his Gospell: I take vpon mee (through a new kind of hardinesse, as in respect of the small abilitie that God hath put into mee) to conuince him, euen by his owne principles and peculiar records, that if I cannot make him to come backe againe to a better mind, I may at leastwise yet make him hold his peace for shame, and keepe close his venim in heart: A right great enterprise, and (in the iudgement of most men) ouerhard, but yet such as wherein I see great helpes to imboldē mee, namely the World, Man, the open examples of all ages, and (at one worde) God himselfe (who neuer faileth those which seeke his glorie) and all that euer he hath vttered concerning himselfe, as wel in the creating as in the gouerning of all thinges. The world, for that it is as a shadow of Gods brightnesse: and Man, for that he is his image and likenesse: And both of them, for that if it appeare euen by the Philosophers themselues, that the world was made for man, how great lie then are we bound vnto the Creator thereof? How great is the dignitie of this creature? and what else is his shoctanker and his welfare, but to sticke wholly vnto God? Soothly he for whom the world was made, must needes bee made for more than the world. Hee for whome so durable and substantiall a thing was made, must needs be made for another than this fraile and wretched life, that is to wit for the euerlasting life, with him that is the euerlasting. And that is the foundation of all Religion. For Religion (to speake properlie) is nothing else but the schoole wherein we learne mans duetie towards God, and the way to be linked most straightlie vnto him. Againe, in the world we see a stedie and fast-

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ſetled order, and euery creature to do ſeruice in his ſort. Onely man with-draweth his duetie, ſhrinking from God, and wandring away in himſelfe. He that is moſt indebted, is lotheſt to pray and leaſt able to pray. He for whom the higheſt thinges are made, is become a bondſlaue to the baſeſt and vileſt thinges: And the Recordes of all ages are as inditements againſt all mankinde, proouing him to be vnthankefull to God, a murtherer of his neighbors, a violater of nature, an enemie to himſelfe. Shall not he then, which inſteade of dooing his duetie, is not aſhamed to offend God, ſtand in dread of the death which waiteth vpon him for his offence? Yes: for what is God, but Iuſtice? What is Iuſtice, but a iudgement of duety? And before that iudgement who dareth appeare? What remedy than is there, both for Gods glorie and for mans welfare: but that the debt be diſcarged by releaſe, & the iuſtice ſatisfied with free fauour? The duty therefore of true Religion, is to conuict vs by the lawe, and to iuſtifie vs by grace to make vs feele our diſeaſe, and there withall to offer vs remedie. But who ſhall purchaſe vs this grace ſo neceſſarie for mans welfare? Either the world (as we thinke) or elſe man. Nay, what is there in man (I ſay euen in the beſt man) which burneth not before Gods iuſtice, and which ſetteth it not on fire? And what ſhall become of the world then, if man for whome it is created be vnable to ſtand? Soothly it is the welbeloued Sonne of God that muſt ſtande for all: the righteous for the vnrighteous, the mightie for the vnmightie, the rich for the poore, the dearling and the welbeloued for them that are in the diſpleaſure and curſe of God his Father, and the ſame (ſay I) is our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. The foole (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) hath ſaid in his heart, There is no God. *And a heathen man hath paſſed yet further, ſaying:* He that denieth the one God & his prouidence in al things, is not onely witleſſe, but alſo ſenſeleſſe. *And his ſo ſaying is, becauſe the world which offereth it ſelfe continually vnto vs, repleniſheth our wittes with the knowledge of God: euen in this reſpect, that with one view of the eye, we ſee this vniuerſall maſſe furniſhed with ſo many and ſo diuerſe things, linked one to another, and tending all to one marke. Truly I dare ſay, & by Gods grace I dare vndertake to proone, that whoſoeuer will lay before him wholy in one table (ſo as he may ſee them together with one view) the promiſes & propheſies concerning Chriſt, the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt and the proceeding of his Goſpel, he ſhal not be able to deny, euen by the very rules of Philoſophie, but that he was ſent of God, yea and that he was God himſelfe. Howbeit, in this lyeth our fault, that (whether it be through ignorance or through negligẽce) we conſider not the incõparable worke of our Creator & Recreator, but by piecemeale without laying the one of them to the other: like as if a man would iudge of the whole ſpace of time by the night, or by ſome one ſeaſon of the yeare, or by ſome one of the Elementes: or as if he would iudge of a building by ſome one quarter: or of an Oration by ſome ſyllables thereof: whereas notwithſtanding, Gods wiſdome in creating thinges cannot be conſidered, but in the vnion of the partes with the whole, and of themſelues among themſelues: nor his goodneſſe in recreating or renewing them, and in regenerating of mankinde for whom he made*

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the world, but by the heedfull conferring of all times from the first birth of Man vnto the second birth, and repairing of him againe, which it hath pleased God to ordaine and make for him.

As for the world, it is sufficiently conuersant before our eies, & would God it were lesse grauen in our hearts: and therefore let vs leaue the worlde, and busie our selues in the vniuersall table of mans saluation & reparation. When man had by his sinne drawne Gods wrath and the decay of the world vpon his owne heade: Gods euerlasting wisedome, euen the same whereby God had created him, stepped in and procured his fauour; so as it was promised vnto the first man, that Christ should come and breake the Serpents head, and make attonement betweene God and man. That was the foundation-stone of the wonderful building of the Church and the seede whereof men were to be regenerate newe againe, whom God did as it were create, beget, and adopt new againe in his sonne, which is his euerlasting wisedome. This promise was deliuered ouer from hande to hande, and conueied from Father to Sonne, solemnly declared to Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob cõmitted as a pawne by Moses to the people of Israell, celebrated by Dauid in his Songs, and renewed from time to time by many excellent Prophets, which pointed out the time, place, and manner of his comming, and set downe plainely and expresly his stock, his parents & his birth, many hundred yeares, yea & some thousand yeares aforehand: which are such things as no man could know, nor any creature teach or conceiue. What were they else therefore but Heraulds that foreshewed the comming of the king of the world into the world: and certes by another spirit than the spirite of the world: After a long successe of these Heraulds, came the Sauiour in the selfe same manner which they had foretold & painted out. Whatsoeuer they had saide of him, agreed vnto him, and which more is, could agree to none but him. Who then can doubt that the promise is not performed, and that he is not the bringer of the promised grace to the world? And seeing that the Prophets could not tell any tidings of him but from God, from whence can he be sent but from God? I know well that this one thing is a stumbling blocke vnto vs, namely, that after the sounding of so many clarions and trumpets, we see a man in outward show base, and to the sight of our fleshly eies contemptible, come into the world; whereas notwithstanding if we opened the eies of our minde, we shoulde contrariwise espie in that wretchednesse, the very Godhead, and in that humane weakenesse, the selfesame infinite almightines which made both the world and man. He was borne say you: but of a virgin. He was weake: but yet with his onely voice he healed all infirmities. He died: but yet he raised the dead, and rose himselfe from the dead too. If thou beleeue that, thou beleeuest that he was both sent and susteined by God. Or if thou wilt doubt thereof, tell mee then how he did the things after his death, which are witnessed by thine owne histories? As soone as he was borne (say I,) he by and by chaunged the outward shape of the world, making it to spring newe againe all after another sort. When he was once crucified, he turned the reproch of his crosse into glorie, and the curse therof into a blessing. He was crowned with thornes, and now Kings and Emperors doo cast downe

their crownes and Diademes at his feete, What a death was that, which did such things as all the liuing could not doo? By ignorance he subdued learning, by folly wisedome, by weakenesse power, by miserie victorie, by reproch triumphs, by that which seemed not to be, the thinges which seemed verily and chiefly for to be. Twelue Fisher-men in effect, did in short space subdue the whole worlde vnto him, by suffering and by teaching to suffer, yea and by dying, and by teaching to die. And the great Christian kingdomes which we now gaze at, and which we exalt so much, are but small remnants of their exploites, and little pieces of their conquests. If his birth offend thee, looke vpon the Heraulds that went afore him, and vpon the Trumpetters that told tidings of him, both in the beginning and in the chiefe state of the world, from whom, but from him that made the worlde? And wherefore in all ages, but for the welfare of the world? If his crosse offend thee, see how the Emperours and their Empyres, the Idols whom they worshiped, and the deuils whom they serued, lie altogether ouerthrowne, broken in pieces, fast bound and striken dumbe at the feete of this crucified man. And how, but by a power passing the power of man, passing the power of Kinges, passing the power of Angels, yea, passing the power of al creatures together? If the little show of the Apostles moue thee: consider how the silie netts of those Fishermen, drew the pride of the world, namely the wise men, the Philosophers, & the Orators by ignorance (as thou tearmest it) to beleeue, and by folly to die for beleeuing. And for beleeuing of what? euen of things contrary to the law of the world, and to the witte of man: namely, that this Iesus Christ crucified is God, and that it is a blessefull thing to indure all missefortune for his sake. Behold also how one of them drawes mee into his nette the lesser Asia, another Italie, the third Egypt. And some other of them extend vnto the Scythians, the Ethiopians, and the Indians and vnto other places, whither the power of the most renowned Empyres did neuer attaine, and which haue hardly come to our knowledge now within these hundred yeares, and yet haue we enen there found very great conquests of theirs, & like renowned tokēs of their victories, as are here among our selues. Nay, which more is, see how these conquerors enriched wth so many triumphs, do die for a dead man, & are crucified for a crucified man, & their Disciples also by heaps as wel as they. And what moueth them thereto, but that they be sure that their power commeth from him, and that they be nothing, further foorth than they are in him and for him? that is to say, that he liueth and maketh them to liue, yea euen for euer, which die in him & for him. Surely vpon the considering of this table, we become as men rauished, distraught, and besides our selues, and haue nothing to say, but that he which created man and the world of nothing, and none other was able to make & regenerate mā & the world again of nothing, euen in despite of man & the world. This inuisible God which hath made himselfe visible by creating the visible world and hath showed himselfe almightie, in clothing himselfe with the infirmitie of a poor temptible man, is the Redeemer, very God, and very Man, the Sonne of God, and is come in the flesh euen Iesus Christ our Lord.

Heere Sir you haue in fewe wordes the shoot-anker of this booke, wherein I de-

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clare the trewneſſe of the Chriſtian Religion, and that (as I hope) with ſuch Reaſons, that the deſpiſers of God, if they wil not beleeue, ſhall at leaſtwiſe finde themſelues graueled to gaineſay it. Moreouer to offer this to your Maieſtie, I haue chiefly two cauſes, the one is, that God hath made you to be borne, not onely a Chriſtian, but alſo a Chriſtian Prince, to whom it belongeth chiefly both for himſelfe and for others, to knowe what the Chriſtian Religion is. For ye ſhalbe the more inflamed to aduaunce it, when you be throughly perſwaded that it is not a deuiſe of man as other Religions are, but the Law and trueth of God, which maketh both kings and kingdomes, and hath made you a man, yea, and ſet you ouer men. To be ſhort, that it is both your proſperitie in this life which dependeth vpon Gods gratious goodnes, & your welfare in the other life, which is of farre greater importance, than all that euer we can endure or attaine vnto here.

The other reaſon is, that foraſmuch as God hath called me to be about your Maieſtie (as I hope) to do you ſeruice in that notable worke which he is about to do in our daies to his glory, and wherein he hath put into your hart to imploy your perſon without ſparing of your life: reaſon would that the fruits both of my labours and of my leiſure ſhould be yours, as well as the field is yours, without that it ſhould be in my power to diſpoſe otherwiſe thereof. And I pray the almighty to increaſe his grace in you from day to day, and to giue vnto you his ſpirit to go forward with his worke, and vnto me to do you ſeruice to the vttermoſt of my ſmall power, as long as I liue. Amen.

Your moſt humble, obedient,
and faithfull Seruant,
Du. Pleſſie.

The

The Preface to the Reader.

IT is the ordinarie matter of Prefaces, to declare firſt of all the apparant profit, or rather neceſſitie that moueth them to vndertake any worke. But I to my great griefe, do thinke my ſelfe diſcharged of that paine, in this caſe. For he that ſhal but reade the title of this booke, *Of the trewneſſe of the Chriſtian Religion*, if he liſt to call to remembrance how manie blaſphemies he heareth howerly againſt God and his word, how manie deſpiſers of Religion he meeteth with at euery ſtep, & how great either coldneſſe in the things which they ought to follow moſt wholly, or doubting in things which they ought to beleue moſt ſtedfaſtly, he findeth euen in thoſe which profeſſe the Chriſtiã godlineſſe: ſhal by & by anſwer & yeeld the reaſon of himſelfe, why I haue taken this worke in hand, more needfull now a daies (yea euen (which I am aſhamed to ſay) among thoſe which beare the name of Chriſtians) than euer it was among the very Heathen & Infidels. Some buſie themſelues ſo much about their pleaſures that they can neuer finde anie leaſure, not to mount vp vnto God, but onely ſo much as to enter into themſelues: in ſomuch that they bè more ſtrangers to their owne nature, to their owne Soules, & to the things which concerne them moſt neerely and peculiarly, than they bee either to the deſerts of Indie, or to the Seas that are worſt to be haunted & leaſt knowen. That is the very welſpring of the Athieſt, who (to ſpeake rightly of them) offend not through reaſoning, but for want of reaſoning, nor by abuſing of reaſon, but by drowning of reaſon or rather by bemiring it in the filthy & beaſtly pleaſures of the world. Otherſome match their pleaſures with malice, & to make ſhort way to the atteinment of goods or honour, do ouerreach & betraie othermen, ſelling their friends, their kinsfolke, yea & their owne ſoules, and not ſticking to do any euil, that may ſerue their turne, neuer alledging or pretending honeſtie or conſcience, but to their owne profit. Of ſuch kind of ſtuffe are the Epicures made, who bicauſe they feele their mindes guilty of ſo many crimes, do thinke themſelues to haue eſcaped the Iuſtice & prouidence of God by denying it. And of theſe we may ſay, that their reaſon is caried awaie & ouermaiſtered by the courſe of the world, whereunto it is wholly tied, ſo as they can haue none other courſe or diſcourſe than his.

Some go yet a little further, both in reſpect of God & of themſelues: They thinke there is a God, & that of him man hath receiued an immortall ſoule: that God gouerneth all things, and that man ought to ſerue him. But foraſmuch as they ſee both Gentiles and Iewes, Turkes & Chriſtians

ſtians in the world, and in diuerſe nations diuerſe Religions, whereof euery one thinketh he ſerueth God, and that he ſhal finde ſaluation in his owne Religion: Theſe (like men at the ſtop where manie waies meete, in ſteade of chooſing the right way by the iudgement of reaſon, do ſtand ſtill amazed, and in that amazement conclude that all comes to one, as who would ſay, that South & North leade both to one place. But ſoothlie if they applied their wit as aduiſedlie to iudge betweene trueth and falſhood, godlineſſe & worldlineſſe, as euerie man in his trade doth to iudge betweene profit & loſſe: they ſhould forthwith by principles bred within themſelues, and by concluſions, following vpon the ſame, diſcerne the true Religion from the falſe: and the waie which God hath ordeined to welfare, from the deceitfull bywaies and from the croſſe and crooked inuentions of men. What ſhall I ſaie of the moſt part of vs? Of vs I meane which beleeue the Goſpell and profeſſe the Chriſtian Religion, and yet liue as though we beleeued it not? Which preach the kingdome of heauen, and haue our groines euer wrooting in the ground? Which wil needs ſeeme & be taken to be Gods chidren and coheires with Chriſt, children of ſo rich a father & heires of ſo goodlie an inheritance, and yet do ſcarſly thinke earneſtlie vpon it once in a whole yeare, but are readie to forſake it euerie houre, for leſſe than a meſſe of grewel and a bit of bread? Surelie we maie well ſay then, that if euer it were needful, it is needefull at this time to waken ſuch as are a ſleepe, to bring backe ſuch as are gone aſtraie, to lift vp ſuch as are ſunke downe, and to chafe them a heat which are waxed cold. And that is to be done by painting out the true Religion liuelie before their eies, with the ioy, happines, and glorie which inſue thereupon, to the intent that the voluptuous maie ſeeke their ioie, the couetous their gaine, and the ambitions their glorie there, bending themſelues with their whole hearts vnto that alone, which all onelie can fill their harts, and ſatisfie their deſires.

That is the thing which I indeuour to doo in this worke, and God of his gratious goodneſſe vouchſafe to guide my hand, to his owne glorie & to the welfare of thoſe that are his. But afore I enter into the matter I haue to anſwere vnto two ſortes of people. The one are ſuch as ſaie that Religion cannot be declared vnto infidels or vnbeleeuers by reaſon. The other ſorte are thoſe which vphold, that although reaſon do ſomwhat inlighten it, yet it is neither lawfull nor expedient to do it. But let vs ſee what reaſon they can haue, to exclude reaſon from this diſcourſe. The firſt ſorte ſaie, It is to no purpoſe to diſpute againſt ſuch as denie grounded principles. And by this meanes, becauſe one groũded principle is denied them, they breake of quite & cleane, as though all meane of conference were taken away. Surely this principle of theirs is verie true, but yet (in my iudgement) it is verie ill vnderſtood. I graunt it is to no purpoſe to diſpute againſt ſuch as deny groũded principles, by the ſame principles which they

denie: That is very true. But there may be some other principles common to both sides, by the which a man may profitably dispute with them, and by those common principles oftentimes prooue & verifie his owne prinples. And that is the thing which I intend to doo in this worke. As for example, The Christian groundeth himselfe vpon the Gospell, the Iew denieth it: and therefore it were to no purpose to alledge it vnto him. But both the Iew and the Christian haue one common principle and ground, which is the old Testament: By this may the Christian profitably dispute against the Iew, yea euen to the verifying of the Gospell, as if ye shoud make one to cal some man to his knowledge, by the draughts or discriptions of his portraiture. Likewise the Iew is grounded vpon the old Testament, which the Gentile would mocke as if he should alledge it vnto him. But both the Gentile and the Iew haue one common nature, which furnisheth them both with one common Philosophie, and with one common sort of principles, as that there is one God which gouerneth all things, that he is good, and no author of euill, That he is wise, and doth not anie thing in vaine. Also that man is borne to be immortal, that to be happy he ought to serue God an continue in his fauoure. And there withall, that he is subiect to passions, inclined to euill, weake vnto good and so forth. Of these common principles, the Iew may draw necessarie conclusions, which the Gentile shal not perceiue at the first, like as when a man vnderstandeth a proposition, but conceiueth not yet the drift and consequence thereof. He that marketh that the Adamant or Loadstone pointeth to the North, perceiueth not foorthwith that by the same a man may go about the world, although he was of capacitie to conceiue it. After the same maner, by this principle: *He that frõ equall things taketh equal things, leaueth the remainder equall*; and by a few other propositions which children learne in playing, the Mathematician leadeth vs gentlie (and ere we be aware of any mouing) vnto this so greatly renowmed proposition & experiment, of Pythagoras, *that in a Triangle, the side that beareth vp the right Angle, yeeldeth a square equal to the other twaine* which at the first sight seemeth vnpossible, & yet by degrees is found to be so of necessitie. Thus shall the Iew by common principles and conclusions, verifie his owne ground which is the old Testament. For he shall proue vnto the Gentiles by their owne Philosophers, that vnto God alone, things to come are present, and that vnto Spirits they be knowen but onelie by coniecture, and so farre forth as they can reade them in the starres. And he shal proue by their Astrologers, that the names of men and the circumstances of their doings cannot be betokened nor red in the starres. And he shall proue by their Historiographers, that the bookes of the old Testament, which containe so manie and so particular propheties, were written manie hundred yeares afore the thinges came to passe. Now what will reasonablie insue hereof, but the proofe of the principle which is in controuersie, by the

Euclid. lib. 1. prop. 45.

ptinciples which are agreed vpon betweene them both: namelie that the old Testament is of God, seeing it cannot be from anie other. And what elſe is all this, than that which is commonlie done in Geometrie and Logicke, which by two lines or by two propoſitions that are cõmonly knowen and certaine, do gather a third propoſition that was vnknowen or a third propoſition (that is to ſay a concluſion) that was erſt either doubted of or hidden, and by meanes of the other two is euidentlie found out, and neceſſarilie prooued. Such are theſe proofes againſt the Atheiſts: nothing hath mouing of it ſelfe. It is nature that ſaieth ſo. The world turneth about, and the heauenlie bodies haue a moeuing: and that doth man himſelfe ſee. Therefore they muſt needs be moued by ſome other power and that is the Godhead, which our eie ſeeth not, & yet by meanes of the eie, our reaſon conceiueth and perceiueth it in all things. Againſt them which denie Chriſtes Godhead, (we alledge this principle of their owne.) That naturallie of nothing, nothing is made. It is the ſaying of Ariſtotle, and the ſchooles would haue him by the eares that ſhould denie it. Ieſus Chriſt hath of nothing made verie great things, yea euen contraries. The Heathen wonder at it, all ages crie it out, our eies do ſtil behold it. He that will denie this, muſt denie the world, he muſt denie all things, he muſt denie himſelfe. It followeth then that Chriſt wrought by a powre, that is miſtreſſe of Nature. Ariſtotle himſelfe ſaw it not and yet Ariſtotle maketh vs to ſee it. The writers of hiſtories tooke no heede of it; and yet they themſelues make vs to beleeue it. The Philoſopher thought but onelie vpon nature, and the Hiſtoriographer but onely vpon his owne writing. And yet from both twaine of them, wee drawe both the Godhead of Chriſt, and the trueth of our Scriptures: Certeſſe in like maner as by Arithmetiike, out of two and ſixe wee draw out one continuall proportionable line hidden after a ſort in either of them, and yet greater than both of them together, which is Eighteene: and as out of two ſticks chafed one againſt an other, we drawe out fire which is not ſeene in the two, the conſuming of them both out of hand. To be ſhort, the marke that our faith looketh at, is the Author of Nature & principle of all principles. The rules therefore and the principles of Nature which he hath made cannot be contrarie vnto himſelfe. And he is alſo the very reaſon & trueth it ſelfe. All other reaſon then, & al other trueth dependeth vpon him, and relieth vpon him, neither is there, or can there be anie reaſon or trueth but in him: So farre off is it, that the thing which is true and reaſonable in nature, is or can be falſe in Diuinity, which (to ſpeake properly) is not againſt nature, but againſt the corruption of nature, & in verie deed aboue nature.

How farre matters of faith tre to be dealt with by reaſon.

Now come I conſequently to the other ſort, which ſay, that although it bee poſſible in ſome ſorte; yet the faith (that is to ſay, the Chriſtian doctrine) ought not to be proued or declared by reaſon. And their reaſon is, becauſe it conſiſteth in manie things which exceede the capacity of man,

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and therefore that he which ſhould meaſure them by reaſon, ſhould diminiſh the dignitie and greatnes of them. Surely I will ſaie more for them than they require: namelie, that mans reaſon is ſo farre of from being the meaſurer of faith, which very farre exceedeth nature, that it is not ſo much as the meaſurer of nature, & of the leaſt creatures which lie farre vnderneath man, becauſe of the ignorance & vntowardnes which is in vs & reigneth in vs. But in this they deceiue themſelues, that they imagine vs to vphold, that we ſhould beleeue no further than reaſon can meaſure & cõprehend. For what a great way doth the trueth of things extend further than mans reaſon? But we ſay that mans reaſon is able to leade vs to that point namely, that we ought to beleeue euen beyond reaſon, I meane the things whereunto al the capacitie of man cãnot attaine. And likewiſe that when things are reuealed vnto vs, which reaſon could neuer haue entered into nor once imagined, no not euen when it was at the ſoundeſt, the ſame reaſon (which neuer could haue found them out) maketh vs to alow of them: the reaſon I ſay (whereunto thoſe miſteries were inuiſible afore) maketh them credible vnto vs: ſurely euen after the ſame maner that our eie maketh vs to ſe that in the viſible things which we ought to beleue of the inuiſible, without the which the viſible haue no beeing: that is to wit, the inuiſible God, by the viſible Sunne, & alſo to ſe many things when the Sun is vp, which wer hidden afore in darkneſſe: not that the eie-ſight was of leſſe force, or the thing it ſelfe leſſe viſible afore: but becauſe the Sun is now vp, which lighteneth the aire with his brightnes, which is the meane both wherby the eie ſeeth, & wherby the thing is ſeene. As for example, we beleeue that there is one God, the Father, the Son, & the holie Ghoſt. This is the article which they oppoſe againſt vs, & therefore do I take the verie ſame. This article cannot in any wiſe fal within the cõpaſſe of vnderſtanding, & much leſſe be cõprehended by mans reaſon. But yet doth reaſon lead vs to the ſaid point, that there is a God: & he hath created man to liue for euer: that whereas man hath ſtepped out of the way, to follow his owne ſway, he reformeth him againe by his word: that this word (as I haue ſaid already heretofore) is the old & new Teſtament, which conteine things that cannot proceed frõ creatures. Heere Reaſon ſtaieth, & holdeth it ſelfe contented. For ſeeing that God ſpeaketh, it becõmeth man to holde his peace: and ſeeing that he vouchſafeth to teach vs, it becommeth vs to beleeue. Now we read this doctrine in Gods foreſaid bookes, yea oftentimes repeated. Lo how Reaſon teacheth vs that which ſhe her ſelfe neither knewe nor beleeued, namelie by leading vs to the teacher, whõ we ought to heare & beleeue, and to the booke wherin he vouchſafeth to open himſelfe vnto vs, in giuing vs infallible markes & tokens, whereby to diſcerne what commeth of God, and what commeth not of him. But when Reaſon cõmeth to the reading of the doctrine, and is perſwaded thereof, then ſhe awaketh, and if the Gentile refuſe it as impoſſible and repugnant to reaſon & trueth, then ſteppeth ſhe forth ſtourly

ly, and marketh the likeneſſe thereof in nature, the images thereof in her ſelfe to ſet it forth, & the Recordes of the gentiles themſelues to incounter them withall. Alſo ſhe findeth out ſolutions of their arguments, & aunſwers to their abſurdities. For ſurely all trueth cannot be ſufficiently proued by reaſon, conſidering that many things exceede reaſon & nature. But yet cannot anie vntrueth preuaile by reaſon againſt trueth, nor any trueth be baniſhed by the iudgement of reaſon. For vntrueth is contrarie to nature, nature helpeth reaſon, reaſon is ſeruant to trueth; and one trueth is not contrarie to another, that is to ſay, to it ſelfe. For trueth cannot be but trueth, and Reaſon, reaſon.

The like may we ſaie of the incarnation of the Sonne of God that no man could of himſelfe haue imagined it, nor as now alſo conceiue it: & yet notwithſtanding, that reaſon is able both to teach it vs, and to defend it. What will ſhe ſaie then to vs in this behalfe? That the workes which Ieſus wrought could not proceede, neither from a man, nor from a deuil, nor from an Angel conſidered in their ſeueral kindes, but onely from God the maker of heauē & earth. And this wil ſhe proue vnto vs, both in the reſpect of the hiſtorie, and in reſpect of the kindes of his workes, as wel by the Hiſtoriographers and Philoſophers who were enemies to Chriſt and his doctrine, as by concluſions of neceſſitie conueied from the principles which remaine in the natures of euery of them. And what wil enſue thereof, but that Ieſus working by the power of God, was ſent of God, and therfore ought to be heard and beleeued? Beleeued (ſay I) to be God the ſonne of God, becauſe he ſaith it, & to be man borne of a womā, becauſe the world ſaw him to be ſo, & that otherwiſe he ſhould be an enemie to God, and God an enemie to mankinde, God (I ſay) too good to aſſiſt him with his power to out ouerthrow, & too wiſe to lend him his ſpirit, to the defaſing of his owne glory? But if vngodlines ſtirre coales, Reaſon will open her mouth & ſhew, that it was agreable to Gods Iuſtice, & neceſſarie for mās welfare; poſſible to the power of the creator, & agreable to his will and promiſes, behooueful for our baſenes, & beſeeming his glorie. And euen in vngodlines it ſelfe ſhe wil find wherewith to put vngodlines to ſilence, howbeit that euen in all godlines, ſhe findeth not wherewith to ſpeake thereof ſufficiently. The ſame is to be vnderſtood of other like miſteries, which ſhalbe treated of in their due places. And this bringeth vs backe againe to the ſaid point, that the trueth being reuealed, enlighteneth reaſon, & that reaſon rowſeth vp her ſelfe to reſt vpon trueth. And ſo farre of is Reaſon from abaſing faith, to make vs attaine thereto, that contrariwiſe ſhe lifteth vs vp as it were vpon her ſhoulders, to make vs to ſee it, and to take it for our guide, as the onely thing that can bring vs to God, and the onely ſchoolemiſtreſſe of whom we ought to learne our ſauation. To be ſhort, we ſay not that becauſe Reaſon cōprehendeth not this or that, therefore let vs not beleue it: forthat wer a meaſuring of faith by reaſon, as they ſay. But we ſay that Reaſon & Nature haue ſuch a Rule. & that that is the

common

common way, and yet notwithstanding, that this thing or that thing is done or spoken beyond reason and beyond nature. I say then that the worke and word of God are an extraordinarie case, and that forasmuch as they are of God, it behoooueth vs to beleeue them; and to beleeue is to submit our reason and vnderstanding to him. And so it is a making of reason seruant to faith by reason, and making of reason to stoope to the highnesse of faith: and not an abasing of faith to the measure of reason.

Now for asmuch as we take reason to our helpe against the Infidels, the proofes which she shall yeeld vnto vs to guide vs to the doctrine and schoole of faith, shalbe chiefly of two sorts; namely, Arguments and Records. The Arguments which we will vse against the Iewes, we will take out of the grounds of the Iewish Religion, the maiestie of God, the nature and state of man, and the most euident and best authorised principles or conclusions among them. Against the gentiles, wee will take thē out of their substantialleſt Rules, out of the most renowmed Authors of Philosophie, and out of the expositions of their owne most approued Interpreters; one while abiding vpon their principles, and another while standing vpon the conclusions which they themselues do gather of them, sometimes drawing such necessarie consequents & sequels out of thē my selfe, as they oftentimes perceiued not, as though they had not vnderstood what they themselues spake. Also against either of them, we will iudge of the cause by his effects, and of the effects by their cause, of the end, by the instrument or mooner thereto, & of the mouer, by the end, and so forth of other things: which are the strongest arguments that can be, as which are either demonstratiue, or verie neere demonstratiue. At a word, we wil not alledge any argument which shal not be substantiall, or at leastwise which we shall not thinke to be so, neither will we vrge any thing whereof we be not throughly perswaded in our selues: choosing alwaie the euidentest & easiest that we can, to apply our selues to al mens capacities. Notwithstanding, let not any man looke here for arguments that may be felt, as I should proue fire to he hote by touching it, or the misteries of God & Religion by the outward sence: but let it suffise him that mine arguments shall bee fully as apparant, and commonly more apparant, than the Arguments which the Philosophers alleadge in naturall things? Howbeit that *Aristotle* would haue men to looke for arguments of lesse force at his hande in his first Philosophie, then in his discourses of natural things, & for reasons of lesse force in his morals (so they be likely,) thā in his first & highest Philosophie: which thing we may with much better right require in the things that surmount both nature & man, that is to wit, in diuinity. Moreouer, oftentimes here shal be questions propounded to vnfold, or obiectiōs made to be confuted, which might trouble the reader if he were not satisfied in thē, or else breake of the contnuiance of our proofes. And in them I shal be compelled now & then to be obscure, either by Reason

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that the nature of the thing depending in controuersie, may perchance be of some old forworne opinion, or else in respect of the tearmes peculiar to the case, which may hap to be lesse vnderstood of the common sorte, and more diffuze, and lesse pithie in our language, wherein such things haue not hitherto bene treated of. Neuertheleſſe, I hope to take such paines in the opening of them, that the Reader whosoeuer he be, if he take anie heede at all, shall easily attaine to the vnderstanding of them.

As touching the Recordes, they shalbe (in my iudgement) of the worthiest sort, and such as are least to be suspected or refused, as neere as I can chooſe. Wee be to declare our doctrine vnto men, themselues are a part of the doctrine which wee set foorth. And what more clearenesse can there bee, than to make themselues parties in the proofe, Iudges in their owne case, and witnesses against themselues? Vnto men therefore we wil bring the witnessings of men, euen the things that euerie man readeth in his owne nature, and in his owne heart, from whence hee vttereth them either wittinglie or vnwittinglie, as things that are so written there, that he cannot wipe them out though he would neuer so faine. These are common insightes, or insets (as a man may tearme them) namelie the perswasion of the Godhead, the conscience of euil, the desire of immortalitie, the longing for felicitie, and such other thinges, which in this neather world are incident vnto man alone, and in all men, without the which a man is no more a man, insomuch that hee cannot denie them except he be out of his wittes, nor call them in question without belying of himself wrongfullie. And hereof proceedeth the agreeable consent of all mankind in certaine beleefes which depend immediatly vpon the said Principles, which consent we ought to holde for certaine and vndoubted. For the vniuersalnesse of this consent sheweth that it is nature, and not instruction, imitation, or bringing vp, that speaketh, & the voice or nature is the voice of truth. As for lying or vntruth, it is a foundling, & not a thing bred, a meere corruption, and not a fruit of nature. Neuertheleſſe, whether it were thorough ignorance which hath as good as choked them, or through frowardnesse which hath turned reason a wrong way and made man as a stranger to himselfe: those common and generall Insets haue remained barren in the most part of men. Yet notwithstanding some men in sundrie nations haue mounted aboue the common rate, and indeuored to cherish and aduaunce the said Insights, and drawen some small sparkes of truth and wisdome out of them, as out of some little fire raked vp vnder a great heape of ashes: the which they haue afterward taught vnto others, and for so doing haue bene called Sophies and Philosophers, that is to say, Wise men and louers of wisedome. These also doo we take for witnesses of our doctrine, and amongst them, the notablest and such as the world hath esteemed to be wisest. And whereſoeuer they shall disagree, either one with another, or with themselues, there shall common

reason

reaſon be Iudge. And like as they haue caught ſome ſparks from the fire, ſo wil we kindle a fire of their ſparkes: howbeit (in verie deed) not to lead vs to ſaluation the hauen of our life; for in that behalfe we haue neede of God himſelfe to be our Pilote: but to ſhewe vs as it were from a Tower, which way it ſtandeth in the darke wherein we now be, to the end we may call to God for helpe, and euer after make thitherward with all our whole hart. Particularlie againſt the Athieſts and Epicures, we wil bring themſelues, the world, and the creatures therein for witneſſes. For thoſe are the Recordes which they beſt loue and moſt beleeue, and from the which they be lotheſt to departe. Againſt the falſe naturaliſts (that is to ſay profeſſors of the knowledge of nature & naturall things) I wil alledge nature it ſelfe, the ſectes that haue ſought out nature, & ſuch writers in euery Sect, as they hold for euery chiefe Diſciples, Interpreters, & Anatomiſts or Decipherers of nature; as *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, the *Academikes* & *Peripatetikes* both old and new, & ſpecially ſuch as haue moſt ſtoutly defended their owne Philoſophie, and impugned our doctrine; as *Iamblich*, *Plotin*, *Porphirie*, *Procle*, *Smplice*, and ſuch others: whoſe depoſitions or rather oppoſitions againſt vs, I thinke men wil wonder at.

Againſt the Iewes I will produce the old Teſtament, for that is the Scripture whereto their fathers truſted, and for the which they haue ſuffered death, & whereby they aſſure themſelues of life. And for the interpreting thereof, I will aledge their Paraphraſts, and thoſe which tranſlated it into the Greeke and Chaldey tongues afore the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. For they were Iewes borne, of the notableſt men among them, choſen by publike authoritie to tranſlate it, and at that time reaſon was not ſo intangled with paſſions, as it hath bene ſince. Alſo I will alledge their ancient doctors, diſperſed as well in their Cabales as in their Talmud, which are their bookes of greateſt authoritie and moſt credit. And diuers times I wil interlace the Commentaries of their late writers which generally haue beene moſt contrarie to the Chriſtian doctrine, whom (notwithſtanding) the trueth hath compelled ſeuerally to agree, in expounding the Texts whereon the ſame is chiefly grounded.

Now in theſe allegations I ſhall ſometimes be long, and peraduenture tedious to the Reader, whom manifeſt reaſon ſhall haue ſatisfied alreadie, ſo as (to his ſeeming) there needed not ſo manie teſtimonies. But I pray him to beleeue, that in this longneſſe of mine, I ſtraine my nature to apply my ſelfe to all men; knowing that ſome like better of Reaſons, and other ſome of Teſtimonies, and that all men (notwithſtanding that they make more account of the one thā of the other) are beſt ſatisfied by both, when they ſee, both reaſon authoriſed by witneſſes, (for that is as much to ſay, as that many men had one ſelfe ſame reaſon) and alſo Recordes declared by reaſon, for that is as much to ſay, as that credit is not giuen to the outward perſon, but to the diuine thing which the perſon hath within him

him, that is to wit, to Reaſon. Herewithall I thought alſo, that all men haue not either the meane to come by all bookes, or the leyſure to read them, whoſe labour I haue by that meane eaſed. And oftentimes I am driuen to doo that in one Chapter, whereof others haue made whole volumes.

To conclude, I pray the Reader, firſt to reade this booke throughout, for without mounting by degrees, a man cannot attaine to high thinges, and the breaking of a ladders ſteale caſteth a man backe, and maketh the thing wearyſome which was eaſie. Secondly I deſire him to bring his wit rather than his will, to the reading thereof. For foredeemings and foreſetled opinions doo bring in bondage the reaſon of them that haue beſt wits, whereas notwithſtanding, it belongeth not to the will to ouerrule the wit, but to the wit to guide the will. Thirdly and moſt of all I beſeech him beare alwaie in minde that I am a man, and among men, one of the leaſt, that is to ſay, that if I ſatisfie him not in all points, my reaſon attaineth not euerie where ſo far as truth doth, to the end that mine ignorãce and weakeneſſe preiudice not the caſe, mine vndertaking whereof, in good ſooth is not vpon truſt of mine owne wit, or of mine owne abilitie, but vpon aſſured truſt of the cleereneſſe, ſoundneſſe, ſubſtantialneſſe, and ſoothneſſe thereof.

Now God vouchſafe to ſhead out his bleſſing vpon this worke, and by the furtherance therof to glad them that beleeue, to confirme them that wauer, and to confute them which go about to ſhake downe his doctrine. This is the onely pleaſure that I deſire, the onely fruite which I ſeeke of my labour. And (to ſay the trueth) I ſe ele alreadie ſome effect and contentment thereof in my heart. But let vs praie him alſo to vouchſafe in our daies, to touch our ſtonie harts with the force of his ſpirit, and with his owne finger to plant his doctrine ſo deepely in them, as it may take roote and bring foorth fruite. For certeſſe it is Gods worke to perſwade and winne men, albeit that to counſell them, yea and to moue them, ſeemeth in ſome ſort to lie in man.

The

The Summes of the Chapters.

1 THat there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.
2 That there is but onely one God.
3 That the wisedome of the world acknowledgeth one onely God.
4 What it is that man is able to comprehend concerning God.
5 That in the one substance of God there are three persons, which we call the trinitie.
6 That the Philosophie of olde time argreed to the doctrine of the Trinitie.
7 That the world had a beginning.
8 When the world had his beginning.
9 That the wisedome of the world acknowledgeth the creation of the world.
10 That God created the world of nothing, that is to say, without any matter, substance, or stuffe whereof to make it.
11 That God by his prouidence gouerneth the world, and all thinges therein.
12 That all the euill which is or which seemeth to bee in the worlde is subiect to Gods prouidence.
13 That mans wisedome hath acknowledged Gods prouidence, and how the same wadeth betweene destinie and fortune.
14 That mans soule is immortall.
15 That the immortalitie of the soule hath beene taught by the ancient Philosophers and beleeued by all nations.
16 That mans nature is corrupted, and hee himselfe fallen from his first originall, and by what meanes.
17 That the men of olde time are of accord with vs concerning mans corruption and the cause thereof.
18 That God is the souereigne welfare of man, & therefore that the chiefe shootanker of man ought to be to returne vnto God.
19 That the wisest of all ages are of accorde that God is the chiefe shooteanker, and, soueregne welfare of man.
20 That true Religion is the way to attaine to the shootanker and soueregne welfare, and what are the markes thereof.
21 That the true God was worshiped in Israel, which is the 1. mark of true religion.
22 That the Gods which were worshiped by the heathen, were men consecrated or canonized to posteritie.
23 That the Spirites which made men to worship them vnder the names of those men, were wicked spirites, that is to saye, seendes or diuels.
24 That in Israel Gods worde was the Rule of his seruice: which is the second marke of true Religion.
25 That throughout the whole processe of the Bible or olde Testament, there are things which cannot proceede but from God.
26 That the things which seeme most wonderfull in our scriptures, are confirmed by the heathen themselues. Also the solutions of their obiections.
27 That the meane which God hath ordeyned for mans saluatiō, hath beene reuealed from time to time to the people of Israell, which is the 3. mark of the true religion.
28 That the mediator or Messias is promised in the Scriptures to bē both God and man, that is to wit, the eternall Sonne of God taking mans flesh vnto him.
29 That the time whereat the mediator was promised to come, is ouerpast: & therefore that he must needes bee come alreadie, as wel according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Iewes.
30 That Iesus the Son of Mary came at the time promised by the scriptures, & that he is the mediator and Messias.
31 A solution of the Obiections which the Iewes alledge against Iesus, that he might not bee receiued for the true Christ or Messias.
32 That Iesus Christ was & is God the son of God cōtrary to the opinion of the Gentiles
33 A solution of the obiections of the Gentiles against the Sonne of God.
34 That the Gospell doth in very deede conteine the historie and doctrine of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God
¶ The conclusion of the whole booke.

OF the Trewnes of the

Christian Religion.

The first Chapter.

That there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.

Such as make profession to teach vs, do say they neuer finde lesse what to say, then when the thing which they treat of, is more manifest and more knowne of it selfe, then al that can bee alledged for the setting forth therof. And such are the principles of al the Sciences, and specially of the certeynesse, as which consist in Demonstration. The whole (wil Euclyde say) is greater then his part. And if from equall things ye take equal things, the Remainder shall be equall. This is rather perceiued of enery man by common sence, then proued by sharpnesse of Reason. And like as they that would go about to proue it, do shewe themselues worthie to bee laughed at, as which should take vpon them to enlighten the Sunne wt a Candle: so ythey that denie it, doe shew themselues to bee wranglers and vnworthie of all conference, as contenders against theirowne mother wit, yea and against their owne confession, according to this common saying of the Schooles, That there is no reasoning against those which deny the Principles. Now, if there bee any matter wherein this Rule is found trew, it is most peculiarly in this, that there is a God. For it is so many waies and so liuely painted forth in all things, & so peculiarly ingrauen in mans hart, that all that euer can bee deuized, said, and written therof, is much lesse then that which is scene therof euery where, & which men feele thereof in themselues. If ye loke vpward, ye see there infinite bodies and infinite mouings, diuers, and yet not troubling one another. If ye loke downeward, ye see the Sea continually threatening the Earth, and yet not passing his bounds: and

 likewise

likewise the Earth altogether heauie and massie, and yet notwithstanding setled or rather hanged in ỹ Aire, so as it stirreth not a whit. These bodies direct vs incontinently to a Spirit, and this orderlinesse to a certeine Gouerner; forsomuch as it is certeine in nature, that bodies haue of themselues no mouing, and that euen those bodies which are quickned could not agree stedfastly either with other bodies or with themselues, but by the ordering and gouerning of a Superiour. But when wee enter afterward into our selues, and finde there an abridgement of the whole vniuersall; a bodie fit for all sorts of mouings, a Soule which (without remouing) maketh the bodies to moone which way it listeth; a Reason therein which guideth them euerychone in their doings; & yet notwithstanding, this Soule to bee such as wee can neither see it nor conceiue it: It ought in all reason to make vs all to vnderstand, that in this great vniuersall masse, there is a soueraine Spirite which maketh, moueth, and gouerneth all that wee see there; by whom we liue, moue, and bee; who in in our bodies hath framed a Counterfet of the whole world, and in our Soules hath ingrauen an image of himselfe. This is it that caused one auncient Philosopher to say, that whereas our eies cannot pearce vnto God; he suffereth himselfe to be felt with our hands: And another to say, that the very first vse of Reason, is imployed in conceiuing the Godhead; not properly by knowing it, but as it were by feeling it, which is more certeine: yea, and ỹ the being of our Soule is nothing else, but the knowing of God vpon whom it dependeth. And Auicen speaketh yet more boldly, saying that he which acknowledgeth not the Godhead, is void, not of Reason, but euen of sence. Now, if these Sences from whence our first knowledge proceedeth, do witnesse the thing vnto vs; & wee do firmly beleeue a thing when we feele it, and that (as they teach vs) we may feele GOD as well in the world as in our selues: Surely vnto him that treateth of Religion, it ought to be graunted as an vnuiolable Principle, That there is a God; and all men ought to bee forbidden to call it into question, vpon paine of not being men any more. For if euery Science haue his Principles, which it is not lawfull to remoue, be it neuer so little: much more reason is it that it should be so, with that thing which hath the ground of all Principles for his Principle. Neuertheless, let vs with the leane all good men, bestowe this Chapter vpon the wickednesse of this our age: and if there bee any which by forgetting God, haue in very deede forgotten their owne shape, and mistaken their owne nature: let them learne hereby to reknowledge themselues againe.

Trimegistus in Pœmandro. Iamblches, concerning Misteries, Chap. 8.

The World leadeth vs vnto God.

It is a straunge case, that these men which ordinarilie speake of nothing but the worlde, will not see in the world, the thing which the world sheweth and teacheth in all parts. For, let vs begin at the lowest, and mount vp to the highest; and let vs consider it whole together or in his paats; and wee shall not finde any thing therein, either so great

great or so small, which leadeth vs not step by step into a Godheade. In this worlde (to consider it first in the whole,) we haue fower degrees of things: to wit, which haue Being, which haue Life, which haue Sence, and which haue Reason: Some are indued with all these giftes, and some but with some of them. The Ayre, the Sea, and the Earth are great, and haue a great scope. They beare vp and sustaine all things that haue Life, all things that haue Sence, & all things that haue Reason. And yet notwithstanding, they themselues haue not any more then onely bare Being, without Life, without Sence, without Reason: that is to say, the nerest to notbeing. The Plants, besides being, haue also life, and they draw their nourishment from the Earth, and their refreshing from the Ayre. The Beastes haue both Being, Life, and Sence, and take their fode both from the Elements and from the Plants. Man hath Being, and Life, and Sence, and Reason; and he inioyeth the Elements, liueth of the Plants, commaundeth the Beastes, and discourseth of all things both aboue him and beneath him. Lo here an order, such from degree to degree, that whosoeuer conceiueth not by and by some Author thereof, hath neither Reason nor sence, no nor is worthie to haue either life or being. I pray you from whence commeth this godly proportion, and this orderly proceeding of things by degrees? Whence commeth the difference in their partitions? Whence commeth it that the hugest and widest things are vnderlings to the least and weakest thinges? Whereof commeth it that some things haue but a deade being, and next vnto notbeing; and that othersome haue a being that is mouing, sensible, and reasonable, howbeit some more, & some lesse? Commeth it of the things themselues? How can that be? For seeing that nothing doth willingly become an vnderling vnto others: why bee not the heauiest masses allotted to the best shares? whereof commeth it that the liuing things which in respect of ỹ whole sea are but as a drop, & in respect of the whole earth are but as a graine of dust, are in degree of preheminence aboue thẽ. And whereof commeth it, that man being the frailest thing of all liuing wightes, is serued by the Elements, by the Plants, & by the Beastes, yea euẽ by the wildest of them? Then is there a deuider or distributer of these things who hauing imparted them to others, had them first himselfe, and the most aboundantly; & who moreouer is of necessitie, almightie, seeing that in so vnequall partition, he holdeth them neuertheless in concorde. I say further, that all things are comprized vnder these fower: that is to wit, vnder Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reason, according to his diuers imparting of them vnto all things. Now I demaund, wether was first, of Beeing or Notbeeing, of Liuing or Notliuing of Sensible, or Notsensible, of Reasonable or Notreasonable? Surely it was neither Reasonable, or Sensible, nor liuing; for the time haue beene that wee were not. But

wee knowe that wee had fathers, and that our fathers had forefathers: and the ende of them maketh vs to beleeue that they had a beginning. In like case is it with beasts and plants, for wee knowe the breeding, growing, decaying & fading of them. Much more then may wee say the same of Being. For the things heere beneath which haue but onely bare beeing, are farre inferiour to the other things, & therefore cannot bring forth themselues, & consequently much lesse bring forth the other things. It remaineth then that Notbeeing, Notliuing, Notsensible, and Notreasonable, were afore Beeing, Liuing, Sensible, and Reasonable. And yet notwithstanding wee haue both Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reason. It followeth therefore that it is a power from without vs, which hath brought vs out of Notbeeing into beeing, and hath parted the said gifts among vs diuersly according to his good pleasure. For otherwise, from out of that nothing which we were (If I may so tearme it,) we shoulde neuer haue come to be any thing at all. Nowe betweene nothing and something, (how little so euer that something can bee) there is an infinite space. Needes therefore must it be that the cause thereof was infinite (at leastwise if it may bee called a cause,) & that is the very same which we call God.

Let vs come to the nature of the Elements whereof the whole is compacted. The Fyre is contrary to the Water, and the dry to the moyst, and of these contraries are infinite other things produced vnder them. Now the nature of contraries is to destroy one another, and not two thinges, euen of the least, can bee coupled togither, but by the working of a higher power that is able to compell them. But wee see that these things do not incroche or vsurpe one vpon another, but contrariwise that they match together in the composing of many things: and yet notwithstanding that not so much as two strings beeing of one selfesame nature, can agree in one tune, without the wit of a man that can skil to streine them and to slacke them as he seeth it good. It followeth therefore that the heauenly harmonie wherein so many contraries are made to accord both vniuersally and particularly, are set together and guided by a spirit. Insomuch that if we will say, that according to the cōmon opinion, the aire is spread forth as a stickler betweene the Fire and the Water, & is ioyned to the one by his moysture, and to the other by his heate: Yee must needes say also, that there is a great and soueraigne Iudge aboue them, which hath made them to abide that stickler.

Let vs mount vp higher. Wee see the Heauen how it moueth round with a continuall mouing. Also wee see there the Planets one vnder another, which (notwithstanding the violence of the first moueable) haue euery one his seuerall course and mouing by himselfe. And shall wee say that these mouings happen by aduenture? But the same aduēture which

made

made them to moue, should also make them to stand still. Againe, as for aduenture or chaunce, it is nothing els but disorder and confusion: but in all these diuersities, there is one vniformitie of mouing, which is neuer interrupted. How then? Do they moue of themselues? Nay; for nothing moueth it selfe, and where things moue one another, there is no possibilitie of infinits holding on; but in the end men must be faine to mount vp to a first beginning, and that is a rest. As for example, from the hammer of a Clocke we come to a wheele, and from that wheele to another, and finally to the wit of the Clockemaker, who by his cunning hath so ordered them, that notwithstanding that he maketh them al to moue, yet he himselfe remoueth not. It remaineth then that of al these mouings, we must imagine one (Mouer) vnmoueable: and of al these so constant diuersities, one (vnuariable) alwaies like it selfe: and of all these bodies, one spirit. And like as from the Earth we haue flyed vp to the aire, from the Aire to the Skye, & from the Skye to the Heauen of Heauens, stil mounting vp from greater to greater, from light to light, and from subtile to subtile: so let vs aduaunce our selues yet one degrée higher, namely to the infinite, to the light which is not to be conceiued but in vnderstanding, and to the quickening spirit, in respect whereof, the thing that we wonder at heere beneath, is lesse then a point, our light is but a shadowe, and our spirit is but a vapour. And yet notwithstanding he hath so painted out his glorie and infiniteneſſe, euen in the things which we most despise as that euen the grossest wits may easily comprehend it.

Let vs come downe againe to do the like heere belowe. Wee shall sée the Earth replenished with Herbes, Trees, and Fruites: both Sea and Land furnished with Beastes, Fishes, Wormes, and Birds of all sorts; euery of them so perfect in his kinde, as mans vnderstanding cannot spie anie want or superfluitie in them. Whence is all this? Is it of the Elements? Nay, how shall the thing which hath neither life nor sence, giue life and sence to other things? Or commeth it of the Sunne? Nay, when did we euer sée him bring forth any such like thing? whence then is this varietie, but of a most fruitfull and vnconsumable might? Whence cõmeth this perfection, but of a singuler wisedome? Of Plants some are hot, and some cold; some swéet, & some bitter; some nourishing and som healing. And of the most daungerous, the remedie is found either in themselues or in the next vnto them. Also as touching Beastes, the wildest and such as liue by praie, keepe by themselues alone, because the flocking of them together would bee noysome. But the tame and such as are most for our profit, do naturally liue in flockes and heardes, because the great numbers of them are for our commoditie. Is this also a worke of fortune? Nay, I say further: The Sunne heateth the earth, the Starres do limit her seasons, the Ayre moysteneth her drought; the earth

ſerueth the Graſſe, the Graſſe ſerueth for Beaſts, and the Beaſts ſerue Man. Each thing ſerueth other, and all ſerue one alone. Whence may this bonde come? If things bée euerlastingly, and of themſelues, how haue they thus put themſelues in ſubiection? By what meanes or when began they firſt to do ſo? Alſo how can one of them be for another, ſeeing that the ende wherefore things are, is euer afore the things themſelues, either in nature, or els in conſideration, and that the eternitie hath not any thing either afore or after it? So that they haue had their biginning of themſelues in ſéede, in flower, or in kernell? in Egge, or in full life? ſmall or great, and ſo forth? Againe, ſeeing that the one cannot bee without the other, neither Beaſt without Graſſe, nor Graſſe without the Earth, nor the Earth bring forth any thing without the Heauen: which of them came afore, and which of them came after? Or if they were all bred together: whence commeth this agréement among ſo many diuers things; but of the ſame minde which made all ſtill gouerneth all things? Séeing then that theſe things are ſo linked together, and yt they tend al to one: let vs conclude alſo that that cannot come to paſſe but through one, who brought them forth altogether at one inſtant & one burthen, when he thought good. But now let vs ſée whence commeth this other one whereunto they tend, that is to wit Man; and whether he alſo bée not for and by that one which hath made them, that is to wit, for and by God.

Man leadeth vs to God.

He that ſeeth but onely the portraiture of a man, falleth by and by to thinke vpon a Painter; and the firſt ſpeach that he vttereth, is to aſke who made it. Now, if a dead worke do make vs to conceiue a liuing worker: much more reaſon it is, that a liuing worke as man is, ſhould make vs to bethinke vs of a quickening workemaiſter: yea euen of ſuch a one as may bee (at leaſt wiſe) as farre aboue man, as man is aboue the portraiture of his owne making, (foraſmuch as there is an infinite diſtance betwixt being and notbeing, liuing and notliuing;) and the ſame againe is God. The proportion in mans bodie, which is ſo well obſerued, that all our Artes doe borrowe from thence, doth witneſſe vnto vs a ſinguler Cunning: and the partes alſo in that they all ſerue each others vſe, and euery of them ſerue the whole; betoken a great wiſedome. Now, where Cunning and wiſedome bée, there chaunce hath no place. For when a man loſeth an eye, an arme, or a legge, wée following the common error do commonly ſay, it is a miſchaunce. But when a member that was out of ioynt is ſet in againe, or a méber that was loſt is ſupplied though it be but a botched one: none of vs will ſay it was chaunce; becauſe that in the iudgement euen of the groſſeſt ſort, the propertie of chaunce is to vndoe and to marre things, and not to make or mende any thing at all. Againe, by our Sences which conceiue all Colours, Sounds, Scents, Sauors, and Feélings, wé may ſée, heare, ſmell, taſt, and feele, that one

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selfesame workeman made both the Sences, and the things that are subiect to the Sences. For to what purpose were the Sences without the sensible things? or the sensible things, without the Sences? And seeing that they relie one vpon another, which of them was bred first in the world? If man made them for his Sences; why maketh he not the like still? If he made himselfe to bee borne for them; why suffereth he himselfe to bee bereft of his Sences one after another? Then is it to be sought for elsewhere than in man. But when in the same man we yet further consider Speach: must wee not needes say that he was made to communicate himselfe to many? And how are they borne one for another? Againe, when we come to his Minde, which in discoursing reacheth farre beyond all sensible things, shall we not say that there are things merely to bee comprehended by vnderstanding, for the which the Minde was made? And on the other side, if we finde a Minde in our selues which are but a little graine of the whole world, dare we say that there is no Minde elsewhere than in our selues? Moreouer, seeing that by this Minde of ours we vnderstand al other things, which Minde yet for all that vnderstandeth not ne knoweth not it selfe, neither perceiue we what or whence this Minde is which so vnderstandeth in vs: ought wee not to acknowledge that there is a Minde aboue vs, whereby we haue vnderstanding of other things, and which vnderstandeth and knoweth in vs the things which wee our selues knowe not there?

Now then, seeing we vnderstand not ne knowe not our selues, (my meaning is that we bee ignorant what we bee, & what it is from whence our noblest actions procede:) can we bee the authors of our selues? And from whence then ought wee to acknowledge our selues to haue our originall? O man, it may be that thou lookest but to thy father. But from father to father, we shall come at length to be a beginning. And soothlie thou art very dulheaded to thinke thy selfe to be the author of a man, considering that neither thou in begetting him, nor his Mother in breeding him, did once thinke vpon the fashioning of him in her woombe: No more (say I) that the Nuttree doth when a Nut falleth from it to the ground, which neuertheless without the Nuttrees thinking thereof, groweth into Roote, Sprig, Barke, & boughes; and in the end shooteth forth into Leaues, Flowers and fruite: And yet notwithstanding, in painting of an Image thou lookest vpon it a hundred times, and diuers daies; thou amendest it, and thou busiest all thy wits about it. If thou be the doer of this worke in the making of man, tell me why thou hast not children when thou wouldest, and why thou hast them sometime when thou wouldest not? Why hast thou a Daughter, when thou wouldest haue a Sonne, or a Soune when thou wouldest haue a Daughter? In painting thy Pictures thou doest not so disapoint thy selfe. Also, if thou bee'st this good

woꝛkemaiſter in making of thy childe, tell me how thou haſt faſhioned it? Whence is the hardneſſe of his bones? the liquoꝛ of his veines, the ſpirit of his Heartſtrings, & the beating of his Pulſes? Seeſt thou this, which is alſo as ſmally in thy power, as if it were none of thine? Tell me what is hidden in his bꝛeaſt, & the whole woꝛkemanſhip that is couched within him. If thou haſt not ſeene it in the opening of thy like, thou knoweſt nothing thereof. Tel mee yet further the imaginationes of his bꝛaine, and the thoughts of his heart: nay, tell me thine owne, which oftentimes thou wouldeſt faine alteꝛ oꝛ ſtay, and canſt not. It is a bottomleſſe Pit, the which thou canſt not gage: and thereforꝛe it followeth that thou madeſt it not. Knowe thou thereforꝛe O man, that all this commeth to thée foꝛ ſome cauſe that is aboue thy ſelfe. And ſéeing that thou haſt vnderſtanding, néedes muſt that cauſe haue vnderſtanding too; and ſeeing that thou vnderſtandeſt not thy ſelfe, needes muſt that vnderſtand thee: and ſeeing that thou after a ſoꝛt art infinite in nomber, but much moꝛe infinite in thy thoughts and déedes: néedes muſt that be infinite too. And that is it the which we call God. What ſhall I ſay moꝛe? oꝛ rather what remaineth not foꝛ mee to ſay? I ſay with the auncient Triſmegiſt, Loꝛd, ſhall I looke vpon thee in the things that are here beneath, oꝛ in the things that are aboue? Thou madeſt all things, and whole nature is nothing els but an image of thee. And I will conclude with Dauid, Bleſſe ye the Loꝛd all ye woꝛkes of his, yee Heauens, ye waters, yée windes, yee Lightenings, yee Shoꝛwers, yee Seas, yee Riuers, and all that euer is, bleſſe yée the Loꝛde: yea and thou my ſoule alſo bleſſe thou the Loꝛd foꝛ euer. Foꝛ, to lay fooꝛth the pꝛoofes which are both in the great woꝛld and in the little woꝛld, it would ſtand me in hand to ranſacke the whole woꝛld, as the which (with all that euer is therein,) is a plaine booke laide open to all men, yea euen vnto Childꝛen to reade, and (as yée would ſay) euen to ſpell God therein.

Vniuerſall Conſent.

Nowe like as all men may reade in this booke as well of the woꝛlde as of thémſelues; ſo was there neither yet any Nation vnder heauen, which haue not thereby learned and perceiued a certaine Godhead, notwithſtanding that they haue conceiued it diuerſly, accoꝛding to the diuerſitie of their owne imaginations. Let a man runne from Eaſt to Weſt, and from South to Noꝛth: let him ranſacke all ages one after another: and whereſoeuer he findeth any men, there ſhall he finde alſo a kinde of Religion and ſeruing of God, with pꝛaiers and ſacrifices. The diuerſitie whereof is verie great, but yet they haue alwaies conſented all in this point. That there is a GOD. And as touching the diuerſitie which is in that behalfe, it beareth witneſſe that it is a doctrine not deliuered alonely from people to people; but alſo bꝛed and bꝛought vp with euery of them in their owne Climate, yea and euen in their owne

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selues. Within these hundred yeares many Nations haue bene discouered, and many are daily discouered still, which were vnknowen in former ages. Among them, some haue bene founde to liue without Lawe, without King, without House, going starke naked, and wandring abroad in the fieldes: but yet none without some knowledge of God, none without some spice of Religion: to shew vnto vs, that it is not so natural a thing in man to loue company, and to clad himselfe against hurts of the wether, (which things wee esteeme to be verie kindlie:) as it is naturall vnto him to knowe the author of his life, that is to say, God. Or if wee yéld more to the iudgement of those which were counted wise among the Heathen nations, (whome afterward by a more modest name men called Philosophers:) The Brachmanes among the Indians, and the Magies among the Persians, neuer began any thing without praying vnto God. The lessons of Pythagoras and Plato, and of their Disciples, began with praier and ended with praier. The auncient Poets (who were all Philosophers,) as Orphey, Homer, Hesiodus, Pheresides, and Theognis, speake of none other thing. The Schooles of the Stoikes, Academikes, and Peripatetikes, and all other schooles that florished in old time, rong of that. The very Epicures themselues who were shamelesse in all other things, were ashamed to denie God. To be short, the men of old time (as witnesseth Plato) chose their Priests (which were to haue regard of the seruice that was to be yelded vnto GOD,) from among the Philosophers, as from among those which by their consideration of nature, had atteined to knowe God. And so (which seldome hapeneth but in an apparant trueth) the opinion of the common people and the opinion of the wise, haue met both iump together in this point.

Well may there bee found in all ages some wretched kaytifes, which haue not the knowledg of God, as there be some euen at this day. But if we looke into them, either thy were some yong soles giuen ouer to their pleasures, which neuer had leasure to bethinke them of the matter, and yet when yeares came vpon them, came backe againe to the knowing of themselues, and consequently of God: or else they were some persons growen quite out of kinde, saped in wickednesse, and such as had defaced their owne nature in them selues, who to the intent they might practise all manner of wickednes with the lesse remorse haue striued to perswade themselues by soothing their owne sinnes, that they haue no soule at all, & that there is no iudge to make inquirie of their sinnes. And yet notwithstanding, if these fall into neuer so little daunger, or be but taken vpon the hip, they fall to quaking, they crie out vnto heauen, they call vpon God. And if they approch, but a farre of, vnto death, they fall to fretting and gnashing of their téeth. And when they be well beaten, there is not anie shadow of the Godhead so sone of-

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fered vnto them, but they imbrace it: so ready are nature and conscience (which they would haue restreained & imprisoned) to put them in minde thereof at all howers. They be loath to confesse God, for feare to stande in awe of him, and yet the feare of the least things maketh them to confesse him. Nay, because they feare not him that made all things, therefore they stand in awe of all things, as we see in the Emperour Caligula, who threatned the Ayre if it rained vpon his Gameplaiers, and yet notwithstanding he wrapped his Cap about his head, or hid himselfe vnder his bed, at euery flash of lightening. I beleeue (saith Seneca concerning the same matter) that this threatning of his did greatly hasten his death, for so much as folke sawe that they were to beare such a one, as could not beare, euen with the Goddes.

Suetonius in the life of Caligula.

Seneca in his first booke concerning Wrath.

Among the learned, although the libertie of Sects was lawlesse: yet the chiefe that men counted for Atheists, where one Diagoras a Melian Poet, one Theodore a Cyrenian, one Ewhemere a Tegean, and a verie fewe others. But to say truely, these rather skorned the Idolles and false Goddes of their times, then denyed the true God. Accordingly as we see many of them yet still among vs, which hold themselues contented with the knowing of vntrueth, without seeking after the trueth; & with mocking of Superstitions, without seeking the pure and true Religion. Of the said Diagoras it is reported, that as he was burning an Image of Hercules in his fire; he said, Thou must now do me seruice in this thirteenth incounter, as well as thou hast done to Euristheus in the other twelue. This was but a skorning of Idolles. For notwithanding this: his Verses began thus, that all things are gouerned by a Godhead, Also it is reported of the other, that he should say to the Egiptians, If they be Gods, why bewaile ye them? and if they be dead folkes, why worship ye them? This also was a disprouing of the false Gods. And as for Ewhemere of Tegea, men are of accorde that the cause why he was called an Atheist, was for that he wrote the true Historie and Genealogie of the Heathen Gods, shewing that they were Kinges, Princes, and greate Personages, whose Images being kept for a remembrance of them were turned into Idolles, their worthie doings into yearely Gamings, & their honorings into worshipings. And which of vs at this day beléeueth not as much? There was in déede a kinde of Philosophers called Scepticks (that is to say Doubters) which did rather suspend their Iudgement concerning the Godhead, then call it in question. But yet it ought to suffice vs, that they be the selfesame which deny all Sciences, yea euen those which consist in Demonstration, and which professe themselues to doubt of the things which they see and feele; in so much that they doubt whether they themselues haue anie béeing or no. But yet for all that, let vs see after what manner these kinde of people do reason. Against

Obiections concerning such as were counted Atheists.

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the thing which the worlde preacheth, which Nations worship, and which wise men wonder at; these folke say at a worde for all, how shall we beleeue that there is a God, sith we see him not? O foole, and (which worse is) O fole by being wise in thine owne conceit: Thou beleeuest that there is a Sunne, euen when thou art in a Dongeon or in the bottome of a Prison, because his beames are shed in at thy windowes: and doubtest thou yet still whether there be a God or no, when he sheweth himselfe to thee through the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, in the Ayre, the Earth, the Sea; in all things that they conteine, yea and euen in thy selfe? If thou haddest neuer seene Tree afore, thy wit at the very first sight if it, would leade thee to the roote which is vnder the Tree: and the sight of a Riuer would leade thee to the welspring thereof, which may peradnenture be two hundred Leagues of. And whosoeuer shoulde tell thee the contrary, thou wouldest stand at defiance against him. O man, like as the Tree leadeth thee to the roote by his braunches, doth not the roote leade thee likewise to the kernell, and the kernell to him that made it? And as the Riuer leadeth thee to his head; shal not the heade lead thee to the originall spring thereof, seeing thou canst not doubt but it hath a beginning, sith thou seest that it runneth with a streame? If thou shouldest arriue among the Indians, and finde but some silly Cottage in the desolatest Countrey thereof; The wouldest by and by conclude, this Ile is inhabited, some man hath passed heere. And why? Because thou seest there some tokens of mans wit, & knowest well that the Goates which thou hast seene raunging or skipping vpon the Rockes, can builde no such thing. Now, when thou beeing borne beneath, seest here a hundred and a hundred thousand things which are not possible to be made by man: nay (which more is,) which it is not possible for him to know nor to vnderstand: oughtest thou not to say immediatly, Gods spirit hath passed this way, needes must here haue bene some higher thing then man?

Plutarch in his treatise of the ceassing of Oracles, reporteth that a Ruler of Cicilia which was an Atheist, came to the beleefe of a God, by an answere giuen from the Oracle of Mopsus, to a demaund of his which was deliuered sealed.

Mention is made of certeine prestige persons, which beleeued nothing but that which they saw, and the Wizards made them to see Deuills: Whereupon they came to beleeue also that there is a God. It was a mad kinde of conuersion, to beleeue in God by the ministerie of the Deuill. But what a number of other things beleeuest thou which thou seest not? Thou beleeuest that the Plants haue a kinde of Soule, that is to say, a certeine inward power or vertue which maketh them to shoote forth in their season. Thou seest them, but thou seest not it; neither knowest thou whence it commeth, or where it lieth. Thou beleeuest that the Beastes also haue one other kinde of Soule, which maketh them to moue, and yet thou seest it as little as the other. Also thou beleeuest that thou thy selfe (besides these) hast an ability of reasoning both vpon them, & vpon thy selfe, and vpon such as are like thy selfe. And yet as

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touching the bodie, thou sæst not anie thing altered in the partes thereof after death, neither within nor without. Where is that Soule then, or where hast thou euer sæne it? If thou beléeue thereof because of the effects which thou sæst, which cannot come from any thing els: I assure thée euen by ỳ same effects, that if thou beléeue nothing therof but that which thou sæst with thine eies, thine eies sée not by thy soule and thine eies themselues sée not thy soule. To be short, thou beléeuest that thou hast a face, which without a loking Glasse thou sæst not: And wilt thou not beléeue there is a God, whose face shineth forth in all things?

Othersome to shew themselues more fineheaded, haue argued thus. If there be a GOD, he must néedes be a bodily liuing wight, or els he should be senceless. And if he haue sences, then is he chaungeable: and if he be chaungeable, then may he perish: that is to say, he is no longer God. Beasts are they in verie deede, which can conceiue no better then that which is common to Beasts.

Others haue said thus: If he be without bodie, he is also without soule, and consequently without action. Or if he be a body, he is subiect to the chaunges thereof. Alas that they should not be able to conceiue a spirit without a body, nor to sée that euen in our selues it is the onely Soule that worketh, and that the body stirreth not but as it is moued by the Soule.

Others againe do reason, that if there be a God, he must needs be perfectly happy: and if he be perfectly happy, he is vertuous: if vertuous, he ouermaistereth his affections: and if he ouermaister his affections, he is tempted of his lustes, a thing altogether vnsæming the Godhead. And by these inconueniences they conclude, that there is no God at all: not perceiuing, or rather wilfully refusing to perceiue that which Plutarke sayeth verie well: namely, that the person which ouermaistereth his affections, is but halfe vertuous, but the stayed person is wholly vertuous, because the one doth but bridle his passions by force of reason, whereas the other hath them already setled according to reason. But there is yet more in God: for he is reason it selfe and there is nothing in him but reason. Soothly this kinde of reasoning of theirs agréeth in effect with this saying of Xenophanes, that if Beasts were able to paint, they would portray God like to themselues, because they could not naturally conceiue any further. Such and other like are the arguments of these goodly Philosophers, which euen litle babes might laugh to scorne: but els they could not haue seene against so manifest & euident a trueth. And yet dare I also wel assure you, ỳ they themselues knew the falsenesse of those arguments, but that they were as it were sworne to doubt of all things, and to gainsay all things. Let vs then conclude with the learned and the ignoraunt, the Greekes and the Barbarians, Men and Beastes, things sensible and

Plutarke in his treatise of morall vertue

Xenophanes as he is alledged by Clement of Alexandria in his Stromats.

and senceleſſe, the whole and euery part thereof: That there is a God. And if there bee yet any ſolke that caſt doubts thereof, indeuouring to race out not onely God, but alſo man himſelfe out of their hearts: let vs boldly appeale euen vnto themſelues; not doubting at all, but that their owne Conſcience which cannot be defeated, will one day make them to vnderſtand it.

The ſecond Chapter.

That there is but onely one God.

LEt vs ſtudie further in the booke of nature, and ſee whether that as it hath taught vs a Godhead, it teach vs not alſo that the ſame conſiſteth in onely one God. I haue told you alreadie, that of things, ſome haue being, ſome haue being and life, ſome haue being, life and ſence, and other ſome haue being, life, ſence, and reaſon. Theſe fower ſorts fall into three, and from three into two, and from two into one, and that one is Beeing; afore the which (as I haue prooued already) there went a Notbeeing. The reſidue therefore how diuers ſo euer they be, are all conuicted in the one Beeing, and this one Beeing muſt needes reſt in the power of the firſt Beeing, whereof the being which we ſee, is but a ſhadowe. Againe, in all the things which we ſee, we reduce the particulars to an vnderkinde, the vnderkindes to an vpperkinde, & the vpperkinde to a moſt general. As for example, we reduce all particuler humane perſons vnder the tearme of man: All men vnder the tearme of Wight, all wights vnder the tearme of liuing things, and all liuing things vnder the tearme of things that are or be, alwaies referring euery diuerſitie to ſome vnitie, and the ſame vnitie to another vnitie which is more vniuerſall. It remaineth then that when we can mount no higher, we muſt diſtinguiſh the things that are, into the thing which is of it ſelfe, and the thing which is not of it ſelfe. That which is not of it ſelfe, is the world and all that euer is therein, as I haue prooued afore. That which is of it ſelfe, is the thing which we call God, beyond whome nothing can be ima-

The worlde leadeth to one onely God.

imagined, and by whom all things both are and haue beene, as which could haue no being of themselues. Now to produce from Notbeing into being, requireth an infinite power. For betweene nothing and something is an infinite distance, and two infinites cannot be abidden, no nor imagined together. For the infinitenesse of the one doth inclose and binde the power of the other, and loke whatsoeuer is giuen to the one, is taken away from all others. Therefore like as there must nedes be one Infinite, so must there be but onely one, yea and most simply one: from whose vnitie neuertheless flowe all the diuersities which we see in the whole world, like as from a Pricke, proceedeth a Line, an outside, and all substantiall bodies. And of vnitie or one in nombering, proceedeth euen and odde, round and square, and all the multiplicities, proportions, and harmonies which we se: saueing that the Pricke and the vnitie of nomber are intermingled and interlaced with all things, whereas the foresaid most single and onely One, abiding still one in it selfe, bringeth forth all the other vnities, and conteineth them all.

Let vs examine euery sort of things seuerally by them selues, and we shall learne the like still in them. In the Elements wee see contrary qualities and operations. And where contraries are, there nede but two heads to set them at warre. For they cannot dwell together neither can they match together, and much lesse can they reigne together. The further that any of them extendeth his power, the lesse can he away with any fellowe. Now then if one reigned ouer the Heate, and another ouer the Colde, one ouer the Drith, & another ouer the Moysture: so as there were diuers makers or gouerners of the world: wee should also see diuersities of factions, Element against Element in the whole world and in euery thing that is compounded, and continuall warre in the mides of their Bowels. But now se we no such thing, but euery of them imbraceth other, both in the whole and in euery seuerall thing, notwithstanding that naturally they displace and destroy one another.

Furthermore they stand not at defiance alone by themselues, but the Sea beleapeth the Earth, the Sea and Earth together are lapped vp in ꝑ Ayre, the Ayre is compast about with the Skie, and euery of them stoopeth vnder other, insomuch that of their contrarieties ye se there proceedeth a goodlie vniformitie. Seeing then that there are not two factions, there is but one maker, and seeing they yeld all into one, it cannot be but also by one. In the Earth wee se Riuers, which runne a a verie long race, but yet from one head: and againe manie streames, which yelde themselues all into one, which one is the Sea, an the Sea also being vndiuidable palleth through the whole inferiour world. Like as they come out of one vnitie, so doe they yeeld themselues vp into one another vnity. In the Heauen we obserue infinite diuers mouings, but

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yet all obeying vnto one. There is one light which sheadeth it selfe thorough out all places, but yet it proceedeth from one onely, which seemeth to multiplie it selfe infinitely, and yet cannot by any meanes be parted: I meane one Sunne, whose beames spreading out on all sides, do reach from the Skye vnto the Earth, and yet neuertheleſſe continue still fast knit together in one bond by one vnitie. Now al these partes, which proceede from one and tend to one, doe make vs to beleeue that all proceede from one most single one.

Againe, in the things that haue life, as in Hearbes and Trees, wee see a barke, a stalke or trunke, manie boughes or braunches, and an infinite number of leaues. The bodie hath no likenesse to the leaues, nor the leaues to the fruite, nor the fruite to the blossomes: and yet do all these come from one roote, which hath his force vnited to it selfe, and the roote springing of a kernell or of a graine, (which cannot be the worke of any mo then one workeman) containeth all the said diuersities in his vniformitie, and of it selfe alone yeeldeth forth infinite of the same kinde, and of one beginning of life which is not multiplied in it selfe, maketh it selfe a beginning of life (as well within it selfe as without it selfe) vnto many things that haue life.

Likewise as touching wights, wee see in euerie of them a thousand diuers parts. Outwardly, Head, Eies, Nose, Eares, Teeth, Tongue, Feete, Tayle, and so forth: and inwardlie the Heart, the Lunges, the Stomacke, the Liuer, the Bowelles, the Kidneis, the Bones, the Sinewes, the Heartstrings, the Veines, and such other things. The beginning of this whole Masse & of all those so manifold parts, is next cousen vnto nothing, a very small drop, of one shape, but onely one. Yet notwithstanding, it hath the beginning of life and sence vnited in it selfe, which multiplieth it selfe into many abilities, senses, actions, and mouings: and that not inwardlie onely, but also outwardly in infinite numbers of the same kinde, which in processe of time do fill whole Countries. So certeine is this principle in nature, that all multitudes come from an vnitie or One, and that there cannot bee any multitude, vnlesse the same haue first beene no multitude. But we take no heede of it, because wee see it euery day: and yet it is giuen vs to loke vpon, to the ende we shoulde haue regard of it. Howbeit, forasmuch as man is both the image of God, and the Counterpaine of the world together: wee cannot see this vnitie so apparantly in any thing, as in man himselfe. If we loke vpon his body, all the parts thereof are made one for another and minister one to another with mutuall duties: and without so doing, he could not continue nor liue. The Eies guide the feete, the Feete beare the Eies, by one part the things that are needfull are taken in, & by another the things that are superfluous are voyded out: and all and euerie of them referre

Man leadeth vs to one God

their

their doings to the benefite of the whole bodie. This vnion of diuers operations tending all to one point, shewes that the framing of man was made by one onely workemanship. And as the workemanship is but one, so must the workemaister also nedes bee but one. For, like as by a building that is made by peces and of diuers proportions, we deme the diuersitie of the maisterbuilders; so by the vniformitie thereof we iudge it to be the deuise & workmanship of one alone. The Veines are spred forth throughout the whole bodie, howbeit from one welhead, that is to say from the Liuer: so be the Sinewes, howbeit from the Braine; So likewise are the Heartstrings, howbeit from the Heart. By these three sorts of Conduitpypes, are life, sence, and breath shed foorth euen to the least and vttermost parts, and the braunches thereof are without number, but the originall of all is onely one. But yet doth this shine forth more clearly in the Soule of man. It hath life, sence, & mouing. All these are dealt forth, maintained, and guided by the onely one Soule. Hers ye see alreadie one vnitie. The soule which hath his powers so diuers and so farre spred, is whole throughout all the whole bodie, and whole in euery parte thereof, as much in the least as in the greatest, & as much in the least as in the whole. Therefore ye see yet a straighter vnitie. Againe, the Soule is yet more straightly shut vp into Minde, which is ỹ Soule of the Soule, as the Apple of the Eie is the Eie of the Eie; and yet notwithstanding, this Minde (as entirely one as it is,) conceiueth and doth infinite things, entereth in a thousand places without remouing, passeth ouer the Seas, mounteth vp to the Heauens, and reacheth downe to the depth of the Earth. Lo here an vnitie most streight in it selfe, and yet extended to the vtmost parts of the world.

Hermes saith that the Sunnebeames of God are his Actions, the Sunbeames of the World are the Natures of things, and the Sunnebeames of Man are Artes and Sciences. Therefore let vs see whether the Artes and sciences will guide vs to the same vnitie, whereunto those Actions and the natures of things haueled vs alreadie, beginning at the lower, & mounting vp to the higher. Grammer teacheth vs to bring the diuers parts of speach into one congruitie, and the end thereof is to speake; and the end of speaking is societie. Rhetorike teacheth to drawe mennes mindes to one selfesame opinion. Logike teacheth to sift out the trueth from a number of falshods, which trueth can be but one. Their endes then are congruitie, societie, vnitie of minde and trueth, which are but sundrie sortes of vnitie. Arithmetick proceedeth from vnitie, Geometry from a pricke; and Musick from agreement of soundes; and the end of them is to reduce things to one common reason, to one proportion, and to one harmonie, all which are kindes of vnitie, and their braunches are braunches of the same. For Perspectiue draweth al his lines to one point:

Masonrie

Masonrie and Carpentrie tend to vniformitie. The handicraft indeuoreth to bring many powers and many mouings vnder one, to ouerrule them all: All which againe are but sundrie sortes of vnitie. Phisick tendeth to the preseruation or restitution of health; and health is nothing els but a well proportioned vnion of diuers humors together. The skill of Lawe tendeth to Right, and there is but one Right, though there be infinite wrongs. Then serues it but to mainteine, restore, & bring men backe againe vnto vnitie. Let vs proceede further; Morall Philosophie subdueth many diuers passions and affections vnto one reason, in one man. Houshold gouernement bringeth many men to the obeying of one houlholder: Ciuil gouernement reduceth many houlholds into one Commonweale, which is nothing but an vnitie of many people; whether it be vnder one Lawe or vnder one magistrate; in so much that euen the most popular Commonweales haue (in their extremities) taken a Dictator, and in their ordinarie course of gouernment a Consull, the one after the other. Now then, all that euer man conceiueth, inuenteth and disposeth, doth lead vs alwayes to an vnitie. Where vnitie is lost, there things go to wrecke, Artes are confounded, & Commonweales are dissolued. Then like as in vnvnited diuersitie we finde waste and subuersion; so must we loke in vnitie for the increase and preseruation of all things. Now if man, and all that is within man and without him do leade vs to one alone: shall he suffer himselfe to raunge out vnto many? And if all the Sunbeames of man, I meane his Artes and Sciences, tend to one vnitie: shall onely diuinitie turne vs aside to a pluralitie of Goddes? Nay, rather by so many vnities, she will make vs frye vp to the true and perfect vnitie, and that vnitie is the onely one God.

The linking in of things together.

But let vs se now how all things being so diuers in the whole world, are referred one to another. The water moysteneth the Earth, the Ayre maketh it fatte with his showers, the Sunne inlighteneth it and heateth it according to his seasons. The Earth nourisheth the Plants, the Plants fede the Beastes, the Beastes serue man. Againe, nothing is borne here to be made for it selfe. The Sunne shineth and heateth; but not for it selfe: the Earth beareth and yet hath no benefite thereby: the Windes blowe, and yet they sayle not: but all these things redound to the glorie of the maker, to the accomplishment of the whole, and to the benefite of man. To be short, the noblest creatures haue nede of the baest, and the baest are serued by the noblest; and all are so linked together from the highest to the lowest, that the ring thereof cannot be broken without confusion. The Sunne cannot be Eclipsed, the Planets withered, or the Raine want; but all things fele the hurt thereof. Now then, can we imagine that this worke which consisteth of so manie and so diuers peces, tending all to one end, so cupled one to another, making

one body, and full of so apparant consents of affections; proceedeth from elsewhere than from the power of one alone? When in a fielde wee see many Battels, diuers Standerds, sundrie Liueries, and yet all turning head with one swaye; wee conceiue that there is one Generall of the field, who commaundeth them all. Also when in a Citie or a Realme we see an equalitie of good behauiour in an vnequalitie of degrees of people, infinite trades which serue one another, the smaller reuerensing the greater, the greater seruing to the benefite of the smaller, both of them made equall in Iustice, and all tending in this diuersitie to the common seruice of their Countrie: wee doubt not but there is one Lawe, and a Magistrate which by that lawe holdeth the said diuersitie in vnion. And if any man tell of many Magistrates; wee will by and by inquire for the soueraigne. Yet notwithstanding, all this is but an order set among diuers men, who ought euen naturally to be united, by the communitie of their kind. But when things, as well light as heauie, hot as cold, moyst as dry, liuing as vnliuing, endewed with sence as senceless, and eche of infinite sortes, doe so close in one composition, as one of them cannot forbeare another; nay rather to our seeming, the worthiest do seruice to the basest, the greatest to the smallest, the strongest to the weakest, and all of them together are disposed to the accomplishment of the worlde, and to the contentment of man who alonely is able to consider it: ought wee not foorthwith to perceiue, that the whole worlde and all things contayned therein, do by their tending vnto vs, teach vs to tend vnto one alone? And seeing that so many things tend vnto man; shall man scatter his doings vnto diuers endes? Or shall he be so wretched as to serue manye maisters? May further, to knit vp this poynt withall, seeing that all things the nobler they be, the more they do close into one vnitie, (as for example, we see that the things which haue but meere being are of infinit kindes, the things that haue life are of infinite sortes, the things that haue sence are of many sortes, howbeit not of so many; and the thinges that haue reason are many, onely in particulars:) doth it not follow also that the Godhead from whence they haue their reason (as nobler than they) is also much more one than they, that is to say, onely one as well in particularitie and number, as also in kinde?

The obiectiõs of such as maintaine mo Gods than one.

Howbeit, notwithstanding all these considerations, forasmuch as there is diuersitie, yea and contrarietie in worldly things; some haue gathered vpon this diuersitie, that there be diuers Gods, acknowledging neuertheless one Almightie aboue them all. And othersome, in respect of the contrarietie, haue set downe but two Gods onely. The first saye, If onely one God had made all things, there should haue bẽn no difference in things: but there is difference; and therefore it must nedes be that there are many Gods. Surely, had these men well considered the things

Iulian the Apostata, in Cyrillus.

afore

afore alledged by mée; they should haue séene that nature is wholly and altogether against this consequence. There is great diuersitie in one Plant, in one Wight, in one Pan: and yet notwithstanding the ground thereof is vniforme. Yea and it is so true that onely vnitie is frutefull, that we sée how the diuersitie it selfe and that which commeth thereof, is vtterly barreine, both in Wights, (as in Mules) and in Plants, as in the Stergon, and also in all other like things. If they consider the Sunne, he maketh Plants to growe all at one time, diuers one from another, & as diuers in themselues. He maketh some of them to shoote forth, some to ryppen, and some to wither. At one instant he both worketh drought in the Earth, and draweth vp Clowdes out of it to moysten it: he giueth Summer, daylight, & faire weather to some, and Winter, night, & foule weather vnto othersome: He maketh some folkes white, some blacke, some read, and some Tawny; and yet is he but one selfesame Sunne, & one selfesame Creature, which at one selfesame instant, by one selfe same course, and with one selfesame qualitie of heate, doth all the said things, not onely diuers, but also contrarie. And he that should say that it is any other than one selfesame Sunne that maketh the Ethyopian black, and the Scotte yellowish, were not worthy to be answered. Now if a Creature doth by heat (which is but a qualitie) brede so diuers effectes; what shall we say of the Creator, I meane the infinite Being of God, who imparteth himselfe to all things?

Stergon is an herbe which groweth of an Onyon stuffed with Linseed or seede of Flax.

Againe, if man consider himselfe, he séeleth, he séeth, he speaketh, he vnderstandeth a thousand diuers things, without any alteration in himselfe. May which more is, he conceiueth, he inuenteth, and he performeth so diuers works, that Nations do wonder one at another. One man portrayeth out the whole worlde in a little péece of Paper, painting out all the Images of the Heauens, and all the Climates of the Earth. Some one other counterfeiteth all liuing wights, which Créepe, which Goe, which flye, which swimme. And all this commeth but of one minde which conceiueth and bredeth all these formes, because it hath no forme of it owne: for had it any of it owne, it could not brede them, because it owne would occupie it to the full. What haue we then to thinke of him, whose willings are powers, and whose thoughts are déeds? Who is an infinite minde; in comparison of the brightnesse whereof our mindes are but a shadowe? If we, who (to speake properly) are but in outward shewe, doe things in outward shewe so diuers: do we doubt that he which is in verie trueth, cannot doe them also in verie trueth? Moreouer, if the diuersitie make vs to imagine diuers Gods, howbeit all proceeding of one alone: shall we say that he which in his vnitie, bred the rest of the Gods with their so diuers powers, had not ꝑ same powers in his vnitie? Again séeing the said diuersitie was once included within the said vnitie; is it

to be said, that he was faine to hatch vp diuers Gods, for the bringing of that diuersitie to light? Nay, like as nature doth all things the shortest way: so also God made al things immediatly. And if they say it was his pleasure to make the high things himselfe, and to leaue the lowe things to be done by the pettie Gods: we must consider that High and Lowe, Noble and Vnnoble, are but considerations of man. For to make the one or the other, is all one vnto God; who of his infinite goodnes and power, hath drawne both twaine of them out of nothing, which was no more the one than the other, as we shall see hereafter.

Against two beginnings.

Let vs come to such as haue vpholden two beginnings, the one good, whome they call Oromases; and the other euill whome they call Arimanius; which opinion men say proceded first from Zoroastres, and afterward from the Persians and Manichies; but we shall finde no foundation thereof in nature. Their meaning is, that the Elements, the Plants, Beastes, Men, yea and Spirits, were, as ye would say, parted betwixt these two Gods, so as the one should be the Creator of the one, and the other the other; the good God, of the good; and the euil, of the euil. If it be so, then is there a Ciuill warre fully furnished, of forces set in battel ray on both sides: so as there remaineth nothing but fighting: and yet after so long time we see no such fight at all. And therefore let vs conclude, that this contrarietie of beginnings is not. Vnto the one, they allotted Light: and vnto the other, Darknesse: vnto the one, Sommer: and vnto the other Winter: vnto the one, Heate: and vnto the other, Colde. In verie deede these are Contraries, but yet is one selfesame Sunne the doer of them all, after as he goeth further from vs or commeth nearer to vs. And his going from vs is not to forgoe his light, but to shine therewith the nearelyer vnto others; nor to cole himselfe, but to heat other folkes. Then if these contraries come of one selfesame one, that is to wite, of the Sunne: Much more likely is it in reason, that the Sunne himselfe should not come of two. Againe, why should the one of these contraries be good, and the other bad? Whosoeuer shall haue tryed the extremitie both of the heate and of the colde, shall not be able to discerne which is the worser. Likewise, he that shall haue obserued the benefite that commeth of either of them in their seasons, shall not be able to discerne which of them to take for the better. The Heate ripeneth fruites; but it also scareth and parcheth them. The Colde harmeth them; but it also maketh them to bud. Take away either of them both, and you take away all fruites. And like as both of them are needefull to one selfesame thing, that is to wit, to the bringing forth of fruites; so be they also procured by the course of one selfesame might, which is the Sunne. The same Sunne is the lightner of our eyes to our behoofe; and he is also the blinder of them if we gaze vpon him at the heighth of the day. Yet not-

Plutark in the life of Osyris and Isis.

withstanding, both in the Sunne and in our eyes is the selfesame light which they call good, and which by his reckoning should be to them both good & bad: and if it be so, on which side shall they turne themselues?

They adde further: Among Plants there are so many poysons, and among liuing wights, so many noysome Beastes: that how should a good God be author of them? Sillie man that thou art! The poysons thou occuppest in Tryacles for thy health, euen against the Plague. And of those Beasts thou canst skill to vse the skinnes to clothe thee against the Colde. And if thou hast an euill opinion of some of them, because thou canst not serue thy turne with them; as much wouldest thou haue saide sometime of the Horse, which as now doth thee seruice so many wayes: and as much might the Satyre haue saide of Fire when it burned him, notwithstanding that as now, it be so many waies necessarie. Nowe then they might benefite thee, if thou wilkest how to vse them: and whereas they annoy thee, it is not of their nature, but through thine owne weaknesse or rather ignorance. But if they be good so farre forth as thou hast skill of them: shall they not be good to him which knoweth them throughly? In the Closet of a Surgeon, who is but a man as thou art, thou shalt finde a thousand toles; and thou wilt perchaunce estéem him so wise, that thou wilt not thinke there is any one of them, which serueth not to some purpose. Yea, and if any of them do cut thée or race thée; thou wilt not blame the tole nor the maister thereof, but thy self which tookest it by the blade, whereas thou shouldest haue taken it by the handle. And as little canst thou saye, that the tole which did cut thée, as that the tole wherewith thou diddest cut what thou wouldest, had another maister or maker. Now then, wilt thou bring lesse regard with thée in this great shop of the Creator? It is his will that some things shall serue other liuing wightes which serue thee, and othersome shall serue thée alone. Yea, and he will haue euen the harmes which thou receiuest by them, to serue thée to some purpose: and he serueth his own turne better by thée, than thou canst serue thine owne. And if thou which art nothing, hast yet so much wit as to drawe some peculiar good to thy selfe, out of another bodies workes, yea, euen out of such as thou accountest euil; as out of Poyson, health; from the Wolfe, his skinne to couer thée, from the night, rest; and so forth: Shall not the almightie and infinite Spirit much better dispose them for the benefite of all men, yea & of all the whole world which comprehendeth so many things together?

They say yet againe; But why should a good God take pleasure in so many nedelesse things? For to what purpose serueth the Fly, and such other things? Tell me, wouldest thou like well that thine owne children should speake such reproach of thy workes? May rather wherein doth the Flye anoy thée? And wherefore serued the Fly that Zeuxis painted in his

Table: It serued to make his greatest disdainers, (euen those which would haue had that rather than all the rest wyped out of the Table) to confesse his arte and excellent skill. And this serueth to conuict thée of blockishnes, thée (I say) which hadst rather to finde fault with God and with the Fyre, than to wonder at the excellencie of him, who hath inclosed so liuely a life, so quicke a mouing, and so great an excellencie in so little a thing. So then, it is not for vs to chace her out of the table; but rather to confesse our owne ignorance, or els to chace it awaye. Whereby therefore we perceiue, that of al the things which they can alledge, there is none which is not good and behoofefull in it self; and that the euilnesse thereof commeth onely through vs, and therefore that the thing hath but onely one Beginner thereof, who is good.

But behold, they vrge the matter yet more strongly. Howsoeuer the case stand (say they) it cannot be denyed but there is euilnesse in things, seeing that they corrupt themselues, and the sinne that is in our selues is vtterly euil: and sith it is so, from whence may that be? For if God be good, he cannot be the author of euill; and therefore there must néedes be another author thereof. This question shall be handled more lightsomely when I come to treat of Mans fall, which is the bringer in of the two euils, namely both of paine and fault; but yet may wee alloyle it if wee take héede. We say that making and creating are referred to natures or substances, and that all natures and substances are good; and therefore that God who is good, is the author and Creator of them. On the contrary part, wée say that euill is neither a nature nor a substance, but an income or accident which is faine into natures and substances; It is (say I) a bereauing or diminishing of the good qualities which things ought naturally to haue. This euill hath not any being in it selfe; neither can haue any being but in the thing that is good. It is not an effect, but a default; nor a production, but a corruption. And therefore to speake properly, we must not séeke whence cometh the doing of euill, but whence commeth the vndoing of good. As for example, Wine is of Gods creating, and it is good. Now this good substance falling to decay, that is to say, to abate or diminish of his vertue, becommeth Wineger. Whereupon no man asketh who made the substance that is become sharpe, for it is the selfesame that it was afore; but they aske whence cōmeth the sharpnes or eagernesse, that is to saye, the alteration that is befaine to the substance. If thou say that it commeth of the foresaid euill Beginner, the author of all euill, as the good Beginner is the author of all goodnesse: forasmuch as euill is nothing els but a default, want or failing of good; it is the soueraigne or chiefe default or failing, as the good is the soueraigne or chiefe being. And if it be the chiefe default, then is it not any more. For the default or failing of a thing, is a tending of the thing to notbeing any

more

more the same that it was: and the failing of all, is a tending to the vtter vnbeing or notbeing of the whole.

Moreover, the said euill Beginner, which worketh not but in the substance that is made or created by another, could do nothing if the good Beginner wrought not first; and so should he haue the Commencement of his power depending vpon another than himselfe, which is a thing repugnant to a Godhead. And if you aske what is then the cause thereof: I tel you it is the verie nothing it self; that is to wit, that God almightie, to shew vs that he hath made all of nothing, hath left a certeine inclination in his Creatures, whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to saye, to change and corruption, vnlesse they be vphild by his power, who hauing all in himselfe, abideth alonely vnchangeable and frée from all passions. As in respect then that things be, they be of God: but as in respect that they corrupt and tend to not being, that which they were afore; that commeth of the said notbeing, whereof they were created. And so they be good, as in respect of their bare being; and euill as in respect that they forgo their formall being, that is to say, their goodnesse: Good on the behalf of ỹ (soueraigne) Good, the Father of al substances: Euill as on the behalfe of the Nothing: And sothly, neither by nature nor by iustice ought they to be made equall with the vnchangeable Béeing of their Creator. And this is to be séene alike in all things. An Apple rotteth, and a man dyeth. The Apple and the man, that is to saye, the natures of them are Gods Creatures. As for the rottennesse and the sicknesse, they be but abatements and defaultes of the good nature that was in either of them from the good Creator. Man againe becommeth a Sinner, and hereunto be néedeth no newe creation. It is a banishing away of the good nature, which loseth her taste. And therefore S. Austine saith, that the Latins terme an euill man Nequam, and an euilnesse Nequitiam, that is to saye, Naughtie and Naughtinesse. Nowe, like as of right nought there néedeth no beginner; so also is there none to be sought of naughtinesse or euill. And by that meanes there remaineth vnto vs but onely one God the beginner and author of all things, as wé haue defined him alreadie afore. Plato, Plotin, and other great Philosophers of all Sects, are of opinion that Euill is not a thing of it selfe, nor can be imagined but in the absence of all goodnes, as a depriuation of the good which ought to be naturally in euery thing: That euil is a kind of notbeing, and hath no abyding but in the good, whereof it is a default or diminishing. That the cause thereof is in the verie matter whereof God created things, which matter they termed the verie vnbeing, that is to saye, in verie troth no being at all, whereof the creatures reteine stil a certeine inclination, wherby they may fal away from their goodnesse: And that in the verie Soule of man, the euil that is there

Nothing being a negatiue causeth nothing which is the priuatiue.

Plato in his Timæus, Plotin, in En. 1. lib. 8. Trismegist. in Asclepio. Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

is a kinde of darknesse, for want of loking vp to that light of the soueraigne minde which should inlighten it; and through suffering it selfe to be carried too much away to the materiall things which are nothing. But now that we haue done with nature, it is good time to see what the wisest men will teach vs concerning the onely one God.

The third Chapter.

That the Wisedome of the worlde hath acknowledged one onely God.

SOme man will say vnto mée, if in ỹ worlde, if in the things conteined in the worlde, if in man himselfe, it be so liuely painted out, that there is but onely one God; whereof then commeth the multitude of Gods among men, yea, and among those whome the worlde counted wisest? I wil not proue héere that all those Gods were either dead men or Diuels: for that shalbe handled more materially in another place. But it shall suffice for this present, to shewe the vniuersalitie of consent in this point, and that euen those which through custome did celebrate the pluralitie of Gods, did yet notwithstanding beléeue that there is but onely one true God: Which thing I will first maintaine by the wise men which liued from age to age. Mercurius Trismegistus, who (if the bookes which are fathered vpon him be his in déede, as in trueth they be verie auncient) is the founder of them all, teacheth euerywhere, that there is but one God: that one is the roote of al things, & that without that one, nothing hath bin of all things that are: That the same one is called the onely good and the goodnes it selfe, which hath vniuersall power of creating all things: That it is vnpossible that there should be many makers: That in heauen he hath planted immortalitie, in earth, interchange, & vniuersally, life & mouing: That vnto him alone belongeth the name of Father & of Good; and that without blasphemie those titles cannot be attributed either to Angels, to Fiends, or to men;

or to any of al those whome men do call Gods as in respect of honor and not of nature. He calleth him father of the world, the Creator, the beginning, the glorie, the nature, the ende, the Necessitie, the renewer of all things, the worker of all powers, and the power of all workes, the onely holy, the onely vnbegotten, the only euerlasting, the Lord of euerlastingnesse, & the euerlastingnesse it selfe; the only one, & by whom there is but only one world: alone, & himself alonly all; nameles, & more excellēt than al names. Vnto him alone will he haue vs to offer vp our prayers, our Praises, & our Sacrifices, & neuer to call vpon any other than him.

I would faine know whether it be possible for vs to say any thing, either more, or better for the setting forth of the saide vnitie: In deede in some places he speaketh of Gods in the plural number, as when he calleth the world a God, and the Heauen with the Planets which rule the Heauen, Gods: but that is after the same manner which he sometimes calleth man himselfe a God, notwithstanding that no man can doubt of his birth and death, which are things cleane contrarie to the true Godhead. The Starres (saith he, speaking of the Creation) were numbred according to the Gods that dwell in them. And in another place he saith, There are two sortes of Gods, the one wandring, and the other fixed. But in the times going before, he had said that God is the beginner of them, That he made them, That he is the Father and onely god, vnto whome nothing is to be compared, either of the things beneath, or the things aboue. Also he saith further, That the world is a second God, and a sensible God: and that Man is a third God, by reason of the immortall Soule which is in him: but yet he calleth the Children, Impes & Creatures of the onely one God, and most commonly Shadowes and Images of him; neither is it his meaning to attribute so much vnto them, as onely one sparke of goodnes, or power to make the least thing that is. To be short, he setteth downe some Gods as principall, some as meane, and othersome as vndergonernours: But the conclusion of his matter is, that the soueraigne dominion belongeth to God the soueraigne Lord of them all, vpon whome alonely they depend, and from whome they proceede, who alonly is called Father and Lorde, and whatsoeuer higher name can be giuen, who made both men and Gods, yea, and men (saith hee) much better and more excellent than all the Gods. And as at the beginning of his worke he had prayed vnto him alone; so thanketh and praiseth he him alone in the ende: which thing I thought good to set out at length, because many Philosophers haue drawne their skill and knowledge out of his fountaine.

Mercurius Trismegistus in his Pœmander. Chap. 3. 8. 10. 11. 12. And in his Asclepius. Cha. 2. 6. 8. 9.

Alledged by Cicero. Plutark, Clemens of Alexandria and Cyrillus.

Pythagoras speaketh of God in these termes: God is but one; not as some thinke, without gouernement of the worlde, but all in all. Hee is the orderer of all Ages, the light of all powers, the Original of all things, the

the Creſſet of Heauen, the Father, Minde, Quickener, and Mouer of all. Moze ouer, he calleth him The infinite power from whence all other powers flowe; which cannot be verified but of him alone. Philolaus a diſciple of his ſaith, That there is but onely one God, the Prince and Guider of all things, who is alwaies ſingular, vnmouable, like himſelfe, and vnlike all other things. Alſo Architas ſaith, that he eſteemeth no man wiſe, but him which reduceth all things vnto one ſelfeſame Originall, that is to wit, vnto God, who is the beginning, end, and middle of all things. And Hierocles one of the ſame Sect, ſaith, that the ſame is hee whome they call by the name of Zena and Dia, the Father and maker of all things, becauſe all things haue their life and being of him. Verily (by the repozt of Eudorus as he is alledged by Simplicius) they called him the founder of matter. And had we the bookes of Numenius, we perceiue well by the things which we reade and heare there, that we ſhould finde them manifeſt and plaine. Now, all theſe had this doctrine both from Nature and from the Schoole of Pherecydes the Syrian the Maiſter of Pythagoras, vnto whome Ariſtotle attributeth it in his Metaphiſicks. Empedocles the ſucceſſoz of Pythagoras, celebzated none other but this onely one, as appeareth by theſe Verſes of his.

Philo the Iew: and Iamblichus of the Sect of Pythagoras.

Hierocles againſt the Atheiſts.

Simplicius in his Phiſ. Numenius concerning the Good. Ariſt. 14. Metaph. Cap. 4.

Ariſtotle alledgeth them in his firſt Philoſophie & in his book of the world.

All things that are, or euer were, or ſhall hereafter bee,
Both man & woman, Beaſt & Bird, Fiſh, Worme, Herb, Graſſe, & Tree,
And euery other thing, yea, euen the auncient Gods each one,
Whom wee ſo highly honor heere, come all of one alone.

Parmenides and Meliſſus taught the ſame; and ſo did their Schoolemaiſter Xenophanes the Colophonian, as we be credibly infozmed by the Verſes of Parmenides rehearſed by Simplicius; in the which Verſes he calleth him the Vnbegotten, the whole, the onely one, not which hath beene or ſhalbe, but which euerlaſtingly is all together and all of himſelfe. To be ſhozt, of the like opinion were Thales, Anaxagoras, Timeus of Locres, Acmon, Euclide, Archœuetus, and others of the auncienteſt Philoſophers. And Ariſtotle witneſſeth in many places, that it was the common Doctrine of the men of olde time; The which Zeno held ſo ſtreightly, that to denie the Vnitie of God, and to denie the Godhead it ſelfe, he thought to be all one. And the cauſe of ſo ſaying among the auncient Philoſophers, was not their onely reading thereof in the wzitings of ſome that went afoze them, (as we might do now;) but alſo their reading thereof both in the wozld and in themſelues. But let vs come to the chiefe Sects of the Philoſophers.

Ariſt. 1. Phiſ. cap. 10. lib. 3. Simplic. li. 1. Phiſ.

Academicks.

Socrates the Schoolemaiſter of Plato, confeſſed onely one GOD, and (as Aulus Gellius and Apuleius repozt) was condemned to dzinke Poyſon, foz teaching that the Gods which were wozſhipped in his time were but vanitie; And foz that in ſcozns of them he was wont to ſweare

by

by an Oke, by a Goate, and by a Dogge, as who would say there was no more Godhead in the one than in the other. Yet notwithstanding, he was the man whome Apollo by his Oracle deemed to be the wisest of all Greece; thereby confessing that he himselfe was no God. His Disciple Plato deliuereth a rule in fewe wordes, whereby to discerne his meaning. When I write in good earnest (saith he) you shall knowe it hereby, that I begin my letters with onely one GOD: and when I write otherwise, I begin them with many Gods. Plato in his 13. Epistle to King Denis.

Verily, his ordinarie manner of speaches were not, If it please the Gods, with the helpe of the Gods, and such like. But if it please God, by the helpe and guiding of GOD, God knoweth it, Such a man is the cause thereof nere vnto God, and such other like. Whereas he affirmeth all other things not to be in verie deede: He calleth God, the Father of the whole Worlde, the Beer, that is to saye, he who onely is or hath being; the selfsame, who also made the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne, the Mone, the tymes and seasons, and all other things both heauenly and earthly, high and lowe, and whatsoeuer els is. In other places he calleth him the Beginning, the Middle, and the Ende; by whome, for whome, and about whome all things are; the Gouernor of all that euer is and shall be; the verie Godnesse, and the Patterne of all godnesse; the King of all wightes indewed with reason and minde; of whome all things haue their Being, and which is of more excellencie than the worde Being. And the names and titles which he giueth vnto the true God, are commonly giuen him vnder the name of Iupiter, and he thinketh that they be not to be communicated vnto any other. In deede sometimes hee suffereth himselfe to be carried away to the common manner of speaking, perhaps for feare of the like ende that his Schoolemaister had, and he doeth it expressely in his booke of Lawes, which was to be published to the people. For there and in diuers other places, he calleth the heauenly *Spirites by the name of Gods: but yet he maketh God speaking to them as to his Creatures, naming them Gods begotten and made by him; and him on the contrarie parte the Father and God of Gods. Also he honoureth Heauen with the same name, because of the substantialnes thereof: and likewise the Starres by reason of the perpetuitie of their course: And it may be that in that respect the Greekes called them *θεοὺς, Gods. Howbeit, he addeth that they be visible Gods, and that the Heauen was made by (the onely one inuisible) God, That it hath none other immortalitie, than such as he hath giuē vnto it, & that he hath placed the Starres in the Skye for the measuring of times, seasons and houres, appointing vnto euery of them his Circuit. As touching men, he sheweth well enough what he beleeued of them, by his declaring of their Genealogie: that is to say, their mortalitie; to wit, that

Plato in Timæus, in his 10. booke of his Common weale, and in his Epistle to Dion, Hermias, and Coricus. *Gr.* θεοὺς τοὺς ὁρατοὺς.

Plato in his booke of Lawes, & in his booke intituled Epinomis.

*We cal them Angels.

*Of the word Thein, which signifieth to Runne.

Plato in his Timœus and Laertius in Platoes life.

that he acknowledged in them some shadow of the Godhead, but that the verie essence or substance thereof was in the onely true God.

All the Platonists haue followed the same doctrine, bringing it so much the more to light, as they themselues haue drawne nearer to our tyme.

Damascius. τὸ ἓν παμφεγγὲς.

Damascius saith; The one bringeth foorth all things; The one ought to be honoured by silence: The one (like the Sunne) is seene dimly a farre off, and the neerer the more dimly, and hard at hande taketh away the sight of all things. Iamblichus surnamed the Diuine, acknowledged euerie where a diuine cause, which is the beginning, ende, and middle of all things: That there is one God the maister of all, at whose hande welfare is to be sought: That the ende of all Contemplation is to aime at one, and to withdrawe from multitude vnto vnitie: And that the same one or vnitie is God, and the Ground of all trueth, happinesse, and substance, yea and of all other Groundes themselues. Yea saith in deede, (and his bookes are so full of it) That there are both Goddes & Feends; and of them he maketh diuers degrees, as, good and bad, high and lowe, and so forth. But yet for all that, yee alwayes acknowledgeth one chiefe, whome he calleth the onely one GOD, which hath beene afore all that is, and is the Fountaine and Roote of all that first vnderstandeth or is first vnderstoode, that is to saye, of all formes, shapes or Patternes (conceiued or conceiuable in minde or imagination,) Suffizing to himselfe, and Father of himselfe; the begetter of the Soules of the other Gods, according to the Patternes conceiued in his owne minde; who is not onely the chiefe Being, but also the superessentiall Being, (that is to say, a Being which farre surmounteth, passeth, and excelleth all Beings:) nor simply Good, but the verie God and Godnesse it selfe: Insomuch that he calleth all the other Goddes Seuered essences, Godnesses derived, and myndes sparkling foorth from the Godhead of the Supersubstantiall God, (that is to saye, of the God whose substance surpasseth and excelleth all manner of substances:) which Gods vnderstande not any thing but by beholding the sayde One, nor are any better than dealers foorth of certaine giftes which they haue from him.

Iamblichus in his booke of the Sect of Pythagoras.

Iamblichus in his booke of Mysteries. Chap. 1. 3. 5. 12. 16. 17. 39.

ὑπερούσιον.

ἑνιαίως καὶ ἑνότητας τὰς ὑπερουσίους θεούς.

And Theodore the Platonist addeth, that all of them pray earnestly to the first, and drawe from him which is of himselfe, & that otherwise they should goe to nought.

Proclus in Platoes Diuinitie.

Proclus, (after the manner of the Platonists, which was for the most parte to be verie Superstitious) turneth himselfe oft tymes aside to many Gods: but yet his resolution is this, in expresse wordes: Who is he (saith he) that is King of all, the onely GOD separated from all, and the producer of all thing out of himselfe, which turneth all endes vnto himselfe, and is the end of endes, the first cause of operations, the author of all that euer is good and beautifull, and the inlightener

ὁ ἑνιαῖος θεός.

of

of all things with his light? If thou beleeue *Plato*, he can neither be vttered nor vnderstood. And anon after: Then is it this first simplicitie which is the King; the Soueraignetie and Supercxcellencie of all things, vncomprehensible, not to be matched with any other thing, vniforme, going beyond all causes, the Creator of the substance of the Gods which hath some forme of goodnes. All things go after him & sticke vnto him: for he produceth and perfecteth all things that are subiect to vnderstanding, like as the Sunne doth to all things that are subiect to sence. To be short, it is the vnvtterable cause which *Plato* teacheth vs vnder two names in his Commonweale, calling it the verie Goodnesse it selfe, and the fountaine of trueth, which vniteth the vnderstanding to the thinges that are vnderstood. And in his Parmenides, The One or Vnitie wherupon all the diuine Vnities are grounded, and which is the originall of all that is, and of all that as yet is not. In his booke of the Soule and of the Spirite, he teacheth vs the way to attaine from many multitudes to this supersubstantiall Vnitie, which he calleth the Nature grounded in eternitie, the life that liueth and quickeneth, the waking vnderstanding, the welspring of all welfare, the infinite both in continuance and in power, and yet not withstanding without quantitie, & so forth. Neuertheless, he attributeth much to Angels and Fends according to Art Magicke, which the Platonists did greatly affect in those dayes: howbeit in such sort, as he continually followeth this rule of his so oft repeated in his bookes, That all things are from the true God who is hidden; and that the second degree of Gods, that is to say the Angels and Fends, are from the verie selfe same: and (to be short) that to beleeue any mo Gods than one, and to beleeue none at all, are both one thing.

Ex Stobæo.

Proclus in his booke of the soule and the spirit, cap. 32. 42. 53.

Many gods saith Proclus, is godlesnesse

Simplicius saith: Whatsoeuer is beautifull, commeth of the first and chiefe beautie: All trueth commeth of Gods trueth: And all beginnings must needes be reduced to one beginning; which must not be a particular beginning as the rest are, but a beginning surpassing all other beginnings, and mounting farre aboue them, and gathering them all into him selfe, yea, and giuing the dignitie of beginning to all beginnings, accordingly as is conuenient for euerie of their natures. Also, The Good (saith he) is the Welspring and Originall of all things. It produceth all things of it selfe, both the first, the middlemost, and the last. The one Goodnesse, bringeth foorth many Goodnesses; The one Vnitie, many Vnities; The one Beginning, many Beginnings. Now, as for Vnitie, Beginning, Good, and God; they be all but one thing. For God is the first cause of all, and all particular Beginnings or Groundes, are fast settled & grounded in him. He is the Cause of Causes, the God of Gods, and the Goodnesse of Goodnesses.

Simplius vpō the Epictetus of Arian.

τὸ ἀγαθὸν

Porphyrius acknowledged the one GOD, who alone is euery where, and

and yet in no one place; who filleth all places, and yet is conteined in no place; by whome all things are, both which are and which are not. This God doth he call the Father, which reigneth in all: and he teacheth vs to sacrifize our Soules vnto him in silence, and with chast thoughts. On the other side, he acknowledgeth the other Gods as his Creatures and Seruants, some visible, and some vnuisible: vnto whome he alloweth a materiall seruice, farre differing from the seruing of the true God.

Porphirius in his 2. booke of Abstinence, & in his booke of Occasions. chap. 21.

As touching Plotin his Schoolemaister, surnamed the Diuine, whom the Oracle of Apollo (as is reported by Porphyrius himselfe) did register in the number of the wise men of this worlde, and in the number of the Gods in the other worlde: He that would alledge the things which hee hath spoken diuinely concerning the vnitie of the one GOD, should be faine to set downe his whole treatises vndiminished. The Summe is, That there is one Beginner of all things, who hath all things and is all things, whose hauing of them is as though he had them not, because his possessing of them is not as of things that were another mans; and his being them is as though he were them not, because he is neither all things, nor any thing among things, but the power of all things. That this Beginner dwelleth in himselfe, is sufficient of himselfe, and of himselfe bringeth forth all maner of Essences, Soules, and liues, as being more than Essence, and all life. That by his Vnitie he produceth multitude, which could be no multitude, vnlesse he abode One. As touching the vndergods, he saith that they neither be nor can be happie of themselues, but onely by the same meane that men can become happie; namely by beholding the light of vnderstanding, which is GOD, through their partaking whereof they abide in blessednesse. Yea, he affirmeth that the Soule of the whole world surmized by the Platonists, is not happie but by that meanes: namely, by beholding the light which created it, like as the Mone shineth not, but by the ouershining of the Sunne vpon her. That was the verie opinion of the Platonists as well old as new, concerning the onely one God, notwithstanding that of all Philosophers, they were most giue to the seruing & seeking out of the bodilesse spirits, whom we call Angels & Deuils, and whome they called Gods & Fiends.

Plotin in his first Enneade lib. 8. Chap. 2. Enneade 6. li. 4. cap. 1, 2, 3, 4. & in the whol 6. booke, & in the 3. Enne: lib. 8.

Porphirius in the life of Plotin.

Augustin: de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 10. cap. 2.

Now let vs come to the Peripatetickes, and begin at Aristotle, Platoes Disciple, who notwithstanding was vnreligious in many places, in not yeelding vnto God his due glorie, after the maner of these superstitious folke, who are ouerliberal in bestowing it vpon others: and yet euen in him shall we finde this selfesame trueth. Aristotle leadeth vs by manye mouings, vnto one first mouer, whome he declareth to be infinite, without beginning and without end. From thence a man may step further: for that which is infinite can be but one, because (as I haue said afore) the infinitenes of one restreineth the power of all others. Afterward he

The Peripatetickes.

Aristotle in his Metaphysics, & in the first booke of his Naturall Philosophie.

&c.

defineth

defineth him to be liuing, immortall, and euerlasting. And againe, (he nameth him) the onely possessor of wisedome, the Beginner of all causes, and such like: None of all which things can be attributed to anye no than onely one. Yet notwithstanding he setteth certeine Godheads in the Heauen, in the starres, and in the Sunne and Moone; vnto which Godheads he allotteth the gouernement of those things, & termeth them heauenly Mindes, First substances, vnchaungeable & vnpassible, which (in his opinion) cannot ware olde, because they be aboue the first Mouable, and consequently aboue time. Yea, and Common custome, with the force of Loue caried him so farre, as to set vp Images vnto Iuno & Iupiter, vnder the name of Sauiours, for the life of Nicanor, and to do Sacrifice to a woman whome he loued, as the Athenians did vnto Ceres.

Aristotle in his booke of Heauen.

But yet in his Abridgement of Philosophie, which he dedicated in his olde age vnto Alexander, his finall doctrine is this. This world (saith he) wherein all things are orderly disposed, is mainteined by God: and the highest thing that is in it, is that it is Gods dwelling place. No nature is sufficient of it selfe to indure, if it be not assisted by his tuition. He is the Father of Gods and Men, the breeder and Maintainer of all the things whereof this worlde is composed: and yet for all that, he entreth not into them, but his power and prouidence ouersitting them from aboue, attaine vnto all things, moue the Heauen the Sunne & the Moone, Preserue the things on earth, and make all and euerie thing to do according to their nature. Hee likeneth him to the great King of Persia, who from out of his priuie Chamber gouerned his whole Empire by his power and officers: saying (saith he) that the one is God infinite in power, and the other a verie base and feable wight. He saith moreouer, that all the names which are attributed to the Gods, are but deuices to expresse the powers of the onely one GOD the Prince and Father of all. And therefore it is more behoofefull to send the Readers to the reading of that whole treatise of his throughout, than to set in any more thereof here, because they shall there see a wonderfull eloquence matched with this goodly diuinitie.

Aristotle in his booke of the world, which Iustine the Martir affirmeth to haue bin named his Abridgement of Philosophy πάντων.

Theophrastus in his Metaphisiks.

That which the first and most diuine (saith his disciple Theophrastus) will haue all things to be exceeding good: and it may be also, that he is aboue the reache of all knowledge and vnsearchable. Againe, There is (saith he) One diuine beginner of all things, whereby they haue their being and continuance. But in his booke of Sauors he passeth further, and saith that God created all things of nothing. But to create of nothing, presupposeth an infinite power: and againe, that power presupposeth an vnitie.

Theophrastus in his booke of Sauours.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence, and Cyrill against Iulian the Apostata.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence writen to the Emperour Antonie, attributeth Prouidence ouer all things vnto one only God,

God, which can do whatsoeuer he listeth, as appeareth by all his whole discourse. And he was of such renowne among all the Aristotelians, that they called themselues Alexandrians after his name. To be short, the most part of Interpreters and Disciples of Aristotle, found it so néedfull to acknowledge one onely Beginner, and so absurd to maintaine any mo than one; that to the intent they might not confesse any such absurditie in their Maister, they do by all meanes possible excuse whatsoeuer might in his workes be construed to the contrarie.

The Stoiks

As touching the Stoiks of auncientest time, we haue no more than is gathered into the writings of their aduersaries; who do al attribute vnto them (the maintenance of) the vnitie and infinitenesse of God, according to this which Aristotle reporteth of Zeno; namely that there must néedes be but one God, for els there should be no God at all, because it behoueth him to be singularly good and also almightie, which were vtterly vnpossible, if there were any mo than one.

Also Simplicius reporteth of Cleanthes, that in his Iambick verses he praied God to vouchsafe to guide him by his cause, which guideth all things in order, the which cause he calleth Destinie, and the cause of causes. But the two chiefe among them, whose doctrine they haue in writing, will easily make vs to credit all the residue.

Epictetus in Arrianus.

Epictetus the Stoik (whose words Proclus, Simplicius, and euen Lucian himselfe held for Oracles;) speaketh of onely one God. The first thing (saith he) that is to be learned, is, that there is but one God, and that he prouideth for all things, and that from him neither deede nor thought can be hidden. He teacheth vs to resort vnto him in our distresses, to acknowledge him for our Maister and Father, to lift vp our eyes vnto him alone, if we wil get out of the Quamyre of our sinnes, to séeke our felicitie there, and to call vpon him in all things both great & small. Of all the Goddes that were in time past, he speaketh not a worde: but surely he saith, that if we call vpon the onely one God, he will informe vs of all things by his Angels.

Seneca euery where.

As for Seneca, he neuer speaketh otherwise. What doth God (saith he) to such as behold him? He causeth his workes not to be without witnesse. And againe, To serue God (saith he) is to Reigne. God exerciseth vs with afflictions to trie mans nature: and he requireth no more but that wée should pray to him. Seneca in his Booke of the happie life, & in his Treatise of Constance

These ordinary spéeches of his, shewe that he thought there was but one God. But he proceedeth yet further. From things discouered, (saith he) we must proceed to things vndiscouered, and séeke out him that is auncienter than the world, of whom the Starres proceede. And in the ende he concludeth, that the worlde and all that is contained therein, is the worke of God. Also he calleth him the Founder, Maker, and Creator of the worlde, and the Spirite which is shed

forth

forth vpon all things both great and small. And in his Questions: It is hee (saith he) whom the Hetruscanes or Tuscanes meane by the names of Iupiter, Gardian, Gouernor, and Lord of the whole world. If thou call him Destinie, thou shalt not deceyue thy selfe, for all things depend vpon him, and from him comes the causes of all causes. If thou call him Prouidence, thou sayest well; for by his direction doth the World holde on his course without swaruing, and vtter foorth his Actions. If thou call him Nature, thou dost not amisse: for he it is of whom all things are bred, and by whose Spirit we liue. To be short, wilt thou call him the World? In verie deede he is the whole which thou seest, and he is in all the parts thereof. By this sentence we may also shewe, that by the terme Nature the Philosophers ment none other than God himselfe, according as Seneca saith in an other place, that God and Nature are both one, like as Annœus and Seneca be both one man. And whereas hee saith that God may be called the World: it is all one with that which he saith in another place: namely, God is whatsoeuer thou seest, and whatsoeuer thou seest not: That is to say, whereas thou canst not see him in his proper being, thou sest him in his workes. For in other places also he defineth him to be a Minde and Wisedome without bodie, which cannot be seene but in vnderstanding. Nowe, of all the former things by him repeated in manie places, none can be verified of anie moe than one. For hee that maketh all, gouerneth all, and is all, leaueth nothing for anie other to make, gouerne, or be, otherwise than from himselfe. But hee speaketh yet more expresely, saying: Thou considerest not the authoritie and Maiestie of thy Iudge, the Gouernor of the Worlde, the God of Heauen and of all Gods. All the Godheades which wee worship euerie man by himselfe, depend wholly vpon him. And agiane, When hee had layd the foundations of this goodly Masse, although he had spred out his power throughout the bodie thereof: yet notwithstanding hee made Gods to bee officers of his kingdome, to the end that euerie thing should haue his guide. Nowe, this is after the same manner that the holie Scripture speaketh of the Angels. So then, he is not onely God the excellentest of all Gods, but also their verie Father, Author, and Maker.

Seneca In his naturall Questions, and in his bookes of Benefiting.

Aristotle calleth him τὸ πᾶν, that is to say, Al the whole.

Seneca in his booke of sodeine death, & in his exhortatiõs aledged by Lactantius lib. 1. cap. 5.

Let vs yet further adde Cicero and Plutarch, who haue of enery Sect taken what they thought good. Both of them speake ordinarilie but of one God, the Author and gouerner of all things, vnto whom they attribute all things, and in that ordinarie style is their worde Nature, which surmounteth the custome of their time: but yet doth their doctrine expresse much more heere. Cicero treating of this matter in his booke intituled Of the nature of the Gods, acknowledgeth one soueraigne God, whom hee calleth the God of Gods, and that is the difference which he maketh. The Nature of the Gods (saith hee) is neyther mightie nor

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the Gods.

excellent; for it is subiect to the selfe same (bee it Nature or Necessitie) which ruleth the Heauen, the Earth, and the Sea. But there is not anie thing so excellent as God, who ruleth the World, and is not subiect to Nature, but commaundeth Nature it selfe. And hee is full of the like sentences.

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis & Osyris. of Oracles that are ceassed: Of calmenesse of Mynd: Against ignorant Princes: Of Platonical Questions: Against the Stoiks: Against Epicures: What is ment by this Greke word εἰ.

As for Plutarke, he suffereth himselfe to raunge ouerofte into fables; but yet in good earnest he speaketh thus. Let vs not worship the Elements, the Heauen, the Sunne, the Moone, and so forth: for they be but Lookingglasses for vs, wherein to consider the cunning of him that ordeyned all things; and all the World is but his Temple. Agayne: Wherefore doth Plato call God, the Father and Maker of all? Hee calleth him the Father of the begotten Gods, and of men, like as Homer also doth: but he calleth him the Creator of the things that haue no life nor Reason. And therefore (sayth hee in an other place) he made the World as a Common house both to Men and Gods. Yea, (sayth he further) Although there were manie moe such Worldes as this is; yet notwithstanding the one onely God should gouerne them all. Now this true God, whom he calleth the great God, the great Workemaister, the Sea of Beautie, the Ground of all good things, and the true Being, of whome alone it can be said: Thou art, and not thou hast bene or shalt be; is hee whom he meaneth by the name of Iupiter, saying: That of the Gods, one is called Liberall, another Gentle, and the third the Dryuer away of euill; but the great *Iupiter* is in Heauen, who hath care vniuersally of al things. Thus ye see then how all the Philosophers of all Sects, and of all Nations haue agreed in one God: which is the thing that the learned Varro noted verie well; namely, that although the Teachers of the Heathen named many Gods and Goddesses: yet notwithstanding they comprehended them all vnder one, which was Iupiter, of whom the residue were but powers and functions: And this Iupiter is he whom such folke worshipped vnder another name, as worshipped the onely one God without Images; and he saith that so God ought to be worshipped. And to that purpose alleadgeth he these verses of the right learned Poet Valerius Soranus.

Varro, as he is alledged by S. Austin in the Citie of God lib. 4. cap. 9. 11 & lib. 7. cap. 5 9. 23.

The Ioue almightie is the King of Kings and God of Gods,
One God, and all, the Father both and Mother of the Gods.

Poets.

Iustin in his booke of Monarchie. Iustin to the Gentyles. Athenagoras

But now is the time to come to the auncient Poets, which were also Philosophers, and who by their feynings opened the gap to the pluralitie of Gods. Among these the first that we meete with is Orpheus, whome Iustine calleth the first Author of them, the first giuer of names vnto the, and the first blazer of their Pedegrees. But yet their is a Recantation of his in his Hymne vnto Musæus, which is called his Testament, that is to say, his last doctrine, whereunto he woulde haue men to sticke. Lift

vp

vp thine eyes (sayth he) to the onely maker of the World; He is but one bred of himselfe: and of that one are all things. He is all in all; he seeth al and is seene of none. He onely giueth both welfare and wofull teares and warre. He sitteth in Heauen gouerning all things; with his feete hee toucheth the Earth, and with his right hand the vtmost shores of the Sea. He maketh the Mountaynes, Riuers and deepe Sea to quake, & so forth. And in another place he calleth him the Firstborne, the Great, the Apparant, who hath created an incorruptible house for them that are immortall. Also vnder the name of Zeus or Iupiter, he saith of him as followeth.

in his Treatise concerning the Resurrection. The Recantation of Orpheus who is called the Author of the pluralitie of Gods. Clemens in his Protreptik to the Gentiles.

Looke vpto that same only King, which did the world create.
Who being only one, selfebred, all other things begate.
And being with them all, vnseene of any mortall wight,
Beholdeth all things, giuing Man now Wealth and hearts delight,
Now wofulll warre: For sure there is none other King but hee.
I see him not, because the Clowdes a couert to him bee.
And in the eye of of mortall man there is but mortall sight,
Too weake to see the lightfull Ioue that ruleth all with right.
For sitting in the brazen Heauen aloft in Throne of Golde,
Hee makes the earth his footestoole, and with either hand doth holde
The outmost of the Ocean waues: and at his presens quake
Both Mountaynes huge, and hideous Seas, and eke the Stygian Lake.

And anon after agayne.

The endlesse Skie and stately Heauens, and all things else beside,
Did once within the Thundering Ioue closse hoorded vp abide.
The blessed Gods and Goddesses whose beeing is for aye,
And all things past or yet to come within Ioues bowels lay.
From Ioues wide wombe did all things come; Ioue is both first and last;
Beginning, Middes, and Ende is Ioue; From Ioue are all things past.
Ioue layde foundation of the Earth, and of the starrie Skie.
Ioue reigneth King; The selfesame Ioue of all things farre and nie
The Father and the Author is. One power, one God is hee,
Alonely Great, one Lord of all. This royall Masse which wee
Behelde, and all things that are conteyned in the same,
As Fire and water, Earth and Ayre, and Titans golden flame
That shines by Day, and droopie Night, and euerie other things
Are placed in the goodly House of Ioue the heauenly King.

Phocilides followeth him in these wordes. There is but onely one God, mightie, wise and happie. And agayne, Honour the onely God: Also, All of them are mortall men, GOD reigneth ouer their soules. And Theognis (who is of the same tyme) speaketh not any otherwise. Homer (whom Pythagoras reporteth to be punished in Hell for making

Phocylides. Theognis. Homer.

Fables of the Gods) cannot make a notabler difference betweene the true GOD and al the rest of the Gods whom men worshipped in this time: than when he saith, That if they were all hanged at a Cheyne beneath, he would pull them vp spite of their teeth: and also that he maketh them all to quake vnder him: and ỹ whensoeuer there is any greater deede talked of, he speaketh alwaies but of one God in the singular nomber. Also Hesiodus who described the pedegrées of the Gods, sheweth his beleefe sufficiently in this onely one verse written to his brother.

Hesiodus.

Both Goddes and Mortall Men from one selfe race descend.

That is to say, All the Gods are created by the onely one God. Likewise Sophocles saith thus.

Sophocles in Cyrillus against Iulian the Apostata.

Certesse of Goddes there is no mo but one,
Who made the Heauens, and eeke the earth so round
The dreadfull Sea which cleaps the same about,
And blustring Winde which rayze the Waues aloft.
But we fond men through folly gon astray,
Euen to the hurt and damning of our soules,
Haue set vp Idols made of Wood and Stone,
Thinking like fooles, by meanes of honoring them,
To giue full well to God his honor due.

Euripides Cleomeus in his

Euripides goeth yet further, saing.

Thou Neptune, *and thou* Iupiter, *and all,*
You other Goddes, so wicked are you all,
That if due Iustice vnto you were doone,
Both Heauen and Temples should be emptie soone.

And yet in defacing the false Goddes, hée ceaseth not to commend the onely true God in many places.

Aratus. Iouis genus sumus.

Aratus in the same place which is alledged by S. Paule, attributeth all to one Iupitur, whom hee would haue to be honored without ceasling.

Ouid.

As touching the Latins, Ouid in his Metamorphosis attributeth the Creation of the World, and of all things therein vnto the onely one God.

Virgil in his fourth booke of Husbandry & euerywhere else.

And Virgill doth ordinarily call him the King of Goddes and Men, and he describeth hym sheding forth his power to the vttermost coastes of Heauen and Earth, and with his vertue quickening the world, and all that is therein.

Scæuola, as he is alledged by S. Austyn in the Citie of God lib. 3. Cap. 27.

But forasmuch as Scæuola the Highpriest of the Romaines distinguished the Gods of old tyme into three sortes, that is to wit, Philosophical, Poeticall, and Ciuill, and wee haue seene how the Philosophers and Poets, (notwithstanding their owne Mythologies and fables, and the infinit superstitions of their tymes,) doe méete one another in the onely one GOD: let vs see consequently what the Ciuill sort will say vnto vs,

that

that is to say, what hath bin beléeued, not onely by the learned sort of all Nations, but also by the very Nations themselues. Sothly so incredible hath the vanitie of men bin sence their turning aside from the true way, that al Nations haue let them selues runne loose after such absurdities as we would not beleue, if we saw not the like stil at this day. Some worshipped the Heauen, the Planets, and the Starrs like silly soules which at their first coming into a Kings Court, doe thinke that the first gay aparelled man whome they méete withis the King. Some made Gods of the Gwdes which God gaue them. Some worshipped the Beastes which were for there benefit. And finally they made Goddes, not onely of themselues, but also of there Speares, Shields and Swords, and buylded Temples to their owne Passions, as vnto fearfulnes, Hardines & such others, yea and euen vnto things so filthy and lothsome, as a man may be ashamed & abashed to haue spoken off. Neuertheless, the customable vse of such things made folk to haue no regard of them, & the most spiritual sort of them were so possessed with Ambition, that it filled al theire myndes to the full. Yet notwithstanding, when they were once awaked, and fell a little to the bethinking themselues as of a thing in very déede against Nature, they were ashamed of their doings, yea and euen of themselues. The consent of People.

Why Sir, (answered they to Saint Austin? Thinke you that our forefathers were so foolish and blinde, as to beleeue that *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Pan*, & such others were Goddes? It is not possible. Nay, they beleued but in the onely one God, whose giftes and functions they honored vnder diuers names, and whatsoeuer is more, is but Superstitió. Truely the Egiptians (as we reade) did honour Deuils, Men, Beasts, Serpents, and Plants: and to be short, euery thing was to them a G O D. But as touching the true God, they described him in their holy Carects as a Pilot alone gouerning a ship. And all their deuinitie (as is to be séene in Iamblichus,) was referred vnto onely one God. Insomuch that the people of Thebais in Egipt, reiected all the said absurdities of many Goddes, saying that there was none other God but onely he whome they called Cnef, which was neuer borne, nor could euer dye, that is to say the Euerlasting. Also in Say a Citie of Egipt, the Image of Pallas, that is to say of Wisdome, had his Inscription: I am al that hath bin, is, or euer shalbe, and there was neuer yet any mortal man that vncouered my face. And Proclus addeth thereto, And the fruites that I haue brought forth is the Sonne, as who would say, It is the Wisedome whereby God worketh, which is the Goddesse worker. Now if euen among the Egiptians the opinion of the one onely God was not quenched: much more reason haue we to déeme, that it was not quenched among other nations. In the Citie of God. lib. 4. cap. 24. Iamblichus cócerning the Mysteries of the Egiptians cap. 37. 39. Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

In the Lawes of the twelue Tables were written these words: Let Men come to the Godes chastly. Let Pompe bee remoued away:

Cicero in his second booke of Lawes. Deos adcunto caſtè: opes amouento: ſi ſecus faxint, Deus ipſe vindexerit: that is Goe to God chaſtly: remoue away riches: if any do otherwiſe God himſelfe will puniſh him.

If they doe otherwiſe, God himſelfe (that is to ſay, Iupiter whome onely they called the moſt gracious and moſt mightie) will reuenge it. Yet notwithſtanding, it is certeyne that afterward Rome became the very ſinckpan of all Idolatries of the worlde: for in winning of Nations, they wan alſo there ſuperſtitions. But could all this wype out in them the print of Nature? Nay, contrariwiſe, Tertullian ſpeaking of the heathen of his tyme, ſaith thus: As wholly as their Soules are brought in bondage to falſe Goddes, yet when they awake as a dronken man out of his ſleepe, they name but one God, and the ſpeech of euery man is, as it pleaſeth God. They call vpon him as their Iudge, ſaying, God ſeeth it, I referre my ſelfe to God, God requite it me. O record of a Soule by nature Chriſtian. To beſhort, in vttering thoſe wordes, they looke vp to Heauen, and not to the Capitoll: for they know that Heauen is the Seat of the liuing god. Lactantius who came a good while after, ſaith the like. When they ſweare, (ſaith he) whē they wiſh, when they giue thanks, they name neither Iupiter, nor Gods in the plurall number, but the onely one God: ſo greatly doth Nature conſtraine them to acknowledge the trueth. If there come an Alarum, or if they be threatned with warre, they doe after the ſame manner: But as ſoone as the daunger is paſt, by and by they runne to the Temples of many Gods, whereas notwithſtanding they called but the one God to their ſuccour. And in verie trueth, if we conſider the natural motions which we haue in our afflictions; they part not our harts into diuers prayers at once, but do put vs in minde of onely one God, and to offer our prayers vp vnto him.

Tertullian in his Defence. Lactantius lib. 2. cap. 1.

Nowe, forasmuch as Nature, Pans wiſedome, and the voyce of all people, doe in all Languages commend, worſhip, and confeſſe one onely God. It remayneth ſo, vs to ſée whether wee may not gather the like, euen by the verie confeſſion of the falſe Goddes themſelues, which haue gone about to deface his name by all meanes. It is a caſe diſputed among the learned, by what Spirit the Sybilles ſpake, becauſe it is not vncontenient ỹ God ſhould compell the very deuils to ſet forth his praiſes. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, they ſpeake but of onely one God, ſaying.

Lactantius lib. 1. Chap. 6. Iuſtine in his Apologie. The Oracles of the Sibylles.

There is but onely one true God, right great, and euerlaſting,
Almightie, and inuiſible, which ſeeth euery thing,
But cannot bee beheld himſelfe of any fleſhly man.

Alſo they cry out againſt the falſe Goddes, and exhorte men to beate downe their Altars, accounting them happie which giue themſelues to the glorifying of the onely one God. But let vs heare Apollo himſelfe. Being aſked at Colophon by one Theophilus whether there was a God or no, and what he is: He anſwered in 21. Greeke verſes rehearſed by Lactantius, whereof I will hold me contented with the latter three, which are to be engliſhed thus.

Lactan. lib. 1. cap. 6.

The

The selfebred, bred without the helpe of Moother,
Wise of himselfe, whose name no wight can tell,
Doth dwell in fyre beyond all reach of thought:
Of whome we Angelles are the smalleſt part.

The reſt of theſe Verſes commend and ſet forth the Maieſtie of the great God, but theſe ſuffice to this matter. Here the Fiend doth what he can to magnifie himſelfe, ſaying that he is an Angell and a little portion of God, but yet he acknowledgeth him as his Soueraigne. Porphyrius the great enemie of Chriſtians, rehearſeth many other like. The ſame Apollo being aſked how God was to be worſhipped, anſwered in 22. Verſes, calling him the euerlaſting Father, the Walker vpon the Heauen of Heauens, the Faſhioner or framer of ſubſtances, the father of all things, the father of all wights both mortall and immortall. And on the other ſide he calleth all others his Children, his Seruants, his Meſſengers, and the Heraults or blazers abroad of his prayſes. In another anſwere compriſed in ten Verſes, he calleth him the burning Flame, the Welſpring and Originall of all things, the author of life, and ſo forth, and afterward he concludeth, Porphyrius in his tenth book of the prayſes of Philoſophy.

I am but Phœbus, more of mee ye get not at my hand,
It is as little in my mynd as I can vnderſtand.

Being aſked at another time by the * Founder of Conſtantinople, whether he ſhould reſiſt an enemie of his or no, he anſwered thus: * Pauſanias.

Apollo is not of that mynd, beware
How thou doeſt deale, he is to ſtrong for thee.
For God it is that makes him vndertake
This enterpriſe, and doth the ſame maynteyne,
Euen God I tell thee vnder whom both Heauen
And Earth and Sea and euery thing therein,
And Phœbus eke and Hell it ſelfe doth quake.

Proclus ſayth, that the Oracles acknowledged the great God the Welſpring of the fountaine of all things. And for an example he alledgeth this Oracle of fower Verſes; From God ſpringeth the generation of all matter; from the ſame ground riſeth the fineneſſe of the fire, and the Globes of the World, and whatſoeuer els is bred, and ſo foorth. That is the anſwere of Apollo the God ſo greatly renowmed among the Heathen, when he was aſked what God was. And being vrged to tell what hee himſelfe was, and howe he would be called, he ſaid: Proclus vpon Timæus.

Call me the Feend that knoweth all, and is right ſage and wiſe.

And at another tyme he ſayth thus.

Wee Feends which haunt both Sea and Land through all the world ſo wide,
Do tremble at the whip of God which all the world doth guide.

Theſe aforeſayd Oracles are reported by Porphyrius, Proclus, and

other Heathen men, whereof some be rehearsed also by Lactantius: which may suffize to shew how the very Deuils doe beleeue one God, and quake at him. But I hope I shalbe pardoned for handeling this matter a little at the largest, because the consent of all men in that behalfe which I haue already proued is contrary to the opinion of many men. And therefore ye see here how the World, Men, and the Deuils themselues crye out with the holy Scripture, Hearken O Israell, the Lord thy God is but one God the God of Gods, who onely worketh wonders, and hath not his like among the Gods. And that is the thing which I haue gone about to proue in these last two Chapters.

Deuter. 6. Psalme. 85.

The fourth Chapter.

What it is that we can comprehend concerning God.

NOw, albeit that the least things which are in Nature and in our selues, doe sufficiently shewe vs that there is but one God: Yet notwithstanding all Nature is not able to teach vs what God is, neither is man in nature able to comprehend any thing of him: and the reason therof is euident in both twayne. In Man, because the greater can neuer be comprehended by the lesser, neither can Man haue any thing in vnderstanding, which hath not first bene in his sences, as from whence proceedeth vnto him the beginning of al natural knowledg: & he neither seeth nor perceiueth God in himselfe, but onely by his effects. In Nature, because it is a thing wrought by GOD, and no worke or effect how great so euer it be, can perfectly expresse the cause or worker thereof. Man is able to discourse after a sort, of the things that are lesse than himselfe, as of Beasts, Plants, and Stones. And yet if he will enter into their substances, he must néds stop short, & is constreyned to stay vpon the histories of thē, confessing his knowledge to be but ignorance. If he come to himself, to know his owne Soule by the power of his Soule, by & by he is at his wits end: For the maner of his discourse is but to proceed from kind to kind, & to passe frō one reason to another. But one the contrary part, his mind seeth not it self, but only turneth

Man cannot comprehend God.

turneth into it self, leauing not any thing empty without it selfe whereunto to extend, no more than a Circle doth. And yet notwithstanding, euery thing is equall to it selfe, and measurable by it selfe. What shall we then thinke that Man can doe, if he aduance himselfe to the considering of Gods nature, seeing that the least Creatures that are doe put him to his trumpe? That is the very thing which hath made the ignorant sort to ouershot themselues so far, as to counterfaite God by a shape like themselues: which thing the very Beasts (saith Xenophanes) would haue done if they had bin Paynters, as which cannot ordinarily conceyue any greater thing than themselues. We see then how Man is of himself too farre vnable to conceyue such a Greatnesse. Againe, if we consider the effects, a man planteth, buyldeth, paynteth, and weaueth a thousand diuers workes: and we thinke it not straunge that the bruite Beastes conceiue not thereby what Man is, howbeit that there is alwaies some proportion of vnderstanding betwene Creature and Creature, but betwene the Creature and the Creator there is none at all. May, there is yet this more, that a man shall see and feele the workes of another man, & he shall knowe from whence he taketh his stuffe, after what maner he matcheth things together, and what Arte he hath obserued: But shall he for al that know what the Soule or Mynd of that man is? No, nor yet his owne Soule. For his doings come nothing neere to that which he is, no not so neere as the heat which the sunne sheadeth into vs from aboue, approcheth neere to the naturall power that is in the Sunne, the which notwithstanding wee durst not take vpon vs to describe, if we had neuer felt it otherwise than in a Prison. But if thou couldest haue entered into the mynde of that man at the making of his worke, thou shouldest haue seene it farre more beautifull there: and all that euer he could doe or thou say, is alwayes farre lesse than his Concept, and yet the same Concept of his is but as a sparke of the mynd, whereof the same worke is a part. Now then, if thou being a man, canst not conceiue the mynde of a man by his doings, though thou beare the like mynd about thee thy self, and if his doings (of what sort so euer they be) come farre short of that which he himselfe is: darest thou be so bold as to describe God by his workes what he is, and to dispute of his substance? And if thou canst not conceiue him by his workes, how wilt thou then conceiue him, seeing thou canst not behold him otherwise? To this purpose we haue the common History of Simonides, who being asked by Hiero King of Syracuse what God is demaunded one daies respit to giue answere, and afterward two, and then fower, and in the end confessed that the more he thought thereon, the lesse he vnderstood thereof, and yet he was the man which taught verie well, that God was the very wisdome it selfe. Xenophon, Plato, Plotin and others say that he is a thing which cannot be found, nor ought to be:

Cicero in his booke of the Nature of the Gods.

Plotinus Enn: 6. lib. 8. cap. 11.

Galen in his 9 booke vpon the Decrees of Hippocrates.

Although it apeare by certeine demonstration, that it is a diuine workmaister that hath procreated vs: yet can we not by any wit or reason conceyue, neither what his substance is nor how he made vs. For we must consider that it is a farre other thing, to shew that a certeyn Prouidence made vs: than to knowe the substance, eyther of our owne Soule, or of him that made vs.

be ſought. To be ſhort, all the Philoſophers cry in one voyce with Dauid, * Lord, thou haſt made darkeneſſe thy couert, Lord I am wearied euen in thyne outter Courtes. Yet notwithſtanding, wheras men are not able to atteyne to Gods ſubſtance, they haue gone about to betoken it by the excellenteſt names that they could deuiſe, as we haue ſeene in the laſt Chapter. They conſidered that for as much as all things haue their beeing from him, he himſelf was the ſouereigne Beeing, and that to be ſo, it behoued him to bee euer, and therefore they called him the Euerlaſting. And that to haue beeing without life, is no thing: and that hee which giueth life to all, muſt needes bee all life: and therefore they call him the liuing God. And againe, that life without vnderſtanding is dead, and vnderſtanding without power is vnperfect, and that he which giueth both of them to all, muſt needs haue them in himſelfe for all: & therefore they call him Mind and Might, attributing vnto him the perfect knowledge and infinite power of all things. Finally, forasmuch as to Bee, to Liue to Vnderſtand, and to be mightie, the higher that they be, are ſo much the leſſe to be eſteemed, if good alſo abound not one al parts: becauſe men one the other ſide receiue ſo many good turnes at his hand, they call him Good, exceeding good, and the goodneſſe it ſelfe aſſuring themſelues that no other name doth ſo peculiarly fit him as that. Yet notwithſtanding neither that, nor any thing elſe that we can imagine more, can come neere him by infinite diſtance. Let vs attribute vnto him the higheſt degree of all perfections that can be, (as in very deede he muſt needes haue them at the higheſt pitch, ſeeing that there is not any that hath meaſured them vnto him:) yet doe we attribute vnto him but imperfection. For if any of them be finite, then is he not infinite, as we ought to conceiue him to be: and infinite it cannot be, becauſe the one of them ſhould by the infiniteneſſe thereof ſhut vp the other within bounds. Therefore it behoueth vs to conceiue a moſt ſingle ſingleneſſe, which neuertheleſſe in one perfection comprehendeth al perfections, as the rote of them, which ſemeth a thing contrarie to mans vnderſtanding: that is to wit, that his Prouidence is no more Prouidence than Juſtice, nor his Juſtice more Juſtice thã mercie, nor his knowledge more knowledge than life, nor his life more life than ſingle beeing: To be ſhort, that his beeing is ſuch a beeing as is wholly and alonely all, I meane altogether deed, altogether forme, altogether perfection and ſo forth. And that is the thing which God himſelfe teacheth vs, in that being aſked his name by Moyſes, hee anſwered him I am that I am: which name the Iewes had in ſuch reuerence, that the very Prieſtes themſelues (as they ſay) named it not but at the great Feaſtes. And yet in the iudgement of Plotin, that name is not ſufficient for him. Alſo we call him the good, and yet is that too little for him, for God is the good of goodneſſe, as heat is the heat of hotnes. But God is the goodnes

* *Poſuit tenebras latibulum ſuum, Defeci in atrijs mis Domine.*

τὸν αἴτιον ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν. νοῦς, ἐπιστήμας, ἐντελεχείας. τὸ ἀγαθόν.

Mercurius Triſmegiſtus in his Pœmander. cap. 2. & 6.

Ehjeh aſher ehjeh.

Plotin. Ennead. 7. lib. 7. cap. 38.

goodnes it selfe, and whatsoeuer is good, is of him. Yet notwithstanding, the very word Goodnes is not sufficient, for goodnes hath his being in some substance. But in God there cannot any thing be conceiued, which is not substantially, yea and more than substantially substance. Againe, when we say, he seeth, he knoweth, he vnderstandeth, these things haue relation to tyme, and he that made time is without the reach of time. Also when we say, he is here, or hee is there, it is all one, for he that made all places is not conteined in any place. And therefore Trismegistus saith very wel, That he is mightier then any name can expresse. And Salomon cryeth out with admiration, what is his name? As who would say, man is not able to vtter and conceiue any word that doth properly fit him, neither in Nownes nor in Verbes nor in complet speech, because man is an essence subiect to time place and accidents, which cannot passe beyond it selfe. Now then, what is the vttermost poynt that all our fine conceites can reach vnto? Verely the most in effect that we can knowe concerning his being, is that we can vnderstand nothing at all thereof. Insomuch that whatsoeuer we say thereof affirmatiuely, whether we terme it Sothnesse or Wisdome, or Kingdom or Vnitie, or Godhead, or any thing els which we meane thereby, it cannot fit him. Finally, we can no more name him than comprehend him, how high so euer we thinke we mount vp. And therefore we must with Trismegistus call vpon him in silence, and say vnto him with Dauid, Lord, the best prayse that I can giue vnto thee is silence.

Mercurius in his Pœmãder

Prouer. 30. v. 4.

Σιωπῆσαι ὁ σύμπας νοῦς fayth Porph. ἀνωτέρω πρώτων τούτων, οὐ περὶ τὰ θεῖα. in præpositionibus. Dennis in his booke of the names of God. σοὶ σιγὴ φωνῆς ἄμεινον. Tibi silentium laus.

Now seeing we cannot knowe what God is, but by not knowing it, it standeth vs in hand to know what he is not, which is no small helpe for vs to know him after a sort. Wherein we must follow a cleane contrarie rule. For as we haue said, that of all the things that are spoken and affirmed of Gods essence or substance, none fitteth him, being taken strictly: so whatsoeuer is spoken thereof negatiuely, shalbe found true, being taken after the same maner: Insomuch that that man may bee said to bee most skilfull in that behalfe, which knoweth most Negatiues or Remotions (as they terme them.) To make this point more clearer, nature hath taught vs by the diuers mouings which we see here beneath, that there is a God which is the first mouer of the whole world. And by the same reason, we say that he himselfe is vnmouable, that is to say, remoueth not at all. For we se that the nature of him which moueth, insomuch as he moueth, is to be and to be seteld in rest. Euen our Soule (as in respect of the body) is vnmouable, notwithstanding that it cause and procure al the mouings of the body: and the no things that a man intendeth to moue, the more it behoueth him to haue his mind setled. For asmuch as God is euermore doing, he is euer at rest, and he hath not his resting in another but in him selfe, or rather is his owne rest himselfe. And

VVhat God is not.

Vnmoueable.

therefore

therefore the auncient Philosophers called him τὸ ἀκίνητον, τὸ ἀτρεμὲς, That is to say, the vnmoueable & stedfast, to put a difference betweene him and the heauen, the Planetes, and the Starres, which are subiect to mouing, and whome the ignorance of folke hath called Goddes. Hereupon wee say also that hee is vnchaungeable: for the chaunge of a thing in it selfe, as a kinde of mouing which tendeth out of it selfe. As for example, He that desireth or coueteth, desireth or coueteth the thing which he hath not. But God is one, & altogither; neither is it possible for him to receiue being from any other: for nothing is changed but by some other thing, which in some respect is more mightier than it, as Wood is changed by Fyre. But al things haue their power & force from God alone. Therfore by this terme Vnchangeable, we deny him to be lyke the immortall soules, which admit such passions as we perceiue or also to the very bodilesse Spirits whom we call Angels, & the Philosophers cal Gods; who be not vnchangeable, sauing so farre forth as they rest in the beholding of him which cannot be changed. And it maketh nothing against the matter, ỹ we se so diuers changes in all things. For it is one thing to change ones self, & another thing to will that there should be a change; like as it is one thing to moue ones selfe, & another thing to wil that there be a mouing. The Sunne maketh many diuers changes in the things which we se heere beneath, he maketh things grene, he maketh things yellow, he ripeneth things, he withereth things & so forth: & yet notwithstanding he changeth no whit of his heate; & had also a mynd (as some suppose him to haue,) he might also wil al these changes without changing himselfe. So also may God, and much better. Yee without altering his one being, willeth & maketh all the changes in the beings of things: and yet it is as certeine that he is vnchangeable, & that if he were not so the whole chaungeable nature should perish; as it is certaine that if he were not vnmoueable, al mouing should vtterly ceasse. Nowe out of these two negatiues we draw a third, namely that he hath neither beginning nor end, which thing we cal Euerlastingnes. For the beginning & ending of all things, proceedeth of mouing & chaunge: & therefore he that is not subiect to the, can haue neither beginning nor end. Moreouer, Time is but a measure of mouing, wherin there is both a forenes & afternes. He therefore which is not subiect to mouing is not subiect to time, & he which is not subiect to time hath not his being by continuãce of succesſi õ frõ one mouing to another. And so gods being is altogether at once, which is ỹ peculiar propertie of euerlastingnesse. And whereas we say, he hath bin, & he shall be; it is as much to say as there was neuer any tyme whẽ he was not, neither shall it euer come to passe that he shall cease to be.

1 Phisik. 3. τὸ ἀκίνητον.

ἀτρεμὲς.

Out of the verses of Parmenides reported by Simplicius.

Vnchaungeable.

Euerlasting.

Mere Act.

Againe being euerlasting he is not subiect to any passiue possibilitie, that is to say, looke whatsoeuer he is, heeis the same actually and in very deede, and he cannot become any other thing than he is alreadie.

For

For, were there anie passiue possibilitie in him as from himselfe, then should there be a chaunge in him, & if it were from elsewhere, then should there be a mouing from possibilitie to déede or to doing, and he is not subiect to anie of them both. Furthermore, Euerlastingnesse cannot be in way of possibilitie, but onelie actuallie and in verie déede. For euery maner of déede béing simplie taken is afore the possibilitie thereof, as the cause is afore his effect, forasmuch as the possibilitie is (as ye would say) quickened by the déed. As for example, from a grayne to an Hearbe, and from a kernell to a Trée by the power of the Sunne. But as for the Euerlastingnesse, it can abide neither aforenesse nor afternesse, and therefore loke whatsoeuer it can be, it is the same all at once, and actually or in verie déede, and euer. Whereupon it followeth also immediatly, that God is neither matter nor materiall: for the propertie of matter is to be mérely passiue, that is to say, capable of diuers formes or shapes, & such as may in possibility receiue, being it selfe altogether naked and such as the Philosophers describe it to be. By these conclusions we come to another, which is, that God is not compounded. For whatsoeuer is so, we say is of later time than the things whereof it is compounded. But God is euerlasting, and vnto him nothing can bee new. Agayne, Componnding is a knitting of many things into one and ere those things could be vnited in verie déede, it behoued them to be first in possibilitie, that is to say, to bée capable thereof. Now, as for God, he is not a thing in possibilitie (which is an vnperfect being) but altogether actuallie and in verie déed.

From possibilitie into deed.

A graine may become an hearbe, and a kernell a tree: which they be not so long as they continue a graine and a kernell.

Vnmateriall.

God is single and vncompounded.

Moreouer, we say that God made all things, and knoweth al things. Now, if he had in him the nature of anie of them, the same would trouble the natures of the rest, as we se that the tongue of a sicke man that is sicke of an Agewe, is vnable to iudge of the tast of things, because it is furred by a cholerick humor, and the eye which hath any matter therein, can se nothing. It followeth then that to make and to knowe all things, God must néeds be verie single, and not holding any thing at all in him. And the more single he is, the more is he capable of the innumerable multitudes of things, like as the eye is then most capable of all colours and the eare of all voices: when (in themselues) the one is least troubled with noyses and the other with colours. Whereupon it followeth that séeing he is not compounded, he cannot be a bodie: for all bodies are conteyned within bounds, and haue parts, which thing most people haue knowen well enough as Numenius the Pythagorian reporteth. And not being a body, he cannot be in place, neither wholly nor partly. By reason whereof, we may say in strict speach, that he is no where, ỹ is to say, that no part of him is limited within any place to be pointed at. Notwithstanding, like as he made all things by the power of his béing, so doth the same power

Bodylesse.

Numenius ὁ πλατωνικός.

Place is to be considered, either as a thing created, or as a conteiner of

power enter into all things, fill all things and conteyne all things. And
a thing placed This way God is nowhere: the otherway he is euery where. foꝛasmuch as the same in vndeuidable, it is whole in all, and whole in euerie part: and so likewise is he himselfe; that is to say, he is euerywhere, whole throughout, in whom all things haue their bæing, howbeit that he is not determinately oꝛ definitely in any thing. Wee haue an image hereof in our owne minde, which yet notwithstanding is but a baine shadow. Foꝛ, in as much as all the things which we conceyue are lesse than we; they be in the minde without intermingling of the mind with them, and the minde after a certeyne fashion toucheth them all, although it bæ not comprehended in anie of thē. Now, if all these things be in our mind, because they be entered into it by our senses: how much moꝛe shall all essences be in God and he in all of them, seing that al of them proceed from him, and that his onely conceyuing of them hath brought them foꝛth? Now then, let vs not imagine any intermingling in this behalfe. The light of the Sunne continueth entierly throughout; it cannot be deuided into partes, noꝛ shut vp in any place, noꝛ seuered from the welspring thereof: it sheadeth it selfe into all places, it filleth all places, and it is present with al things which we sée, (I speake after the maner of the Diuines) in essence, in power, and in presence. The Ayꝛe is lightened with the presence thereof, and darkned with the absence, and we perceiue both twaine of them; and yet foꝛ all that, it intermingleth not it selfe with the Ayꝛe, ne leaueth any whit of it selfe into it. And shall wee presume to think lesse of the light which is not to be conceiued but in vnderstanding; considering that we sée the like with our eyes? Oꝛ shall we thinke it straunge that God should be both euerywhere and nowhere, considering how we sée that from a body there issueth such a bodiles thing, as without touching any of thē, lighteneth them all? And if a light shine in al things that shine; shall not the soueraigne essence bæ in all things that are? And seing that things coulde not haue bæne made vnlesse Gods power (which is his verie essence) had bæne present with all things and with euerie of them; shall any thing let him from being present with all things still? Now, like as the light of the Sunne hath diuers effects through the disposition of mens eyes, and of the shærenesse of things, and the diuersities of the substances whereon it lighteth: so is Gods presence diuers to diuers things, and yet is it without anie diuersitie in it selfe. He is (saith S. Austin vpon the Psalmes. S. Austin) in him selfe, as the beginning and the ende: to the Worlde, as the Author and gouernour thereof: to his Church, as a father in his House: to our Soules, as a Bridegroome in his Chamber: to the Righteous, as a Helper and defender: to the Reprobates, as a trembling and terror. No man fleeth from him but vnto him, from his rigor to his goodnesse, and so forth. For what place shall he meete with (saith he) whete he shal 1. Phisic. 2. &c. de mirabil. not finde thy presence? The selfe same presence which was present at

the

Of the place, & euery wher by filling all places.

the making of all things, is present with euery thing to preserue them al: and yet is it neuethlesse absent from all thinges and from euerie thing, as it was at the time that there were nothings at all: because none of them conteyneth it or any part of it, but it conteineth all things.

But we must passe yet one step further. God (say we) is present euerywhere. Then is he infinite, and yet is he not conteined in any place, for he is not a body. It followeth therefore that he is not infinite in body, but in Spirit; nor in quantitie, but in goodnes and power, and better if better may be sayd. Wherefore, let vs not imagine him to be a huge or massie lumpe, as the ignorant sort doe. The massinesse of things is that (as we see) which maketh them vnable to do things. Contrariwise, the more spirituall a thing is, the more actiue it is. He then which is the action of all powers, must needes be a Spirit of infinite power, and yet notwithstanding exempted from all quantitie, (which properly is but a weaknes or want of power) yea, and yet in such sort infinite, as all the infinitnes thereof be comprehended within boundes as to himselfe, that is to say, so as he finish or bound himselfe, because he neither is nor hath any thing without himselfe. Thus haue we by reason (and we may also haue it by the Deuilles in the forealledged Oracles, and likewise by all the Philosophers) that God is vnmoueable, vnchaungeable, beginningless, endless, single, bodiless, and infinite; all which are termes whereby we declare, not what he is, but only what he is not; nor to make vs to conceiue him, but to keepe vs from deceyuing our selues by our owne vayne conceites. And of all these Negatiues we conceyue but one affirmatiue, as we did at the first; namely, that God is his owne being, as he himself saith vnto Moyses; insomuch that he is of himselfe, and all things are of him, & he cannot be aught els than he is; insomuch also that it is all one with him to be great and mightie, as merely & simply to be, which is almuch to say as that we must (as much as we can) conceiue him to be good without qualitie, great without quantitie, euerlasting without time, euerywhere present without place, and so forth. And to conclude this Chapter, whereas we cannot comprehend God in his verie being, we will indeuor to come nere to the knowledge of him three wayes by considering his effects; howbeit in such sort as that we must think infinitely of him, aboue and beyond the things which seeme greatest vnto vs in the perfections which we perceiue to be in all things; as, goodnes, trueth, wisedome, Iustice, life, vnitie, and such like; and yet conceyuing him (if we can) to bee but one onely perfection comprehending all perfections in one, and yet euery of them infinitely aboue the highest degree of perfection that we can imagine. And finally as in respect of the imperfections which are in all things, (as chaungeablenesse, weakenesse, materialnesse, & such like,) by conceyuing thē to be more infinitely far off from his nature, than we can

Infinite.

Infinite, not by stretching or streyning out, but by sheading in.

set them of in our owne vnderstanding. But when we haue or shal haue taken neuer so much paines in that behalf, yet the vttermost that we shal haue learned, is but onely not to be ignorant of our owne want of knowledge. And therefore, to the intent we lose not our selues in seeking him, the surest way for vs is to possesse him by louing, seruing, & worshipping him, the which thing be of his loue towards vs grant vs to do. Amen.

The fifth Chapter.

That in the onely Essence or Substance of God there are three persons which we call the Trinitie.

LET vs presume yet a litle further, not by rash inquisitiuenes of man, but by the mercifull guiding of God, who hath vouchsafed to vtter himself vnto vs in his Scriptures: and let vs see whether reason will helpe vs to maintaine and proue the things which she of her selfe could neuer haue found out. For, reason is after a sort in like case towards GOD, as our eye is towards the Sunne. Neither the Sunne nor any thing vnder the Sunne, can well be seene without the Sunne: likewise neyther God nor any thing belonging to God can be seene without God, how good eyesight or mindsight so euer we haue. But when the sunne shineth, then our eye seeth the things which it saw not afore, and iudgeth of them at his ease, notwithstanding that the eye be but the same it was afore, & haue but the same power of sight which it had afore, without receiuing anie new increase thereof. Likewise, when God vouchsafeth to vtter anie doctrine vnto vs, the selfesame reason which otherwise could neuer haue perceiued it, doth then see it, and discourse it, and allow of it, without receiuing anie newe power abilitie or chaunge in it selfe. We haue concluded by reason, that God is a most singuler essence: And we beleeue by discouerie from heauen, that in the same most single essence are three persons or Inbeings. Reason of it selfe could neuer haue atteyned to the finding

ding thereof: for we cannot distinguish things vnlesse we conceiue them, and yet neuertheless, reason will serue vs to proue it.

The begetting of the Sonne or of the second Person.

First of all, we haue already acknowledged by Gods effects or doings, ỹ there is in him a working nature or power, (I must be faine to speake in the speach of man seeing that the diuine speach is vnknowne to vs) which is the beginner and mouer of al things. And in euery of his works, wee see a singuler cunning; and in the knitting of al, both great and small together, we see a wonderfull order, as I haue discoursed heretofore, and we see there is neither order, nor cunning where there is no vnderstanding. It followeth therefore that the soueraigne vnderstanding is in God from whom this great order and cunning procéede. Againe, albeit that of the things which are in this world, some vnderstand, and some vnderstand not, yet notwithstanding, all of them are appointed to some certeine end and marke, as the Sunne to make the day and to heate, the Mone to lighten the night, and all the Planets and starres to marke out the Seasons; and so forth of all other things. None of them stumbleth in his way, none stepeth aside from his ende: and yet notwithstanding, the most part of them could not prescribe it to themselues. For the beginner of all ends is vnderstanding, and in the most of these there is no vnderstanding. Néedes must it be therefore, that God the maker of them did also appoint them their ends, & consequently that he had vnderstanding for them. Now, the innumerable multitude of things, and the linking of their ends one to another as they now be, do shew that al of them haue their beginning from one selfesame vnderstanding. Then must it néeds be ỹ this cõmon author of their being, that is to say, the soueraigne being must also be ỹ soueraigne vnderstanding, séeing he imparteth the effects of vnderstãding to so many things which haue it not. Moreouer, the things which haue vnderstanding are the disposers and orderers of the other things, and not contrariwise. Man buildeth, planteth, reareth vp Cattell, and maketh his cõmodity of al of them together. Of men themselues, the skilfullest make Lawes, & take vpon them to rule others. To be short, the things which haue no vnderstanding do naturally serue as instruments to those which haue it, & the thing which hath the lesse of it, serueth that which hath the more of it, and no part in nature dealeth to the contrarie. And (as we haue proued by all the Philosophers themselues) it is GOD that created all things that haue vnderstanding, as well those which are not tied to bodies, as those which haue bodies, allotting to them their offices & ends, and so consequently he is the very beginner and end of them himselfe.

Then once againe, so farre forth as we can describe this vnderstanding by the outward effectes thereof, it must needes be in God a most excellent ability (if it may be so named) by direction whereof he executeth

moſt wiſely the actiue or inwo2king vertue power and nature which we marke in all things in this wo2ld howbeeit, ſo as the chiefe wo2king of them doth abide and reſt ſtill in him. I haue p2oued heretofo2e that God is infinite: which being ſo, nothing can be imagined in him, which is not infinite likewiſe: fo2 otherwiſe he ſhould be as wel finite as infinite both together. And infinite he were not, if he could vnderſtand o2 know that to day which he vnderſtode not afo2e. Nedes then muſt it be, that he frō all eternitie vnderſtandeth and knoweth the things which haue bēne, which are, and which ſhall bée; the whole, and the parts, the generals, the ſpecialles, and the particulars; the o2iginalles, the p2oceedings, and the aftercommings, the doings, ſayings, and thoughts of men; and ſo fo2th, ſo as this vnderſtanding in God is euerlaſtingly infinite.

Againe, vnderſtanding is an inwo2king which abideth and remayneth in the partie which hath it, and paſſeth not into any outward thing. Fo2, when we vnderſtand the courſe of the Sunne, he is nothing altered thereby. Alſo I haue told you alreadie, that God is moſt ſingle, and that there is not any thing in him which is not his very eſſence o2 being. Whereupon it followeth, that God not onely hath vnderſtanding, but alſo that his vnderſtanding, is his very eſſence (that is to ſay, he is the very vnderſtanding it ſelfe.) Nowe then, let vs ſée what it is that this vnderſtanding begetteth. I haue told you that God is a mére doing, and whatſoeuer he doth he doeth it from euerlaſting; and that on the other ſide being moſt ſingle, there is nothing in him which is not adwer. Whereupon it followeth that this vnderſtanding is euerlaſtingly occupied in doing. And wherein then is it occupied? What is the thing that it wo2keth vpon? Surely it can meete with nothing but it ſelfe. God then conceiued and vnderſtode himſelfe; and it muſt needes be that he vnderſtode himſelfe, ſéeing that the chiefeſt wiſedome is to knowe ones ſelfe, whereof he could not faile. Therefo2e it was of neceſſitie, that this vnderſtanding of God, ſhould yéeld a reflection backe againe to it ſelfe, as a face doeth in a Lokingglaſſe, and as our minde doth when it ſetteth it ſelfe to the conſidering of it owne p2oper nature; and that it ſhoulde conceiue and beget in it ſelfe a perfect image of it owne ſelfe, which image is the ſame thing which in the Trinitie we call the Sonne, the Wo2d, o2 the Spéech: namely, the liuely & perfect image and wiſedome of the Father. Now, this vnderſtanding is actualle euerlaſting, (that is to ſay, euerlaſting in déede) and euerlaſtingly actuall, (that is to ſay, euerlaſtingly doing,) and therefo2e we ſay that ſecond perſon which it begetteth is alſo euerlaſting: & God in his vnderſtāding had not conceiued any thing that is leſſe than it ſelfe, fo2 it is equal with him. And whereas we comp2ehend not our ſelues, that commeth of the darkneſſe and lumpiſhneſſe of our fleſh, which maketh vs vnlike

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our selues. We say then that the Sonne is equall to the Father, and the image of the Father. But yet moreouer, the being of the Father and his vnderstanding are both one; and his being or essence (being vnderstode of it selfe) is none other thing than the being of the Sonne, who is bred and begotten by the Fathers vnderstanding or minding of himself. Whereupon we conclude againe, that the essence of the Father is the essence of the Sonne, (that is to say, that loke whatsoeuer the Father is, the Sonne is the same;) so as they differ not but by way of relation: and consequently that they be Coeternall, Coequall, and Coessentiall, (that is to say, of one selfesame euerlasting continuance, of one selfesame state condition and degree, and of one selfesame substance or being;) which is the thing that we be taught in the Church. This second person for diuers respects is betokened by diuers names. He is ordinarilie called the Sonne, because he is a Conception of the vnderstanding which is in God and a perfect resemblance of him. And here we haue to consider, that according to the diuersities of natures; the maner of breedings or begettings doe varie also. For euery life (if I may so speake) begetteth or breedeth a Sonne, issue or offspring in it selfe afore it send it out, and the excellenter that the life is, the more inward to it is that which procedeth or is bred thereof. Hereupon some haue supposed the Fire to be a liuing wight, because it breedeth or begetteth another Fire like it selfe. But howsoeuer the case stand, like as the Elementes are naturally the baselt things in degree, so hath Fire the baselt maner of breeding or begetting, as which is not able to do it but out of it selfe, & by the applying of some outward matter to him. The Plant conceiueth moisture in it self, which springeth forth into bud, from bud into flower, & from flower into fruit, which fruite being ripe falleth to the ground, and there bringeth forth another Plant. Now, this second Plant liued in the first Plant ere it liued in it selfe, and al liuing wights do liue, moue & feele in their Dammes bellies, afore they come forth, which is yet a more inward maner of breeding & begetting than the other. The sensitiue life conceiueth an imagination which bordeth vp it selfe in the memorie: but as it procedeth frō the Sences and sensible things, so doth it depart out of it selfe. The reasonable life hath his conceptions and breedings yet more inward than al the rest. For it hath his reflection backe to it selfe, and we cōmonly terme the doings or actions thereof by the name of Conceptions or Conceits, after which maner the learned sort do cal their bookes their Children. But yet there is this more in this matter, namely, that in men this conceiuing procedeth of imagination, which is an outward thing vnto it, because nothing can enter into the vnderstanding of man but by the Sences, and moreouer, for that the thing which is minded or vnderstode, and the minde or vnderstanding it selfe, are not both one in vs. But forasmuch as

onely God is altogether life, and his life is altogether vnderſtanding, which is the higheſt degrée of life, he hath his maner of conceiuing and begetting moſt inward of all. For, he conceiueth in himſelfe & of himſelfe, and his conceiuing is a begetting, and this begetting abideth ſtill in himſelfe, becauſe his vnderſtanding can neuer any where méete with any thing but that which he himſelfe is. And that is the ſecond perſon whom we call the Sonne, and vnto whom that name doth ſo much the more properly agrée becauſe his reſembling of him is more perfect, and his begetting or Sonneſhip (if I may ſo tearme it) is more inward, than all the brédings and begettings which we commonly ſee, or than any other ỹ wée can Imagine. Alſo we cal him Logos, which ſome trãſlate word or Speech, and otherſom Reaſon. Either of thoſe ſignifications is ordinary to the word Logos, and agréeable to that which is intended to be ſignified thereby, ſo farre forth as diuine things can be expreſſed by the ſpéech of man. When we call him Spéech or Word, it is according to the doctrine of the Philoſophers, who haue marked that there is in man a dubble ſpéech, the one in the minde, which they call the inward Spéech, which we conceiue afore we vtter it, and the other the ſounding image thereof, which is vttered by our mouth and is termed the Spéech of the Voice, either of both the which we perceiue at euery word that we intend to pronounce: which thing thoſe folke might yet much better obſerue, which had neuer learned any Language, becauſe they ſhoulde not ceaſe to haue thoſe inward conceits in themſelues (though they could not ſpeake) For the wit or vnderſtanding doth by and by conceiue an inward Spéech vpon the thing which is offered vnto it, and begetteth or brédeth that conceit in our minde as it were by a ſodden flaſh of Lightening, and afterward our minde vttereth it more at leiſure by the voice the which voice, (notwithſtanding) is vnable to repreſent or expreſſe the inward Spéech perfectly. inſomuch ỹ we ſée many men haue a great number of godly conceits in their minds, which they be not able to expreſſe, & that in expreſſing them either by word or by writing, they miſlike their owne doings, becauſe they bee farre inferiour to the things which they had conceiued in their mindes. Nowe, the ſpéech of the mind is very Reaſon it ſelfe: and loke what the ſpéech of the minde reaſoneth and debateth, that doth the voice vtter, and either of them is the image of the next that went afore. For loke what proportion is betwéene the voice or ſpéech of the mouth, and the ſpéech of the minde, the like proportion is betwéene the ſpéech of the Minde, and the ſpéech of the vnderſtanding. The voice hath néede of ayre, and is deuided into parts, and requireth leiſure: the Minde in deede is vndiuidable, but yet hath it neede of time to paſſe from one concluſion or reaſon to another. But as for the vnderſtanding, it accompliſheth his action or working in leſſe than a moment, and with

Why the ſecond Perſon is called the Son the word, Speech, wiſedome, &c.

Looke in the 12. Chapter of Mercurius trimegiſtus Pœmander.

Rapida quadam Coruſcatione perfundit animum. that is to ſay, it ſheadeth through the mynd with a certeyne ſwift gliſtering.

Vox profert, Animus ratiocinatur, Mentis verbum ipſa Ratio eſt. that is to ſay, the voyce vttereth, the mynd reaſoneth or debateth, & ſo Reaſon is the very word or ſpeech of the Mynd.

with one onely act doth so fil the Reason and minde, that it is constrained to make many acts of one. And this diuersitie may euery man marke in himselfe, notwithstanding that all these acts seeme to be done together like Thunder and Lightning. Now then, the saide Conception or Conceit which Gods vnderstãding hath conceiued euerlastingly in himselfe, we call Speech or Worde, which is the perfect image of his vnderstanding, and Gods vnderstanding, is God himselfe. Also we call it Reason, because Reason is as ye would say the Daughter, speech or worde of our vnderstanding, and we say that by the same speech or worde, God made al things. For, as the Craftsman maketh his worke by ẏ patterne which he had erst conceiued in his minde, which patterne is his inward word: so God made the world and all that is therein, by that said Speech of his as by his inward skill or art. For he being but one, conceiueth all things by conceiuing himselfe. To be short, we call him also the wisedome of the Father, yea, and euen meerely and simply wisedome. For, wisedome (euen in man) is nothing els but a hauiour proceeding of diuers conceits or inward speeches, whereby our minde is perfected in the knowledge of high things. Now, God is the heighth of all heighthes, and by the conceiuing of himselfe he knoweth himselfe. But yet he must take this withal, that the thing which is a hauiour in vs, is essence in him, (that is to say, that he is the verie things themselues which we obteine to haue by meanes,) and that he himselfe is the ground of his owne wisedom, where as the true wisedome of men, hath not any other ground than God. Now then, can there be any greater wisedome in God, than to knowe himself? And is not that knowledge bred of vnderstanding?

Let vs come to the third person. We haue acknowledged heretofore, that in the most single essence of God, there is a worketul power, ability, or nature, matched with an vnderstanding, according whereunto the said vertue or power executeth his actions. Now, in the selfesame essence, should there not also be a will besides the said vnderstanding? If we consider al the things in the world, we shal finde in them a kinde of will, tending to the seueral welfare of euery of them: and the more vnderstanding they haue, the more will also haue they. because that the more their welfare is knowen vnto them the more also it is desired, & the more it is desired, the more also it is their wil vniforme, & the lesse parted. I omit the senceleste things, as Plants, Herbes, and Stones, which haue certeine naturall inclinations, sufficiently marked by the searching out of their natures. But yet it cannot bee denied, but that the Beastes haue a sensitiue appetite to follow the thing which their Sence taketh hold of to be good for them. Men also do run with al their harts after the thing which they suppose to be good for them, whether it be honor, riches or pleasure. And the more they know it or thinke themselues to know it, the more do

The proceeding of the holy Ghost, or third person.

they yelde their will vnto it: and the more they hold and possesse thereof, the more is their heart setled thereupon. Onely their vnderstanding being bewitched by vanitie, is deceitfully driuen to chose the euill for the good, by meanes whereof, the will which ought to be discrete and full of wit and vnderstanding, is forced of necessitie to degenerate into fleshlie and beastly lust. The Angels likewise (as say the Philosophers) haue also a will, and much more simply one and more liuely than others. And as by their vnderstanding they know the very good it selfe, that is to wit God; so haue they their will euer setled on him alone, without turning it aside to any of al the great multitude of obiects whereon we be wont to set our mindes. Now, shal not he himselfe haue a wil, who hath giuen wil to liuing things and imprinted it in them? And he that hath imparted so many benefits to all things, to some mo and to some lesse; hath not he (say I) bestowed those benefits vpon them willingly? And héere with ỹ beholding of whom the blessedest Spirits do fede their willes, hath not he the pleasure of contenting himselfe throughly with him selfe, séeing he knoweth himselfe perfectly? And what els is this pleasure, than will fulfilled, yea euen filled to the ful with the true God which sufficeth to himselfe, which is the onely peculiar thing whereon the very wil resteth indéede? Againe, the nature of will is to apply all abilities to their actions. To no purpose haue we hearing, if wée list not to heare, to no purpose haue we sight, if we list not to sée, to no purpose haue we abilitie to doe things, if we list not to doe them. And this appeareth daily in al our doings, which neuer come to effect, till they be quickened and put forth by the will. But we see that God hath applied his power to the doing of many things, yea of things infinite and infinitely diuers. Therefore it followeth that he listed to do them, and that he listed to make one thing to one ende and another to another, and one of them for another, and finally all for himselfe, and so consequently that he hath a will. And this will (so farre as we be able to discerne it by the effects) is a certeine abilitie whereby he applyeth his workfull power, when, where, and how he thinketh good: guiding & performing it according to his owne minde, howbeit that the chiefe act thereof is performed within it selfe. Neuertheless, this is spoken alwaies after the maner of men. For if we haue much to doe to discerne the difference betwéene the abilities of Will and Vnderstanding in our owne Soules, by reason of the linking of them together: much more reason is it that in this essence of God which is most single, & infinitely more one than ours, we should déeme all these things to be but one in him, notwithstanding that they differ in certeine respects. God vnderstandeth, but I haue told you, that to be and to vnderstand is all one in him. Also God willeth or listeth, but to will and to vnderstand are likewise both one in him: and so all thrée come into one essence (that is, bée all one thing.)

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The reason hereof is very euident: namely, that willing or liking is no more an action that passeth into the outward thing, than vnderstanding is; but abideth still in the Willer. For by our liking of a thing, we may perceiue some alteration of our selues; but the thing it selfe that is liked or willed feeleth nothing thereof. Now, I haue proued heretofore, that whatsoeuer is or resteth in God, is his very being, moreouer, & God willeth not any thing but as in respect ỳ he vnderstandeth it, for the knowne good is the ground of his wil, and he vnderstandeth not but by his essence, (that is to say, for that he is the very vnderstanding it selfe.) It followeth then, that in God his wil is his very essence as wel as his vnderstãding; insomuch that he is both Power, Vnderstanding, and Will all in one.

But let vs see now what procedeth of GOD by his will. I haue said afore, that God is mere action, and moreouer, that he is most single: therfore he is still doing from all eternitie, and so likewise is whatsoeuer els we consider in his essence. Now, there we haue found an Vnderstanding, by the Inworking whereof he knoweth himselfe; and also a will, whereby he cannot but will himselfe, seeing he knoweth himselfe. And this vnderstanding, by a certeine Reflection of it selfe vpon it selfe, hath begotten vs a second person, whom we call the Sonne and the Wisedome of the father. This will then which worketh euerlastingly, hauing likewise none other thing to worke vpon but it selfe, doth also by his working strike backe vpon himselfe, and delight it selfe in the infinite good which it knoweth there, and so sheadeth out it selfe wholly to the louing thereof; and by this action it bringeth vs forth a third person (if I may so tearme it) whom we call Gods Spirit and the holy Ghost, that is to wit, the mutuall kindnesse and louingnesse of the Father and of the Son, of the father the vnderstander, towards the Sonne conceiued and begotten by his vnderstanding: and of the Sonne backe againe towardes the Father, acknowledging all that all that he hath and all that he is to be of the Father. And this said Will is the essence of God himselfe, and consequently eternally actiue, & actiuely eternal. For, in the euerlasting all things are euerlasting; and in a mere act, all things are act, and of such can nothing procede which shal not be like them. Needes therefore must this Spirit, this Louingnesse, or this good will, be also actiuely euerlasting. Moreouer, the wil extendeth as farre as ỳ vnderstanding: for (as I haue said afore) will & vnderstanding are both one in God, and vnderstanding doth perfectly comprehend the thing that is vnderstood, namely the thing that is beloued, that is to wit God himselfe. The will then doth by his action (which is loue & liking) extend it selfe as farre as God himselfe, and so the third Person is equal to the second & the first. And yet doth this third Person procede of the wil, and the wil is Gods essence & of that essence can nothing procede which is not his essence. Therefore he is not

onely coeternall and coequall, but also coessentiall. Againe, we sée that in vs, there goeth alwaies some act of the vnderstanding afore the act of our will, for the cause why we will things, is that we thinke wée vnderstand them; and we desire them for the good which perceiue in them, and the loue of a thing cannot be in the louer thereof, but vpon his knowing of the thing loued; neither is will any thing els than appetite, bred of vnderstanding. The third Person therefore procéedeth from the first, not onely by the will, but also by the vnderstanding, and by the knowledge whirh the vnderstanding brédeth. And because it procéedeth of two, and not by way of resemblance, but by act of will; we terme him Proceeding and not Begotten; which is the effect of reason all that is taught vs in the Church concerning that matter. Notwithstanding, whereas we say that the action of vnderstanding goeth afore the action of will; our meaning is not to imagine any going afore or comming after in these persons; but onely to lay forth this procéding by the order of nature, which we could not haue done so well by the trueth of ỹ matter: as if we should say, that the Sonne is considered afore the holy Ghost, in like maner as the knowing of a thing goeth afore the desire of it, because that if they could haue had any beginning, the Sonne had bin formost in that case.

As touching names, we call him most commonly the holy Ghost. Holy, because there is nothing in God which is not pure and holy, whereby he is discerned from all other Spirits: and Ghost or Spirit, because we commonly call those things Spirits, the beginning of whose mouing is vnknowne vnto vs; as the windes, whose beginning is vnknowne vnto vs: the breathing of the Heartstrings, which procédeth from an inward beginning that is hidden from vs; and other things: and to be short, because that in all things which haue life, the inward force procéedeth from some kinde of wil by a certeine Spirit. Now, as for loue, it is nothing els but a certeine couert forewardnesse or forthgoing of the will towards the thing that is loued, insomuch that the very benefitte which we receiue by his loue, is secret and insensible through breathing which worketh in vs, and yet we cannot well perceiue from whence it commeth. Againe, we call him also Loue and Charitie, because all the actions of will are in loue and welliking as in their rote, in like maner as all the doings of Gods vnderstanding, méete altogether in his wisedome. For whereas we desire the thing which we want, or be glad of the thing which we haue, the cause thereof is that we loue it or like wel of it. Likewise also, whereas we feare a thing, or loath it, that commeth of a hatred, which can haue no place in God, whose will nothing is able to withstand. Therefore as we haue God of God (that is to wit, the Sonne of the Father) by the euerlasting working of his Understanding, so also haue we God of God againe (that is to wit, the holy Ghost or loue of them

VVhy the holy Ghost is called Loue, &c.

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them both) by the ioint working of the vnderstanding and will together. Whereupon we conclude three direct persons or Inbeings in one essence, not to exclude the singlenesse thereof which it behoueth vs to hold still, but to expresse the diuersitie thereof after a sorte, which ought not to be vnknowne, namely the power of the Father, the wisedome of the Sonne, and the goodnesse of their loue, for whom, by whom, and in whom, it hath pleased the said only one vnspeakable essence to create & to loue al things. Of whom, by whom, and in whom.

But there is yet more, namelie, that as there are three Inbeings or Persons in this essence, so also there can be no mo but three: which thing may be made euident by the same reason. Whoso denieth that there is vnderstanding and will in God as we haue seene afore must also denie that he hath made any thing, or that he doth any thing: for all the things which wee see here belowe, are marked both with the one and with the other. Likewise, he that confesseth that all thinges are in him, (according to their preaching vnto vs) must néedes also confesse the sonne of the holie Ghost, to be the wisedome and the loue; for that they be but actions of those two, which cannot be without their action, neither can action be euerlastingly any where els than in God himselfe. Now, as we can not imagine God without his actions; so can we not consider anie other than those to abide in him, nor consequently any other Vnderbeings that procéede from thence; whereupon we say also, that a fourth person cannot be admitted. As for example, we say he is the Creator, and we saie true, and in so saying we finde also a relation to the Creatures. But this power of creating procéedeth from the power which is in the Father and is not an action that abideth still within him, but passeth directly into the thing created, which in respect of the creator, is as nothing in comparison of infinitenesse, whereof it cannot haue the prehéminence. Also we say he is a Sauiour: and that is al one with the other. For his being a Sauiour, is by the Sonne, as we shall see hereafter, and moreouer, it is an action that passeth into the thing saued, and abideth not in God alone. Therefore it maketh not to the stablishing of the fourth person or inbeing, for then it ought to be Coessentiall. To be short, all Gods operations do either procéede from within him, and abide still in the worker and in their first ground, or els they procéede from without, and passe into the outward effect. That worke or action which procéedeth from within, can be of none other essence than the thing from whence it commeth: for in GOD there is nothnig but essence, and in that essence can nothing abide but the essence it selfe. That which procéedeth from without, is alwaies of a sundrie essence, as are the Creatures and workes of God, which come nothing nére the essence of the Creator. The thing which doth the worke without, is Gods power, howbeit accompanied with his vnderstanding and will. And the thing that doth the worke Three Persons and no mo.

within.

within, is his vnderstanding and will and nothing els, that we may discerne in our selues, who are but a very slender image thereof. And like as in beholding a painted Table, or in reading the verses of a Poet, we imagine not therefore that there was a peculiar and immediate abilitie of painting or versifying in the minde or soueraigne part of their Soule, but we referre those skills and all other like, vnto Wit and Will: euen so & much more according to reason, of all the workes and doings which we se done by Gods power, we cannot gather any other persons or inbeings in him, than those which procede immediatly of his vnderstanding and will, and alonely those and none other can be Coessentiall in him. Now, vnderstanding and will in God, are essence, and his essence is merely one and most single. And moreouer, the Word or Speech conceiueth not another Speech, but turneth wholly vnto the Father, neither doth the Spirit conceiue another loue than the loue of those two, but resteth and reposeth it selfe altogether in them. So then, there can but one onely word or speech procede by the vnderstanding, nor but onely one Loue proced by ỹ wil, neither can any other procede of that Word & that Loue. And so there remaine vnto vs the onely three persons of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, by the which two, the Father gouerneth and loueth all things, because he himselfe alone is all things.

Traces of the Trinity in the World and in Man.

Now, as we haue read in nature that there is but one God, as a thing which we finde written euen in the least creatures: so may we now perceiue the euident footsteps of the three inbeings or persons in one essence, as a marke of the worker that made them, in some more and in some lesse, according to their dignitie, which yet notwithstanding are such, as we could not well perceiue them, vntill the doctrine thereof was reuealed vs, no more than we can vnderstand the letters of Ciphering, which we can neither reade nor discipher, vnlesse we haue some knowledge of the matter which they import, from other folkes hands, or by coniecture, or by some other way. We finde an Vnitie in al things, yea euen in those which haue but onely being. For al things are inasmuch as they be one: and whensoeuer they cease to bee that one, they consequently cease also to be. Againe, we se in them a forme or shape, and that is the marke of that Witfull action (that is to say, of the euerlasting word or conceit whereby God made them) which hath bred vs the essentiall forme or shape, and all other maner of formes and shapes. Also we se an inclination or disposition, in some more apparant than in other some, in some to mount aloft, in some to sinke downe towards the Center, as in a Stone, and in all, to holde themselues vnited in their matter and forme. This is the marke of the worke full Will, wherein God hath vouchsafed to stoope vnto them and of the vnion which procedeth thereof, wherein he loueth, vpholdeth, and preserueth all things. But euen in some of the thinges of this

baseſt

baſeſt ſort, there appeareth not onely a trace, but almoſt an image thereof. For, the Sunne bredeth or begetteth his owne beames, which the Poets doe call the very ſonne of the Sunne: and from them two procedeth the light, which imparteth it ſelfe to all things here beneath, and yet is not the one of them afore the other, for neither is the Sunne afore his beames, nor the Sunne or beames afore the light, otherwiſe than in conſideration of order and relation, that is to wit, as in reſpect that the beames are begotten and the light is procéding, which is an apparant image of the Coeternitie. Likewiſe in waters, we haue the head of them in the earth, and the Spring boyling out of it, and the ſtreame which is made of them both and ſheadeth it ſelfe out farre off from thence. It is but one ſelfeſame continuall and vnſeperable eſſence, which hath neither forenelle nor afternelle, ſaue onely in order and not in time, that is to ſay, according to our conſidering of it, hauing reſpect of cauſes, and not according to trueth. For, the welhead is not a head, but in reſpect of the Spring, nor the Spring a Spring, but in reſpect of the Welhead, nor the Streame a Streame, but in reſpect of them both, and ſo all three be but on water, and cannot almoſt be conſidered one without another, howbeit that the one is no other. It in an expreſſe marke of the originall relations and perſons Coeſſentiall in the onely one eſſence of God. The like is to be ſaid of Fire, which ingendreth fire and hath in it both heate and brightneſſe vnſeparable. Alſo there are other examples to be found of ſuch as liſt to ſéeke them out. In Hearbes and Plants there is a rote, which yéldeth a ſlippe, ſtocke or ympe, and the ſame ympe groweth afterward into a trée. It cannot well be named or déemed to bee a rote, but that therewith it hath alſo ingendred an ympe or ſtocke, for in that reſpect it is called a rote, and ſo is the one as ſone as the other. Alſo, there is a ſappe which paſſeth from the one to the other, ioyning, knitting and vniting them together by one common life, without the which life, neither the rote ſhould be a rote, nor the ſlip a ſlip, and ſo in effect they be altogether, the one as ſone as the other. Moreouer, among all liuing wights, euery of them ingendreth after his owne kinde and forme, of whom one is an ingenderer and another is ingendred, among men, a father and a ſonne; and by and by through knowledge, there procédeth a naturall loue and affection from the one to the other, which knitteth and linketh them together. All theſe are traces, ſotſteps, and images, (howbeit with the groſſeſt) of that high miſterie, and alſo I haue told you afore, and no effect doth fully reſemble his cauſe, and much leſſe that cauſe which in all reſpects is moſt infinite.

The welhead the Spring, & the ſtreame.

Notwithſtanding, in mans Soule, (when I ſay Soule I meane there the higheſt power thereof) the image and likeneſſe of the Trinitie is yet much more liuely and more expreſſe. For firſt there is in it a

Nature

Nature and abilitie of working, and as it were a mere act, whereby it liueth and giueth life, and is it selfe in continual working. The Latins cal it *Mens* (that is to say Minde) and we cal it also ỹ reasonable soule, the which wee may liken to the Father. This Mind bringeth an vnderstanding or wit, by the which we vnderstand and discerne, not onely other things, but also our selues: and againe by vnderstanding we come to will, through the which we loue other things, and most of them for our owne sakes. These three persons are very distinct in vs: for we worke not alwaies by wit, not alwaies by will, and yet our minde worketh continually. Moreouer, oftentimes will the thing which we vnderstand not, and we vnderstand the thing which we will not. And therefore to will and to vnderstand are not both one. Neuertheless this working, vnderstanding and willing, are not three liues or three Soules in vs, but one life and soule, and that so streitly vnited in one essence, that euen in the selfesame instant that our minde doth a thing, it also vnderstandeth the reason why it willeth it or willeth it not, in which worke, both our inworking power and also our wit and our will doe concurre all together. Yet notwithstanding, this image is farre from the thing it selfe. For these three powers are seuerall in the essence of our Soule, and how nerely so euer they be vnited together, yet is not the one the other. But in God who is a most single one, Being is Vnderstanding, and vnderstanding is will, as I haue said afore. And againe, by Gods vnderstanding and by his will there proceede from him two Inbeings, by reason whereof he mindeth and loueth himselfe, and in himselfe all things. And for our Soule there can no such thing proceede from it by the wit or the will, because although they be both in, yet they take their grounds from without themselues, insomuch that it can neither vnderstand nor loue, vnlesse the abilities thereof be set a working by some outward thing. And which more is, the more it vnderstandeth it selfe, the more doth it streine it selfe to vnderstand and know another than itselfe: and the more it loueth it selfe through true knowledge of it selfe, the more doth it seeke contentment by louing another, which other it cannot loue but by hating it selfe, that is to wit, it streineth it selfe to behold and loue God, and to knowe and loue it selfe but onely for his sake, to whom alonely it belongeth to vnderstand all things in himselfe, and to loue all things of himselfe. But now is high time henceforth to see what antiquitie will say to vs concerning this matter, the which it shalbe better for vs to reserue to the next Chapter following. And as touching the questions that may be made by the curious sort vpon this point, we answere them at one word, Let them tell vs how they themselues are bred and begotten, and then aske of the begetting of the Sonne of God: Let them tell vs the nature of the spirit that beateth in their Pulses, and then

let

let them be inquisitiue at our handes for the proceeding of the holy Ghost. And if they must be faine to keepe silence in so common matters, which they daily see and feele in themselues, let them giue vs leaue to be ignorant in many things, which are such (as saith Empedocles) as no eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor wit of man conceiue.

The sixt Chapter.

That the Philosophie of old time consenteth to this doctrine of the Trinitie.

SVrely (as I haue saide afore) this doctrine is not bred of mans braine, though it be painted there after some sort; but was verely inspired into our forefathers from aboue, who (as saith Plato) were better than we, and neerer also vnto God. And in good sooth we see an infallable argument thereof, in that the elder the world groweth, the more do mens doctrines growe to perfection and knowledge. But contrariwise, the further that this hath gone from the former ages, the more hath it beene found darkened, and hath no where beene so lightsome as at the welspring thereof, vntill that by the birth of the true daie sunne in deede, it receiued greater light than euer it had afore. And therefore when Plato, yea and Aristotle himselfe speake of the Godhead, of the Creation of the World, and of other like Misteries; they be faine to alledge the auncient report, and the record of antiquitie descended from hand to hand, as the surest staffe to stand by in matters that exceede the capacitie of man. Which thing they expresse ordinarilie by these speaches, According to the old Sawe, as the auncientest reports goe, As our forefathers and Elders say, and such like. Among these men of the auncientest sort, the first that we meete with is Zoroastres, whom Plutarke reporteth to haue liued certaine thousands of yeares afore the warres of Troy. Neuertheless, by report of the best Authors, he descended

Plato in his Philebus.

Plato lib. 3. of his commonweale: and lib. 10. & 12. of Lawes. Aristo. lib. 1. of Heauen. & lib. 12. of his Metaphisiks. Plotin often. &c. The Chaldies heard speake of the Trinitie. Zoroastres. Plutark in his treatise of Isis and Osyris. Plinie and Aristotle beare witnesse that he wrote many bookes.

ded of Cham, and was banquished by Ninus king of the Assyrians. Of him came the Magies, that is to say the wisemen of Chaldey, and from them sprung vp the like in Persia, who had in their custodie the registers of the kings of those daies, and wrote their dædes, and had the ordering of matters perteining to Religion. And now marke what we finde in their sayings gathered by men of olde time, which are commonly called Logia, that is to say Oracles. The father (saith Zoroastres) did perfect all things, and gaue them to a second Minde whom al mankinde taketh for the first. And Pletho Gemistus a Platonist saith, that by this second Mind he meaneth a second God which succeedeth the Father, and hath his begetting of the Father, & that men haue taken him for the first, because God created the world by him, howbeit that the Father created the mindly shapes, and gaue the gouernment of them to this second Minde. Yea, se then here is a second person begotten of the Father. Proclus rehearseth the same saying, This Minde hauing alone taken the flower of Vnderstanding from the power of the Father, possesseth the vnderstanding and power to deale foorth his Fathers vnderstanding or minde to al Originalles and Beginnings of things. Then hath he his being and his vnderstanding from the Father, and all other things haue them from him. But the things which are found in his Commentaries vpon the Parmenides of Plato are wonderfull.

πάντα ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς πατὴρ, ἐκ δὲ πατρὸς νοῦς νοητῶν. Pletho Gemistus.

ἐκ πατρὸς ἁπλοῦς ἀφαιμάξυος, νοῦς ἐνδος.

For the better yelding of the sence whereof, I will translate it into Prose, notwithstanding that it be written in verse in the Greeke. The Minde of the Father (saith he) being setled by determinate purpose, did shed foorth shapes of all sortes, which issued all from one selfesame fountaine, because the deuise and end were both of the Father. But yet were they deuided by a Fire of vnderstanding, and (as it were by destiny) distributed into other vnderstandings. For afore the making of this sundrishaped world, God had conceiued an incorruptible paterne thereof, as a world subiect onely to minde and vnderstanding: In the moulde whereof this present world being stamped, became ful of al those shapes of the which there is but onely one gracious Fountaine.

Proclus lib. 2. & 3. vpon Platoes Parmenides.

And againe in another place he saith as followeth.

That is to say, The loue of God being a fyrie bond issued first from his vnderstanding, and cloathed it selfe with fire to temper the conueiances of the waterspringes, by spreading his heat vpon the same. These are their accustomed obscurities, wherein (notwithstanding) it is clerely enough vttered, that there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Loue that linketh them together: and moreouer, that the said begotten Minde or Vnderstanding is he by whom God framed the world, & that from him proceedeth the diuine Loue, as I haue said heretofore. In another place they say that the said Fatherly Minde hath sowed & planted in our soules, a certeine resemblance

ὑπάρχειν νοῦς.

blance of the said begotten vnderstanding, and that our willes be not acceptable vnto him, vntill we awake out of forgetfulnesse, & bethinke our selues againe of the * pure fatherly marke which is in vs. And againe, that the same vnderstanding being of power to beget or breede of it selfe, did (by considering) cast a firie bond of Loue vpon al things, wherby they be continued for euer. But it is enough for vs that in the sayings afore alleadged, we haue a briefe Summe of the diuinitie of the Magies, who held three beginnings, whom (as we reade in other places) they called Oromaces, Mitris, & Ariminis, (that is to say) God, Minde and Soule. And surely we should wonder at thē much more, if we had their whole bookes as we haue put peeces of them remaining. Now, the Magies were first in Chaldie, and we reade in Moyses how highly Balaam was esteemed, in that he was thought able to bleese Nations and Armies. And these Chaldies are the same of whom the Oracle of Apollo answered, that onely they and the Hebrewes had wisedome parted betwixt them.

πατρικὴν σύνδεσμον ἀγαπᾷ. αὐτογνώθλου.

Μόνων χαλδαίων σοφίαν λαχὸν ἔστ' ἀρίδηλον.
All wisedome certesse parted is betweene
The Chaldies and the Hebrewes as is seene.

Mercurius Trismegistus (as we haue seene in the third Chapter) acknowledged but onely one God, who cannot well be named but by two names, to wit, Good and Father. And because the same God is indued with vnderstanding, sometimes he calleth him Νοῦν, howbeit that most commonly he makes a difference betweene the Father and the Vnderstanding, which he calleth Minde likewise. Which thing appeareth in this saying of his, I am Pœmander, the Feeder of Men, and the vnderstanding of the Beer which is of himselfe. But behold here recordes as cleare as can be. God (saith he) who is also Minde, & life and Light, and Malefemale, begat orbred Logon the Speach or word, which is another Minde, & the workmaister of all things, & with that speech, another which is the firie God and the spirit of the Godhead. Lo here a Minde begotten of a Minde, Vnderstanding of Vnderstanding, and Light of Light, and besides that, moreouer a Spirit. And againe, This Speech that proceedeth from God being altogether perfect & fruitful, & workmistresse of al things, lighteth vpon the water & maketh it fruitfull. It is the same thing ỿ is spoken of in Moyses, where God saith, And the waters immediatly brought forth. To be short, vnto this holy speech (as he termeth it) he attributeth ỿ beget ting, ingendring & spreading forth of al things frō offspring to offspring, as it is to be seene. But here is yet more: I thy God (saith God) am Light & Minde, of more antiquity than the nature of moisture that is issued from the shadow, And this lightsome speech which proceedeth frō the minde, is the sonne of God. That which heareth & seeth in thee, is the word of the Lord, and the Minde is God the Father, these differ not one from another.

Mercurie. The Egipcians.

τῶν ἀνθρώπων νοῦς. Of the felfebeing in his Pœmander. capit. 2. ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὁ θεὸς ἀρρενόθηλυς ἐστι, καὶ ζωὴ καὶ φῶς ἀπεκύησε λόγον ἕτερον νοῦν δημιουργὸν, &c.

Νοῦς πατρικὸς λόγῳ.

Mercury alledged by Cyrillus lib. 1. against Iulian & in his Pœmander cap. 1 ἐξ ἀκινήτου προσῳκείωσε πανταλοῦ πρόνοιας ἡ γένεσις ἅπασα. Merc. 1. ἀλήθειαν πρόσεστιν.

ther, and as for their vnion, it is the vnion of life, &c. And againe: This Speech being the workeman of God the Lord of the whole World, hath chiefe power next him, and is vncreated, infinit, proceeding from him, the Commaunder of all things which he made, the perfect & naturall first borne Sonne of the most perfect. To be short, he calleth him the mindly speech, euerlasting, vnchaungeable, vncorruptible, vnincreasing, vndecreasing, alonely like him, and first beknowne after God; and moreouer his onely Sonne, his welbeloued Sonne, the Sonne of ỹ most holy, whose name cannot be named by mouth of man. And is not this as much as to call him Coessentiall, Coeternall, and the Creator of all things? And what more can we say thereof?

Austin in the Prayer of fiue Heresies.

Of the third person he speaketh more darkely. All kinde of things in this World (saith he) are quickened by a Spirit, One Spirit filleth all things, the World nourisheth the bodies, and the Spirit the Soules, and this Spirit as a toole or instrument, is subiect to the will of God. But here is yet somewhat more. All things (saith he)) haue neede of this spirit, it beareth them vp, it nourisheth them, it quickeneth them, according to euene of their capacities: it proceedeth from a holy fountaine, and is the mainteiner of all liuing things and of all Spirits. Here ye see the reason why we call him the holy Ghost, namely, because he proceedeth from the fountaine which is the very holinesse it selfe. And least we should thinke him to be a Creature, There was (saith he) an infinite shadowe in the Deepe, whereon was the water, and a fine vnderstanding Spirit was in that confuzed masse through the power of God. From thence there florished a certeine holy brightnesse, which out of the Sand and the moyst nature brought foorth the Elements and all things els. Also the Gods themselues which dwel in the Starres, tooke their place by the direction and appointment of this Spirit of God. Thus then he was present at the creation of things; and it is the same spirit whereof it is said in the Bible, that the spirit of the Lord houered vpon the outside of the deepe. But in some places he matcheth al three persons together. O life (saith he) saue that life which is in mee. O light and God the Spirit inlighten mee wholy. O worker which beares thy spirit about, let thy word gouerne me. Lord, thou art the onely one God. Againe, there was (saith he) a light of vnderstanddng, afore the light of vnderstanding, and there was euer a minde of the lightfull Minde, and besides those, there was not any thing els than the vnion of them by one spirit vpholding all things: without which there is neither God nor Angell, nor other Substance: For he is Lord, Father, and God of all, and in him and vnder him are all things. And hauing said so (saith Suydas) he adorth his praier. I adiure thee o Heauen the wise worke of the greate God, I adiure the o voice which God vttered first when he founded the world, I adiure the by the onely

Mercurie in his Esculapius Chap. 3 & 7.

Mercurie in his holy Sermon in his Pœmander, cap. 3

Gen. 1.

Mercurie in his Pœmander. cap 13 πνευματόφορε. Νοῦς νόος φανεται Cyrillus against Tulgetius.

Suidas in his Mercurie. Μονογενὴς λόγος.

onely begotten Speeche, and by the Father who conteineth all things, &c. There is no man but he would woonder to see in this author the verie words of S. Iohn: and yet notwithstanding his bookes were translated by the Platonists long time afore the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ. And it is no marvelle though we finde sayings of his in diuers places which are not written in his Pœmander, considering that hee wrote fyre and thirtie thousand, fiue hundred, and fiue and twentie Volumes, that is to say, Rolles of Paper, as Iamblichus reporteth. And it is said that this Trismegistus otherwise called Theut, is ỳ same that taught the Aegyptians to read, and which inuented them Geometrie and Astronomie, which deuided Aegypt into partes, which left his forewarning against ouerflowings written in two Pillers, (which Proclus reporteth to haue bene standing still in his time:) And to be short, which had bene reputed and honoured as a God among them. And it may be, that the terrible outcry which the Aegyptians made in calling vpon the first Beginner, whome they tearmed the darkenesse beyond all knowledge, like to the Ensoph of the Hebrewes, and the Night of the Orpheus, was still remaining vnto them, of his diuinitie. Thus haue you seene how zoroastres and Mercurie haue aunswered vnto vs, the one for the Persians & Chaldeans, & the other for the Aegyptians. For in matters of Wisdome, the wise ought to be beleeued for the whole Nation.

Iamblichus in his 30. Chap. of Mysteries.

Plato in his Phedon and Philebus.

Eusebius of Demonstration.

Iamblichus Chap. 1.

Proclus vpon Plato.

Damascius the Platonist.

Now let vs come to the Greekes. Orpheus which is the auncientest of them all, as sone as he beginneth to speake of these misteries, doeth first and formost shut all Heathenish folke out of the doores, & then saith thus: Let thine eye be vpon the word of God, and start not away from it, for that is it that made the world, and is immortall, and (according to the old saying) is perfect of it selfe, and the perfecter of all things, and it cannot be seene but with the minde. And afterward, I adiure thee ô Heauen (saith he) the wise worke of the great God, I adiure thee, thou voice of the father which he spake first, and so forth. For this as appeareth afore) was a prayer which he had learned of Mercurie: from whom also proceeded the common misterie of the Poets, That Pallas was bred of Iupiters braine. The same man saith that the first Mother of things was wisedome, and afterward delightfull loue. And in his Argonawt he calleth this loue, most auncient, most perfect in it selfe, and the bringer forth and disposer of all things.

The auncient Greekes.

Orpheus.

φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ θύρας δ' ἐπιθέσθε βεβήλους.

And againe: εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέφας, τόνδε προσαύρει, &c.

Clemens. li. 5. Strom. Orph.

καὶ μῆτις πρώτος γένετ' ἠδ' ἔρος ἁβροκελεύθης.

προσφύτατόν τε καὶ ἄντικρυ δὴ πάλαι ἔμπης,
Θέσκετ' ἰδεῖν ἅπαντα διαμπερὲς πάλιν εἰσανιδόντι.

Whereupon Pherecydes also saith, That God intending to make the world, changed himselfe into loue. And Iamblichus sayth that Pythagoras had the Philosophie of Orpheus alwayes before his eyes: and therefore it is not for vs to woonder, though he attributed the creation of all

Orph. in Argonaut.

things to Wisdome, and (as Proclus reporteth) commended three Gods together in one, as Plato doth. Howsoeuer the case stand, Aristotle saith, that they fathered all their perfection vpon three. And Parmenides did set downe Lone as a first beginner; insomuch that in disputing in Plato he leaueth vs there an euident marke of the three Inbeings or Persons as Plotin noteth; but we shall see it laid foorth more plainly hereafter by Numenius the Pythagorist. Zeno the father of the Stoiks, acknowledged the worde to be God, and also the Spirite of Iupiter. And Alcinous reporteth that Socrates and Plato taught that God is a minde, and that in the same there is a certaine Inshape, which Inshape as in respect of God, is the knowledge which God hath of himselfe; and in respect of the worlde, is the Patterne or Mould thereof; and in respect of it selfe, is verie essence. This in fewe wordes conteineth much matter, that is to wit, the one essence which God begetteth by the considering or knowing of himselfe, according to the patterne whereof he hath buylded the world. But yet Plato himselfe speaketh more plainly in his Epinomis. Euerie Starre (saith he) keepeth his course according to the order which (ho logos) the Worde hath set, which worde he calleth Most diuine. In his booke of Commonweale he calleth him the begotten Sonne of the Good, most like vnto him in all things, the Good (saith he) being as the Sunne that shineth in the skye, and the begotten Sonne being as the power of the Sunne whereby we see (that is to saye, as the light.) Also in his Epistle to Hermius, Erastus, and Coriscus, he chargeth them with an othe to reade it often, and at the least, two of them togither, saying: Call vppon God the Prince of all things, that are and shalbe, and the Lorde the Father of that Prince and of that Cause: of whome if we seeke the knowledge aright, wee haue as much skill as can be giuen to blessed men. Then is there a Lorde and Cause of all things, and moreouer a Father of the same Lorde. But vnto King Dennis who had asked of him the nature of God, hee setteth downe all the three persons. The nature of the first (saith he) is to be spoken of in Riddlewise, to the intent that if any mischaunce befall the Letter by Sea or by Land, the reading thereof may be as good as no reading at all. Thus then standeth the case. All things are at commaundement of the King of the whole worlde, and all things are for his sake, and he is the cause of the beautie that is in them: And about the seconde are the seconde things: and about the thirde are the third, and so foorth. Now these (as he himselfe saith) are Riddles to Dennis the Tyrant vnto whome he wrote, and my exponnding of them of the three Inbeings or Persons in the Godhead, is by the consent of all the Platonists, who haue made long Commentaries vpon those wordes, agreeing all in this point, that by these three Kings he meaneth the Good, the Vnderstanding, and the Soule of the World.

Pherecydes in Proclus.

Aristotle in his first booke of Heauen.

Parmenides in his Cosmogonie alledged by Plutarke.

πρώτιστον μὲν θεὸν μετιέναι πάντων.

Ploun. Enn. 4. lib. 1. Chap. 8.

Zeno the Stoik.

Alcinous cõcerning the Doctrine of Plato.

Plato in his Epinomis.

ὁ τῶν πάντων διάτακτος λόγος.

Plato in his sixt booke of Commonweale.

τὸ ἔκγονον τὸ ἀγαθοῦ.

Plato in his epistle to Hermias, Erastus, and Coriscus.

Plato vnto Dennis the Tyrant.

Δεύτερα περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτων περὶ τὰ τρίτα.

And

And Origene against Celsus alledgeth certaine other places of Plato to the same purpose; the which I leaue, for auoyding of tediousnes. But this doctrine which beeing reuealed from aboue, came from hande to hande vnto Aristotle, who liued about three hundred yeares afore the comming of Christ (seemeth to haue decayed in him;) who intending to ouerthrowe all the Philosophers that went afore him, corrupted their doctrine diuers wayes. And therewithall he gaue him selfe more to the seeking and searching of Naturall things, than to the mynding of the Author of them. Yet notwithstanding, hee fathereth the cause of all things vpon a certaine Understanding, which hee calleth Noun, that is to saye Mynde, acknowledging the same to be infinite in GOD; and also vpon a Free will whereby he disposeth all things; whereupon in the last Chapter I concluded a second and a third person. Insomuch that in a certaine place hee saith plainly, that GOD is to be honoured according to the nomber of three, and that the same is after a sort the Lawe of Nature.

Origen in his 6. booke against Celsus.

In his first booke of Philosophie. Also in his booke of the World. In his first booke of Heauen.

Now, forasmuch as this doctrine is not bred of mans braine; if it be demaunded whence all the Philosophers tooke it; wee shal finde that the Greekes had it from out of Aegypt. Orpheus witnesseth in his Argonawts, that to seeke the Misteries (that is to say the Religion) of the Aegyptians, he went as farre as Memphis, visiting all the Cities vpon the Riuer Nyle.

Throughout the land of Ægypt I haue gone,
To Memphis and the Cities euerychone
That worship Apis, or be seated by
The Riuer Nyle whose streame doth swell so hy.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Also Pythagoras visited the Aegyptians, Arabians and Chaldeans, yea, and went into Iewry also, and dwelt a long time at Mount Carmel (as Strabo saith:) insomuch that the Priestes of that Countrey shewed Strabo still the iourneyes and walkes of him there. Now, in Aegypt he was the Disciple of one Sonchedie the chiefe Prophet of the Aegyptians, and of one Nazarie an Assyrian (as Alexander reporteth in his booke of Pythagorasies discourses) whom some (miscounting the time) thought to be Ezechiel. And Hermippus a Pythagorist writeth that Pythagoras learned many things out of the lawe of Moyses. Also the said Aegyptian Priest vpbraided Solon, that the Greekes were Babes, & knew nothing of Antiquitie. And Solon (as saith Proclus) was Disciple in Says a Citie of Aegypt, to one Patanit, or (as Plutarke saith) to one Sonchis; in Heliople, to one Oeclapie; & in Sebenitie, to one Etimon. Plato was the Disciple of one Sechnuphis of Heliople in Aegypt; and Eudoxus the Guidian was the Disciple of one Conuphis; all which Maisterteachers issued out of the Schoole of the great Trismegistus afore named.

Cicero. Iamblichus. Porphyrius. Clemens in the first book of his Stromats. Out of Alexander & Hermippus. Plato in his Timæus. Proclus vpon Timæus. Plutark in his Treatise of Isis & Osyris.

Plato in his Epinomis, Cratylus and Phil. Iustine & Manethon alledged by Iosephus against Appion.

To be short, Plato confesseth in many places, that knowledge came to the Greekes by those whom they commonly called the barbarous people. As touching Zoroastres and Trismegistus, the one was an Hebrew, and the other an Aegyptian. And at the same time the Hebrewes were conuersant with the Aegyptians, as is to be seene euen in the Heathen Authors. Whereby it appeareth that the originall fountaine of this doctrine was to be found among them; which is the thing that we haue to proue as now. I meane not to gather hither a great sort of Texts of the Bible, wherein mention is made as well of the second person as of the third, of which sort are these, Thou art my Sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. The Lorde (saith Wisedome) possessed me in the beginning of his wayes; afore the depths was I conceiued, &c. Also concerning the holie Ghost, The Spirite of the Lord walketh vpon the waters. The Spirit of Wisedome is gentle: And it is an ordinarie speech among the Prophets to say, The Spirit of the Lord was vpon me. And in this next saying are two of them together, or rather all three. The Heauens were spred out by the worde of the Lorde, and all the power of them by the Spirite of his mouth. For they be so alledged and expounded in infinite bookes, howbeit that the Iewes at this day doe labour as much as they can, to turne them to another sence.

Psalm. 2. Prou. 8. Gen. 1. Esay. 53. Esay. 61. Psalm. 33.

The Iewes themselues do proue the Trinitie.

But let vs see what their owne Doctors haue left vs in expresse words, (for the most part) culled by themselues out of written bookes, afore that the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ had made the doctrine suspected. In their Zohar which is one of their bookes of greatest authoritie, Rabbi Simeon, the sonne of Iohai, citeth Rabbi Ibba expounding this text of Deuteronomie, Hearken ô Israel, The euerlasting our God is one God. The Hebrewe standeth thus, *Iehouah Echad Iehouah Elohenu*. By the first *Iehouah* which is the peculiar name of God not to be communicated to any other, Rabbi Ibba (saith he) meaneth the Father the Prince of all. By *Elohenu*, that is to say, our God, he meaneth the Sonne the Fountain of all knowledge. And by the second *Iehouah* he meaneth the holy Ghost proceeding from them both, who is the measurer of the voice. And hee calleth them One, because he is vndiuidable: and this secrete (saith he) shal not be reuealed afore the comming of the Messias. The same Rabbi Simeon expounding these words of Esay, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hostes: saith, Holy is the Father, Holy is the Sonne, and Holy is the holy Ghost. In so much that this Author who is so mistical among them, doth in other places call them the Three Mirrours, Lights, and soueraigne Fathers, which haue neither beginning nor end, and are the name and substance to the Roote of all Rootes. And Rabbi Ionathas in many Copies of his Chaldey Paraphrase, saith the same. And therefore no maruell though the Thalmudists of olde time commaunded men to say that

Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in Zohar vpõ the 6. of Deut.

R. Simeon ben Iohai expounding the 6. of Esay.

that verse twise a day, and that some obserue it still at this day. Vpon these words of the 50 Psalme, *Elelohim Iehouah dibber*, that is to saye, The Lord of Lords the Euerlasting hath spoken: The ordinarie Commentarie saith also, that by the said repetition the Prophet meaneth the three *Middoth* Properties whereby God created the worlde. According whereunto Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan saieth, that he created by his word; And Rabbi Simeon sayeth he created by the breath of his mouth. And this saying of the Preacher, That a threefold Corde is not so soone broken, is expounded by the same glose, (I examine not whether filthy or no) that the misterie of the Trinitie in the one God is not easie to be expressed. Now these three Properties, (which the Hebrewes call *Panim*, the Greekes πρόσωπα, and we and the Latins call Persons) are betokened by diuers names among the men of olde time, but yet they iumpe all in one, according as they vnderstode them, some more clearely than other some. Some name them the Beginning, the Wisedome, and the Feare or Loue of God: and they say, that this Wisedome is *Meen soph*, as the Cabalists terme it, that is to say, of the infinite and most inward vnderstanding of God, who beholdeth himselfe in himselfe, for so do they expound it. Which is the selfesame thing that I spake of in the former Chapter, namely that God his Sonne or Wisedome by his mynding of himselfe. Othersome call him Spirite, Word, and Voyce: as Rabbi Azariell doth in these wordes following. The Spirite bringeth foorth the Word and the Voice, but not by opening the Lippes, or by speech of the tongue, or by breathing after the maner of man; And these three be one Spirite, to wit one God, as we read (saith he) in the booke of the creating of man in these termes. One Spirit rightly liuing, blessed be he and his name, who liueth for euer and euer, Spirit, Word, and Voyce, that is to say, One holy Ghost and two Spirites of that Spirit. Now this booke of the Creation which he alledgeth, is one Rabbi Abrahams a verie auncient Cabalist; Neuertheless it is of so great authoritie among them, that they father it euen vpon the Patriarke Abraham himself. And that which he saith agreeth wholy to that which we say: for the minde conceiueth the inward speech, and of the minde and of breath procœdeth the voyce. These three (saith Rabbi Hamay) being one, haue such a proportionable respect one towardes another, as that the one, the Vniter, and the thing Vnited are but one point, to wit, the Lorde of the whole worlde. Rabbi Isaac vpon the booke of the Creation maketh three nomberings, (which he termeth the Loftie one) in the Ensoph, that is to say, in the Infinite, that is to wit, Garlond, Wisedome, and vnderstanding. And to betoken them, Rabbi Assee saith that the custome was to marke them in all ages after this manner with three Iods, *Iehouah*, which is as much to say as the Beeër, or He that is.

Psalm 50. and the Midrasch vpõ the same.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpõ the 42 of Gen. Midrasch. Coheleth chap. 4.

Rabbi Ishac ben Schola vpon the last verses of the 111. and 112. Psalmes.

R. Azariel in his Commentarie or treatise of Holinesse.

Iepher hajetsirah.

R. Hamay in his Treatise of Speculation.

Hagnij vn. R. Ishac vpon the booke of the Creation.

Cether eschnah binah. Rabbi Assee.

To be short, what diuersitie soeuer there is in the names, they all agrée in the three Inbeings or Persons. And it is no marueil though they could not so wel expresse them as we can now. Rabbi Ioseph the Castilian, hauing learned it out of the auncientest writers, saith thus: The light of the Soule of the Messias, is the liuing God; and the liuing God is the fountaine of the liuing waters: and the Soule of the Messias is the Riuer or Streame of life. And in another place, None but the Messias (saith he) knoweth God fully, because he is the light of God and the light of the Gentiles, and therefore he knoweth God, and God is knowen by him. Now when as they say, that he knoweth God fully, they graunt him to be God; for who can comprehend God but God himselfe? And it is the selfe same thing which I spake of when I said light of light, and when in cõparing the Sonne to the Father, I likened him as a streame to the fountaine, and the Sunne beames to the Sunne. Also we shal sée in place conuenient, that by ẏ Soule of the Messias, they meant The Word: and it is a wonderfull thing that all the names of God in Hebrewe (sauing onely the name of his Essence or single being) haue the plurall termination, notwithstanding that they be ioyned with a Verbe of the singular number, (whereof the auncient Iewes do yeld the same reason that we do:) and that a great sort of the Textes of the olde Testament, which we alledge for the proofe of the Trinitie, are expounded by them in the selfesame sence, howbeit that the Talmudists since the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ, haue taken great paine to wrest them to another meaning.

In his booke intituled, *Schaguareah*, that is to say, The Gate of Light.

The Epistle of the Secretes of R. Nehumia the sonne of Hacana.

Rabbi Iudas Nagid whom they commonly called the Saint and Prophet, speaketh most plainly of all. Wherevpon it is to be vnderstoode, that men were forbidden to vtter the vncommunicable name of God, (that is to wit Iehoua,) saue onely in the daies of attonementmaking: & in stéd thereof they were commaunded to vse the name of Twelue letters, for the other afore mentioned hath but fower. And being asked what the name of Twelue letters was, he answered that it was Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost. Also being demaunded what the name of Two and fortie letters was; he aunswered, The Father is God, the Sonne is God, and the holy Ghost is God, three in one, and one in three. *Now then, it was a doctrine receiued from hand to hand in the Schooles of the Iewes, as we sée by the long continuance thereof in the succession of their Cabale. And therefore the contention of the Iewes and of the Rabbynes was not (to speake properly) in withstanding the doctrine of the three Persons in the Essence of God; but in the applying thereof, namely to the incarnation of the Word, which in their eye was verie farre vnbeséeming the Maiestie of God.

*This is to be seene euen in Saint Math. chap. 1. ver. 20 where the Angel saith to Ioseph, that Mary was with child by the holie Ghost: for otherwise it had bin to no purpose to haue spoken of the Holie Ghost, of whõ they had not heard any speaking afore.

Let vs go to Philo the Iewe who wrote in Greecke, and we shall finde him

him like in all points from leafe to leafe. God (faith he) is the ſoueraigne begetter, and next to him, is the Worde of God. Alſo, There are two Firſts: the one is Gods worde, and the other is God who is afore the Word, and the ſame Worde is the beginning and the ende τὸ ἐφετικὸν of his good pleaſure, intent, or will. And in another place, Like as a Citie (ſaith he) whereof the platforme is yet but ſet downe in the minde of the Builder, hath no place elſwhere than in the Builder: So this world had not any being elſwhere than in the Worde of God which ordeined all things. For what other place could conteine the operations of God, yea or euen the ſimpleſt of his conceiued patternes? Therfore to ſpeak plainly, The VVorld in vnderſtanding, is the VVorde or Conceit of God that made it. And this is not the opinion of me onely, but alſo of Moyſes him ſelfe. And to conclude, he calleth him the Patterne of all Patternes, & the Mould wherein all things were caſt. And in another place, This worlde (ſaith he) is Gods yonger Sonne: but as for the elder Sonne, hee cannot be comprehended but in vnderſtanding. For he it is who by prerogatiue of elderſhip abideth with the Father. Now, this is worde for worde the ſame thing that S. Iohn ſaith, And the VVord was with God. And againe, The Word is the place, the Temple, and the dwelling houſe of God, becauſe the Worde is the onely thing that can conteine him. And that is the thing which I ſaide, namely, that GOD comprehending him ſelfe by his vnderſtanding, begate the Sonne or the VVord equall to himſelfe, becauſe he conceiueth not any thing leſſe than himſelfe. And to ſhewe the greatneſſe of this VVord, he could ſcarce tell what names to giue it. He calleth it the Booke wherein the eſſences of all things that are in the whole worlde are written and printed; the perfect Patterne of the VVorld; the Day ſunne that is to be ſeene but onely of the Mynde; the Prince of the Angels; the Firſtborne of GOD; the Shepheard of his flocke; the chiefe Highprieſt of the World; the Manna of mens Soules; the wiſedome of God; the perfect Image of the Higheſt; and the Organe or Inſtrument whereby God (being moued thereto of his owne goodneſſe) created the VVorlde. And to be ſhort, hee calleth him the Firſtbeginner, Lightfulneſſe, or altogether light, God, and the Beer that is of himſelfe. All theſe are ſuch things as more cannot be attributed to God himſelfe: and he could not haue ſaid more expreſſely, that the VVord is Coeternall and Coeſſentiall with the Father, that is to ſaye, of one ſelfeſame ſubſtance, and of one ſelfeſame euerlaſtingneſſe with the Father. Neuertheleſſe, he addeth yet further, That this VVorde hath in it the ſeedes of all things: That he hath diſtributed to euery of them their ſeuerall natures: and that he is the inuincible bond of the whole world and of all things therein. So then, he is (if I may ſo terme him) the materiall, efficient, and formall cauſe of all things.

The ſame is alſo in the Preaching of Iohn the Baptiſt, Chap. 3. ver. 20. He ſhal baptiſe ye with the holy Ghoſt & with Fire. And in diuers other places. And in verie deede the name of the holy Ghoſt is rife among al the Rabbines. Philo in his Treatiſe vpon the ſixe daies. In his treatiſe, that Dreames are of God. In his booke of the World. In his booke of the remouings of Abraham.

Philo in the Allegories of the law, in his Bookes of Dreames, of Tyllage, of the fierie ſworde, of the Heire of heauenly things: of the euil that layeth ſnares for the good, &c.

πανσοφία.

Philo in his bookes concerning the Heire of Heauenly things. Of the modestie of women and of the word, &c.

And vnto whom can that be attributed but vnto God? Againe, There are (saith he) Two Speeches or wordes: the one being as an Originall deede, is aboue vs: and the other being as an Exemplification or Copie thereof, is within vs. And Moyses (saith he) calleth the same the Image of God: and this other which is our vnderstanding, he calleth a latter Copie thereof. And the saide first Speech (saith he in his booke of the World) is the expresse print or stampe of God, and euerlasting as God him selfe is. And what more saith Saint Iohn, or the Apostle to the Hebrewes? And in all those places, (which are worthie to be read throughout,) he vseth S. Iohns owne terme (namely Logos) to signifie the sayd Speech or Worde.

Exμαγειον, that is to say, as a print printed in Waxe.

Of the holy Ghost he speaketh more darkly, because the Hebrewes (as we shal see hereafter) aimed chiefely at the Word or second Person. But it is enough for vs to haue seene, that this fountaine abode sufficiently clere among the Hebrewes, till the comming of Christ (for Philo liued vnder the Emperours Tiberius and Caligula) though the streames thereof were as good as dryed vp among the Gentiles: verily because the Messias was to be borne among the Hebrewes, of the beleefe in whom, this doctrine was to be the groundworke. For as sone as Christ was come into the world, it toke light of him againe, as at the daysunne which inlighteneth not onely the halfe compasse whereon he shineth, but also euen a part of that which seeth him not. For this doctrine was not onely receiued in the Church, but also imbraced of al the great Philosophers that came after, notwithstanding that in all other things, they were deadly enimies to the Christians.

The later Pythagorians & Academiks. Numenius in his booke of the Good. Looke Eusebius and Cyrillus lib. 8.

Numenius, the excellentest of al the Pythagorians (of whom Porphyrie reporteth Plotinus to haue made so great account, that he wrote an hundred bookes of Commentaries vpon him) saith these wordes: He that wil know the first & second God, must well distinguish, and aboue all things he must well settle his minde: and then hauing called vpon God, he may open the treasure of his thoughts. And therefore let vs begin thus. God (I meane the first who is in him selfe,) is single, throughout compacted, & one in him selfe, & in no part diuidable. Also the second & thirde God is one: but yet you must consider, that the first is the Father of him that is the worker of all things. Now ye must vnderstand, that, whereas wee say, the First, Second, & Third Person; it is their maner to say, ὁ First, Second, & Third God, which thing you must marke here at once for all the residue following. And whereas he saith that the first of them is the Father, & that he is single, & that they be but one: it is not to be doubted but that he maketh them all one Essence, so as the second holdeth of the first, as the Light holdeth of the Sunne. Againe, The first God (saith he) is free from all worke, but the second is the maker which commaundeth

The Reader must vnderstand, that by three Gods they meane three Inbeings, as they themselues do declare it.

Heauen:

Heauen: and therefore are there two liues, the one from the first, and the other from the second: the one occupied about things subiect to vnderstanding, and the other about things subiect both to vnderstanding and sence. And moreouer, by reason of the mouing which goeth afore in the second, there is also a sending which goeth afore in the first: and so there is a certeine ioyntmouing from whence the healthfull order of the World is spred foorth vniuersally. συμφυτος κίνησις. Now, whereas he speaketh of mooving, it is after the maner of the Platonists, who, (metaphorically) doe meane, that to be vnderstood or knowen is to moue, and to vnderstand or know is to be moued, because they wanted wordes to expresse these deepe matters. And in the same sence do wee read in the Scripture, that the Sonne is sent of the Father. And againe, God the worker or maker (saith he) is the beginner of Begetting: and God the Good is the beginner of Beeing: and the Second is the liuely expresser of the First, as Begetting is an Image of Beeing. δημιουργὸς. And in another place he saith, That this Worker being the Sonne, is knowen to al men by reason of the creating of the World: but as for the first Spirite, which is the Father, hee is vnknowen vnto them. And surely (considering their maner of speaking) he could not haue said more plainly, That the Sonne is the Image of the Father, that he hath his being in him, that he is one with him, and that by him the Father made all things. And it is agreeable to that which Proclus witnesseth of him, who reporteth of this Numenius, that he worshipped three Gods; of whom he calleth the first the Father, the seconde the Maker, and the third the Worke proceeding frō them both. Wherein we ought not so much to seeke into the default, as to commende the good that is therein. Besides this, it is good to marke here once for all, that these men which speake vnto vs here of three Gods, are the same which confessed vnto vs heretofore, that there is but onely one GOD. Whereupon it followeth that those three be but three Inbeings or Persons, in one Essence.

This Plotinus liued vnder the Emperor Galien about the yeare of our Lord 25. or Plotin. En. 5. lib. 1. Of the three soueraigne or chief persons or Inbeings.

Plotinus, who was verie well studied in the bookes of Numenius, stepeth yet further into the matter. And first of all, he hath made a Booke expressely and purposely of the three chiefe Inbeings, whereof I will set downe here a certeine briefe Summe. There are (saith he) three chiefe Inbeings, the One or the Good, the Vnderstanding or Wit, & the Soule of the World. And of these three it is not for any man to speak, without praying vnto God, & without settling his mind afore vnto quietnes. And if it be demaunded how one of them begetteth another: it is to be considered that we speake of euerlasting things, & therfore we must not imagine any temporall begetting. For this begetting which wee speake of here, importeth and betokeneth but only cause and order. How cōmeth it to passe (saith he) that this Vnderstanding is begotten of the One? ἐπινοίαν. To the intent the Reader think not any obscuritie in

Surely

this or other that follow, he must remember that to the first Inbeeing, (that is to say, Person) the Philosophers giue the names of the One, the Minde, the Good, the Father, and the Begetter: vnto the second person, the names of Beeer, or he that is, wit or vnderstanding, the Beautiful, & sometimes Speech, word, Reason, wisedom, Sonne, & the begotten: and vnto the third person, the names of Loue, Will, Power, & the Soule of the World: and sometimes, the second world, &c. In respect of this Third, they call the First the Amiable, and in respect of the Second, they call him the Mynd, as shall be seene by examples.

surely it obtaineth not his being by meanes of any assent, commaundement, or mouing of the One: but it is a light shed foorth euery where, streaming from the One as brightnesse from the Sunne, and begotten of the One, howbeit without any mooning of the One. For all things, as in respect of their continuing of their nature, do necessarily yeeld out of their owne essence and present power, a certeine nature that dependeth vpon them, which is a verie Image, and countershape of the power from whence it proceedeth. As for example. Fire yeeldeth heate, and Snowe cold: and Herbes yeeld chiefely sents or sauours. And all things when they be in their perfection, ingender somewhat. That then which is euerlastingly perfect, doth euerlastingly beget, yea, and it begetteth a perfect and euerlasting thing, howbeit that the thing begotten is lesse than the begetter. And what shall wee say then of the most perfect? That nothing proceeded from him? Nay rather, that the greatest next him proceedeth of him. Now, the greatest and chiefest next vnto the One, is the Vnderstanding, the which hath neede alonely of the One, but the One hath no neede of it. Needes then must it be, that that thing which is begotten of that which is better than Vnderstanding, must be the Vnderstanding it selfe. And this Vnderstanding, beeing the verie Word of GOD and the Image of GOD, beholdeth God, and is vnseparably ioyned with God, and cannot be separated from him otherwise than respectiuely, for that the one of them is not the other. **Verily after the same manner that we affirme the Father to be one person and the Sonne another, and yet neither of them both to be any other essence than the other. But let vs see how God begetteth this Vnderstanding, this Wit, or this Worde.** It is (saith he), by the super abundaunce of himselfe. And therefore this begotten Vnderstanding must needes retaine much of the begetter in him, and haue almost like resemblance vnto him, as the light hath vnto the Sunne, howbeit so as the begetter is not the verie Vnderstanding it selfe: **that is to saye, they must differ respectiuely and not essentially: which expresseth his former speech where hee said** *impium* **after another manner.** And how then shall hee (saith he) beget him? Euen by a certaine turning backe of the begotten to behold the begetter, and this beholding is nothing els but the mynding or vnderstanding of the good. And like as the One is but One, so the vnderstanding thereof is all things. For by being bred of the First beginner, it knoweth all things, and bringeth foorth all things that are: namely, all Beautie of shapes, yea, and all the Goddes that are to bee discerned by insight of Mynde.

These words of his are repeated infinite times, and therefore I will forbeare to rehearse them here any more.

As touching the third Inbeing, whome he calleth the Soule of the World,

Worde, thus saith he therefore. Like as the Vnderstanding is the begotten issue, Word and Image of God or of the One: so is the Soule of the Worlde the issue, Worde and Image of the Vnderstanding, and is as a certaine Reason ingendred of the Vnderstanding, the substance wherof consisteth in contemplation: and the same Reason is as the light of the Vnderstanding and dependeth thereupon. And as there is no meane betweene the One, and the Vnderstanding: so is there no meane betweene the Vnderstanding and the Soule of the Worlde: but the difference is onely this, that the one of them is as the verie heate which is in fire it selfe, and the other is as the heate which fire communicateth or imparteth vnto other things (by heating them with his heate.) And that is the same thing which wee affirme when wee saye, That the Holye Ghost proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne, calling him the Gift of God, because that by him (who is his Loue) he vouchsafeth to impart himselfe to vs here beneath. But wee shall discerne his meaning yet better by the effects which he attributeth vnto him. This Soule (saith he) hath breathed life into all liuing things in the Ayre, in the Sea, and on the Land. It ruleth the Sunne, the Starres and the Heauen: It hath quickened the Matter which erst was nothing and vtterly full of darknesse: and all this hath it done by the onely will of it selfe. It is all throughout all, like to the Father, as well in that it is but one, as in that it extendeth it selfe into all places. And he concludeth thus: And thus farre extendeth the Godhead. In deede hee speaketh not so distinctly thereof, as Gregorie Nazianzene; but yet forasmuch as he sayth, that they be all three eternall, of one selfesame substance, and differing onely in this, that the one of them is not the other: the same may well be gathered of his sayings. In the residue of his booke he prooueth that the same was the opinion of Plato, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras. And because the inward man (as he termeth it,) is the Image of God: he taketh proofe of the three Inbeings, from the consideration of our Soule, wherein there is a Mynd, a Reason and a Life: which three be (notwithstanding) all but one Soule. Neuertheless, he expresseth the manner of the said begetting in diuers other places. The One (saith he) begetteth the vnderstanding, of the abundance of himselfe. And the vnderstanding is the Beeër, yea and the verie being of the Beeër, (marke those words for all that followeth) and turneth backe againe to him, and is filled with him. And his conclusion is, that the Mynder, the Mynding and the Mynded, are in the Godhead all one thing: and that this Mynding, which is the first and most excellent act of the Godhead, is essentiall, that is to say, the verie substance or being of the Godhead, because that all the actiõs of the Godhead are ỹ verie Godhead or God himself. Now, by the Mynder, he meaneth the One or the First person; and by the Minde or Beeër, hee meaneth

Note. Another person & not another thing.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 2. & lib. 3. Chap. 8. & Ennead. 3. li. 9 Cap. vlt. The vnderstanding of the Good.

Plotinus Enn. 5. lib. 2. & lib. 3. Chap. 5. 6. 7. 12. & lib. 4. Chap. 2.

meaneth the Second; and consequently, that they be Coessentiall, (that is to say, both one selfe same thing, which is God. Againe, * There is (saith he) a double kinde of Mynding: For a man myndeth, either another, or himselfe. Now, he that myndeth himselfe, hath not a seuerall being from that thing which he mindeth; but being both in one, he beholdeth himselfe in himselfe, and so becommeth two parties, which yet notwithstanding be both but one thing still. Now therefore there remaineth no more but to conclude, that the Begetter and the Begotten, the Mynder and the Mynded are both together, and also both one selfesame thing; and that if they be both one selfesame thing, the one of them is not better than the other. Whereupon it followeth, that whereas he saide heretofore that The One is better than the Vnderstanding (which he calleth here the Mynded,) he ment it but in way of relation, and not in way of beeing. For in another place he sayth againe: He that is the verie Liuing himselfe, is not the Mynded, but wee call him the Mynder. And although they differ one from another, yet notwithstanding it is not possible for them to be disseuered. Onely they may be discerned in vnderstanding, the one frō the other, because the one of them is not the other; which maner of discerning is no impedimēt but that they remaine both one thing still. For onely God is both the partie that is conceiued in Mynd or Vnderstanding, & also the partie that conceiueth him. In so much that when wee say, that the Mynder beholdeth the formes or Paternes of things: we meane not that he looketh at them in another, but that he possesseth them in himselfe, by hauing in himselfe the partie that is mynded. Or rather were it amisse to say, that the same which is mynded is the verie Mynder himselfe in his vnitie & settled state: and that the nature of the Mynded which is beheld, is an act that issueth from him that Myndeth, which act consisteth in beholding or mynding him, and in beholding him becometh one selfesame thing with him? Againe he saith in another place, To bee and to vnderstand, are both one thing (in God:) and if any thing proceede thereof inwardly, yet is it no whit diminished thereby, because the Mynder & the Mynded are both one same thing. For the beholding of ones selfe in his selfe, is nothing but himself: But yet must there needs be alwaies both a selfesameneſſe and also anotherneſſe. Now then, let vs conclude thus; that these two Inbeings or Persons, namely, The Mynded & the Mynder, are both one thing; and therefore that they differ not but only in way of relation; And that forasmuch as there must néeds be euer both a selfesameneſſe & also anotherneſſe, (if I may so terme them) the selfesameneſſe is in the Essence or being, because that from God there procēdeth nothing but God; and the otherneſſe is in the Inbeings or Persons, as in respect that the one is the begetter, & the other is the begotten.

Plotin. Enn. 5 lib. 5. Ch. 3. & lib. 6. Ch. 1. & lib. 8. ch. 11. & Enn. 3. lib. 8. cap. 7. 8. 10.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 9. Chap. 1.

More.

Moreouer, this Plotinus calleth the begetter the Father, and the begotten the Sonne, after the same maner that we do. Certesse (saith he) the vnderstanding is beautifull, and the most beautifull of all, and therefore in diuers other places he termeth him the Beautifull, (as he termed the First the Good) and sitteth in cleere light and brightnesse, and conteineth in him the nature of al things that are. As for this World of ours, although it be beautifull, yet it is scarce an image or shadow of him: but the world that is aboue, is set in the verie light it selfe, where there is nothing that is voide of vnderstanding, nor nothing darke, but euery where is led a most blessed life. Nowe, like as he that beholdeth the skye and the starres, falleth by and by to seeking the author of this World: So he that considereth and commendeth the Worlde that is not to be discerned but in vnderstanding, doth likewise seeke the author thereof, namely who he is that begate that World, and where and how he begate that Sonne, that vnderstanding, that Child so bright & beautifull, euen that Sonne full of the Father. As for the soueraigne father, he is neither the vnderstanding, nor the Sonne, nor the Child, but a Minde higher than Vnderstanding and Child. And next vnto him is the Vnderstanding or Child, who needeth both vnderstanding and nourishment, and is next to him that hath neede of nothing. And yet for all this, the Sonne hath the verie fulnesse of vnderstanding, because he hath it immediatly and at the first hand. But as for him that is the higher (that is to wit the Father:) he hath no neede of him: for then should the Sonne be the verie good it selfe. So say we also that the Sonne hath all fulnesse, howbeit of the Father, and that the Father hath all fulnesse, but of himselfe: and that the Father is not the Sonne or the Worde, but that the Sonne or the Worde is of the Father. And in another place he saith, What shall a man haue gained by seeing or beholding God? That he shall haue seen God begetting a Sonne, and in that Sonne all things, and yet holding him still in him without paine after his conceiuing of him, of whom this World (as beautifull as wee see it to be) is but an Image: In which sort a painted Table is after a manner a portraiture of the minde of him that made it. I said moreouer that this Sonne is the Wisedome of the Father; the like whereof Plotinus also saith vnto vs. All things (saith he) that are done either by Art or by Nature, are done by Wisedome. If they be done by Arte, from Arte we come to Nature, and of Nature againe we demaund from whence shee hath it: whereby wee finally come to a Minde, and then are wee to seeke whether the Minde haue begotten VVisedome: And if that be graunted, we will inquire yet farther, whereof? And if they say it begetteth it of it selfe: That cannot be, vnlesse the Minde be the verie VVisedome it selfe. Wisedome therefore shalbe the Essence, and the verie Essence shalbe Wisedome, and the worthinesse of

Plotin. Enn. 6. lib. 7. ch. 39. & lib. 7. The same in one respect, & another in another respect: or, all one in one respect, and diuers in another respect.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 5. ca. 12.

πρότερα ἴχνη.

Plotin. Enn. 5. lib. 8. Chap. 5.

Νοῦς.

the

the Eſſence ſhall be Wiſedome. And therefore euery Eſſence that wanteth Wiſedome, is in deede an Eſſence as in reſpect that Wiſedome made it: but foraſmuch as it hath no Wiſedome in it ſelfe, it is no true Eſſence in deede. Now, the ordinarie teaching of Plotine is, to call the Vnderſtanding or ſecond Perſon the verie Beer in deede, or the verie true Eſſence; and the firſt perſon a thing higher than Vnderſtanding or Eſſence. Whereupon it ſhould follow, that with him, Wiſedome and true Eſſence are both one: that is to ſay, that the ſecond perſon is Wiſedome. To the ſame purpoſe alſo he ſaith, that the ſaid Minde poſſeſſeth all things in his homebred Wiſedom: That all ſhapes are but beames and effects thereof: and that the ſame is the trueth, yea and King of trueth; which is a name that the Scripture alſo attributeth to the ſecond perſon.

τὸ ὄντως ὄν.

Plotin in his booke of Inſhapes. Enn.3.lib.9. Chap.2.

As touching the third perſon, whom he calleth the Soule of the world, hee ſæmeth in his other bookes to lay vs a foundation of a better opinion. For. God (ſaith he) hath wrought, and he wrought not vnwillingly: and therefore there is a will in GOD. Nowe ſurely he whoſe power is aunſwerable to his will, ſhould by and by become the better. God then who is the good it ſelfe (than the which nothing can be better,) filleth his owne will to the full, ſo as he is the thing that he liſteth to be, and liſteth to be that which he is, and his will is his verie Eſſence. This will againe, is his act or operation, and that act is his verie ſubſtance. And ſo God ſetteth downe himſelfe in this act of Beeing. And this is in a maner all one with the things which I ſpake in the former Chapter: namely, that God by his will produceth a third Perſon, that is to ſaye, the loue of him ſelfe by delighting in himſelfe. And in another place, This ſame God (ſaith he) is both the louely and loue: and this Loue is the loue of himſelfe: for of himſelfe and in himſelfe is he altogether beautifull. And whereas he is ſaide to be altogether with himſelfe: it coulde not be ſo, vnleſſe that both the thing which is and alſo the perſon which is togither therewith, were both one ſelfeſame thing. Now, if togither Beer, (for I muſt be faine to vſe that worde) and the thing togither wherewith he is, be both one: and likewiſe the deſirer and the thing deſired be one alſo: Surely the deſire and the Eſſence muſt alſo needes be one ſelfeſame thing. And this deſire of the Minde is the Loue it ſelfe, whom wee call the holy Ghoſt, which procæedeth by the Will, and ſo by the foreſaid reaſons is proued to be Coeſſentiall. And this deſire (ſaith he in another place) is in the Minde, which alwaies deſireth and alwayes poſſeſſeth the firſt. This Loue then procæedeth not alonely from the firſt perſon, but alſo from the ſecond, according to his former teaching concerning the Soule of the World, which is, that it procæedeth from the firſt perſon by the ſecond. And thus haue wee the three Perſons or

Plotin. Enn.6. lib.8.8. Chap. 13.15.27.

Plotin.Enn.3. li.8. Chap.10.

Plotin.Enn.3. lib.9.Chap.1.

In-

Inbeings acknowledged & layd forth by Plotinus, whom I haue alledged somewhat the more at length, because he auoweth it to be a verie auncient doctrine, and that he had learned it of his predecessors Numenius, Seuerus, Cronius, Gaius, Atticus, Longinus, and Philarchæus, & did afterward teach it to his Disciples, (who esteemed him as a God,) as we shall see hereafter in their writings.

Cyril against Iulian. lib. 8. Porphyrius in the life of Plotinus. Plotinus against the Gnostiks. Enn. 2. lib. 9. Chap. 1.

Iamblichus saith plainly that God made the World by his diuine Word, but he playeth the Philosopher more profoundly is this behalfe. The first God (saith he) being afore the Beeër, and alone; is the father of a first God whom he begetteth, and yet neuertheless abideth still in the soleness of his vnitie: which thing farre exceedeth all abilitie of vnderstanding. This is the Originall patterne of him that is called both Father to himselfe and Sonne to himselfe, and is the Father of one alone, and God verily good in deede. Now, when he saith that he is Father to himselfe, and father to a second: therein he distinguisheth the persons. And whereas he saith that notwithstanding this begetting, yet he abydeth one still: he sheweth that there is no separating of the essences. And he speaketh there after the opinion receiued among the Diuines of Aegypt.

Iamblichus of the sect of the Pythagorists, and in his booke of the Mysteries of the Aegyptians. Chap. 37. and 39.

But let vs heare Porphirie, (to whom Plotinus committed the ouerloking of his bookes,) the best learned of all the Philosophers, as saith Saint Austin, and yet neuertheless the sworne enimie of Christian folk. In his Historie of the Philosophers, these are his words: Plato taught (saith he) that of the Good, (that is to say of the first person) is begotten an vnderstanding, by a manner vnknowen to men: and that the same vnderstanding is all whole next vnto himselfe. In this vnderstanding are all things that truely are, and all the Essences of all things that haue beeing. It is the first beautifull, and beautifull of it selfe, and hath the grace of beautie of himselfe, and before all worldes proceeded from God as from his cause, selfeborne and father of himselfe. And this proceeding of his, was not, as ye would say, by Gods mouing of himselfe to the begetting of him, but by his owne proceeding of himselfe from God, & by his issuing of himselfe. I say by proceeding, howbeit not any beginning of time: (for there was not yet any time,) and time is nothing in comparison of him: But this Minde is without time and onely euerlasting. Yet notwithstanding, as the first God is alwayes one, and alone, although he haue made all things, because nothing can match or compare with him: so also is this Vnderstanding or Minde euerlasting, alone, without time, the time of things that are in time, and yet alwaies abyding in the vnitie of his owne substance. Of a trueth he could not haue saide more plainly, that the Sonne is the Sonne eternally, and of the Fathers owne substance.

Porphirie in his 4. booke of the Philosophers. Cyrill. against Iulian. lib. 1.

Note.

Againe,

Cyrill against Iulian. li.1.

Againe, expounding that foresaid so greatly renowmed place of Platoes Epistle, The Essence of God (saith he) extendeth euen vnto three Inbeings; For there is the highest God or the good; and next him, the Second, who is the workemaister of all things: and lastly the third, who is Soule of the World: for the Godhead extendeth euen vnto the Soule. And that is the thing that Plato ment in speaking of three Kings: for although all things depend vpon these three: yet is their depending, first vpon the first God, secondly vpon the God that issueth of him, and thirdly vpon the thirde that proceedeth from him. Now, in that he raungeth them in order thus one vnder another: he séemeth to play the Arrian. And yet is that verie much in a Heathen man. But whereas he acknowledgeth one selfesame essence; he sheweth that the diuersitie is onely in the functions, and in the order of causes, which is one steppe beyond the Arrians. Also S. Austin saith that he did put ỹ third person as a meane betwéene the other two, after which maner we also do call him the band and vnion of them two, notwithstanding that Plotine do put him vnder the Understanding. But in his booke of the chiefe Fathers or first Authors of things, Proclus setteth downe his opinion yet more plainly, saying, that there is an euerlasting or eternall Mynd, and yet notwithstanding, that afore the same there is a Foreëternall or former euerlasting, vnto whom the euerlasting sticketh, because the Foreeuerlasting is beyond all: and that in the euerlasting béing, there is a second and a third: and that betwéene the Fore euerlasting and the Euerlasting, Eternitie resteth in the middest. Now, forasmuch as all Eternities are alike equall, this forenesse and afternesse which are attributed to the persons, is not in respect of time, but (as Plotine saith) in respect of Nature, and (as ye would say) in consideration of cause.

Porphyrius in his booke of the chiefe fathers, alledged by Proclus.

πρωαιώνιον.

Proclus the Disciple of Iamblichus saith that the auncient Platonists did set downe three Beginners (whom we call Persons.) Of the which, the first, they called the One, The second (namely the said Understanding) they called the One manie: and (the third, that is to wit) the soule (of the world,) they called the One and many. But it is best for vs to heare what he himselfe saith. The Essence or vnderstanding (saith he) (for amõg the Platonists both are one,) is said first of all, to haue his being, of the Good, and to be about the same Good, and to be filled with the light of trueth which proceedeth from it, and to be partaker thereof by the vnion which it hath therewith, and is most diuine, because it dependeth originally vpon the Good. Here ye sée now a second person, Light of Light, hauing his fulnesse from the first. And whereas he saith of the first light, that it is most diuine; it is because he knoweth not by what words to expresse the preheminence of the Father. In another place he saith, that this vnderstanding, that is to say the Soule, is be-

Proclus in Platoes Diffinitie.

come

come One with the God, that is to say, with the Father. And also that by his mindly Inworking he is the very eternitie it selfe, sauing that he dependeth vpon the Vnitie, and that he is like vnto the One: and that the Soule or third person is like to the minde, from whence it proceedeth. But here is yet a more euident thing. The most part (saith he) doe set downe three beginnings, the Good, the Vnderstanding or the Beer, and the Soule. The first principall and vncommunicable, is the One, who is before and beyond all things. Next vnto him is the one Vnitie, which hath his beginning about the said first substance, and aboundeth by participation of him that is the One first of all. And this Inbeing is more than Substantiall, and the first of all the Inbeeings in the Trinitie that is to be conceiued in vnderstanding. And seeing that these two namely the One and the Vnderstanding be in the first ranke of the Trinitie, the first as the Begetter, the second as the begotten, the first as the Perfector, the second as the Perfected: there must needes be a meane power betwixt them, whereby and wherewith the one may yeelde being and perfection to the vnderstanding or Beer. For this proceeding of the Beer frō the One, and likewise the turning backe of the Beer vnto the One, is done by a certeine power or might, and so there is a Trinitie, which is the full number of things belonging to a Minde, so as this Trinitie is Vnitie or Oneneſſe, Power or Might, and Vnderstanding of the Minde. The One is the Producer or yeelder foorth, the Vnderstanding is the thing produced or yeelded foorth, and the Power or Might depending vpon the One, is also linked to the Vnderstanding or Beer. And this Trinitie is the Vnitie or Oneneſſe, the Beer or Vnderstanding, and the Behauiour of thē both, whereby the Vnitie is the Vnitie of the Vnderstanding, and the Vnderstanding is the vnderstanding of the Vnitie or One. Whereby Plato sheweth that the Father is the Father of the Vnderstanding, and the Vnderstanding is the Sonne of the Father, & that the Might or Power is couertly compriſed betweene them both. Now soothly, considering that he was a professed enemie to vs Christians, and therefore eschewed to vse our tearmes; he could not haue spoken better, nor haue said more plainely that the three Inbeings or Persons differ onely by way of relation, so as there is a Father, a Soune, and a Behauiour of them both, which we would haue called the Loue, the Union, or the kindneſſe of them, that is to wit the holy Ghost.

Amelius the Disciple of Plotine, (as Proclus reporteth) maketh also three kings or three Understandings: namely, the Beer, the Hauer, and the Seer: the first, the reall Understanding the second the Understanding from the first, and the third the Understanding in the second. Whom Theodorus imitating, hath termed them, the substantiall Vnderstanding, the Vnderstandable substance, and the Fountaine of Soules.

Amelius Platonist.

Neuertheleſſe, as great an enemie as Amelius was to the Chriſtians, yet notwithſtanding after many ſlyſhes & fetches about, in the end ſpeaking of the ſecond Perſon he yeldeth to that which S. Iohn ſpeaketh of him in his Goſpell. Surely (ſaith he) this is the World that was from euerlaſting, by whom all things that are, were made, as *Heraclitus* ſuppoſed. And before God (ſaith he) it is the verie ſame Worde which that barbarous fellow (for ſo did he terme S. Iohn) auoucheth to haue beene with God at the beginning in the ordering and diſpoſing of things when they were confuſed, and to be God, by whom al things were abſolutelie made, and in whom they be liuing and of whom they haue their life and beeing, and that the ſame Word cloathing it ſelfe with mans fleſh appeared a Man, and yet left not to ſhewe the Maieſtie of his nature. Inſomuch that after he had beene put to death, he tooke his Godheade to him againe, and was verie God as he had beene afore ere he came down into Bodie, Fleſh, and Man. Another Platoniſt ſpeaking to the ſame effect, ſaid that the beginning of S. Iohns Goſpell was worthie to be graued everywhere in letters of Gold. Thus ye ſee that the Greke Philoſophie as wel afore as after the comming of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt agreeth with our Diuinitie.

ἡ γὰρ Θεὸς λόγος ἡ Θεὸν λόγος. ὁ δὲ τὸ γενέσθαι ζῶν, ἢ ζῶν ἢ ὑφεστὼς. Cyril. againſt Iulian. lib. 8. Auſtin in the Citie of God. lib. 10.

As touching the Latins, they fel to Philoſophie ſomewhat late: but yet as little as we haue of their doings, they digreſſe not frō the others. Chalcidius who wrote vpon Platoes Timæus, hath theſe words: the ſouereigne and vnutterable God, is the Originall of all things, next vnto whom is his Prouidence as a ſecond God, who giueth the lawe aſwel for the temporall as for the eternal life. And furthermore, there is a third ſubſtance as a ſecond Vnderſtanding, which is the keeper of the ſaid eternall Lawe. The higheſt God commaundeth, the ſecond ordereth, and the third vttereth or publiſheth. Now the ſoules doe the Lawe, and the Lawe is the verie Deſtine it ſelfe. And a little afore he ſaith, that the ſaid Prouidence, which he ſetteth in the ſecond place, is the euerlaſting vnderſtanding of God, which is an euerlaſting act, and a reſembler of his goodneſſe, becauſe he is alwaies turned towards him that is the very God it ſelfe. Alſo Macrobius ſaith, that Platoes opinion concerning the one chiefe God and the one Vnderſtanding bred and borne of him, is no fable at all, but a thing certeine, howbeit that he could not otherwiſe expreſſe it than by example of the Day ſonne and ſuch other things. And ſurely if we had the bookes of Varro, and other great Clerkes, it is poſſible that we ſhoulde finde much more to this purpoſe. Thus then ye ſee how the Platoniſts are all of one opinion and minde in the doctrine of the Trinitie, wherein ſome of them ſawe more and ſome leſſe, ſome affirme the premiſſes whereof our concluſions enſewe, and otherſome conclude the ſame expreſſelie with vs.

The Latin Philoſophers. Chalcidius vpon Platoes Timæus.

Macrobius vpon the Dreame of Scipio. God & Minde begotten of God.

The

The Aristotelians haue no voice here, because they stand all in commenting vpon Aristotle, who gaue himselfe more to the liberal Artes and the searching of Nature, than to looking vp to God the maker of all things. Yet notwithstanding, Auicen reiected it not: insomuch that he saith that the first Minde yeldeth forth a second Minde, and the second a third, but he waded no deeper into the matter. Auicen.

Let vs add here the confessions of the very Deuilles, who either by meanes of the reuelations thereof which haue beene made vnto vs, by reason of their falling from aboue, haue had some knowledge thereof. Sothly it is alwaies a pleasure to heare them yelde record to the trueth euen spight of their harts. We reade that one Thulis reigned in old time in AEgipt, who waxing proude, asked Serapis the chiefe Idoll of the AEgiptians, (adiuring him strongly ỹ he should not deceiue him) who he was that had reigned afore him? who should reigne after him, and also who was mightier or greater than he. To whom Serapis answered in these fower Verses. The Oracles of Deuilles Sybill. σὺν πατρὶ πρῶτον κτίσαν ὄντα γλυκὺ πνεῦμα πρῶτα πάντων. Κἄστιν τοῦτο χ' ἑκατέρῳ ἐν πᾶσιν πάντων ἔνεστιν. Suidas in the life of Thulis.

First God, and next the Word, and then their Sprit;
Which there be one and ioyne in one all three.
Their force is endlesse; get thee hence fraile wight,
The mast of life vnknowne excelleth thee.

Also Apollo being demaunded concerning the true religion, answered in ten verses thus.

Vnhappie Priest, demaund not me the last
And meanest Feend, concerning that diuine
Begetter, and the deere and onely Sonne
Of that renowmed King, nor of his Spirit
Conteining all thing, plenteously throughout,
Hilles, Brookes, Sea, Land, Hell, Ayre, and ligh some Fire.
Now wo is me, for from this house of mine
That spirit will me driue within a while,
So as this Temple where mens destenies
Are now foretold, shall stand all desolate.

Being asked another time (as saith Porphirius,) whether was ỹ better of the Word or the law; he answered likewise in verse, that men ought to beleeue in God the begetter, & in the king that was afore al things, vnder whom quaketh both Heauen & Earth, Sea & Hel, yea and the very Gods themselues. whose Law is the Father ỹ is honored by the Hebrews. And these Oracles were wont to be sung in verse, to the intent ỹ al men should remember them the better as Plutarch reporteth. Now I haue bin ỹ longer in this chapter, because most mẽ thinke this doctrine so repugnãt to mans reason, ỹ Philosophy could neuer alow of it, not considering ỹ it is another matter to conceiue a thing, thã to proue or alow it whẽ it is cõceiued. And Prophirius as he is alledged by S. Austin in his ninth book of the Citie of God, Cha. 23.

therefore aswel for this Chapter, as for that which went afore, let vs conclude, both by reason added to Gods reuealing, and by the traces therof in the world, and by the Image thereof shining forth in our selues, & by the Confession of all the auncient Diuines, and by the very dispositions of the Deuilles themselues; that in the onely one Essence or substance of God, there is a Father, a Sonne, and a holy Ghost; the Father euerlastingly begetting the Sonne, & the Spirit euerlastingly proceeding from them both; the Sonne begotten by the Minde, and the Spirit proceeding by the Will: which is the thing that we had here to declare. And let this handling of that matter concerning Gods essence be taken as done by way of preuention, howbeit that it depend most properly vpon the reuelation of our Scriptures, which being proued will consequently yelde proofe to this point also. There may be some perchaunce which will desire yet more apparant proofes: but let them consider that we speake of things which surmount both the arguments of Logike and also Demonstration. For, inasmuch as Demonstrations are made by the Causes, the Cause of all Causes can haue no Demonstration. But if any be so wilful as to stand in their owne opinion against ỹ trueth which all the world proueth and al Ages acknowledge: let them take the paine to set downe their reasons in writing, and men shall see how they be but either bare Denyalles, or Gesses, or simple distrusts or misbeleeues of the things which they vnderstand not, and that they be vnable to wey against so graue and large Reasons and Recordes, as I haue set downe heretofore. And therefore, the glory thereof be vnto God. Amen.

The Eight Chapter.

That the World had a beginning.

LEt vs now retire backe againe from this bottomlesse gulfe; for the thing that is vnpossible to be founded. And seeing that our eyesight cannot abide the brightnesse of so great a light, let it content vs to beholde it in the shadowe. Now, this sensible worlde wherein we dwell, is (as the Platonists terme it) the shadow of the world that is subiect to vnderstanding: for certesse it cannot be called an Image thereof, no more than the building of a Maisonmason is the Image of his minde. And yet for all the greatnesse, beautie, and light which

which we se therein, I cannot tel whether the worde shadow do throughly fit it or no, considering that shadowes haue some measure in respect of their bodies, but betweene finite and infinite is no proportionable resemblance at all. Wee that are heere in the world, doe wonder at it, and we would thinke we did amisse if we should beleeue that any thing is better or more beautiful than that. For our flesh and complexions are proportioned after the Elements thereof, and to the things it bringeth forth, as our eies unto the light thereof, and all our senses to the sensible nature thereof: and those which are of the world seeke but onely to content the sensuality that is in them. But as we haue a Minde, so also let vs beleeue that the same is not without his obiect or matter to rest vpon. And as the sensible things serue the things that haue sence: so let vs make the sensible things to serue the Minde, and the Minde it selfe to serue him by whom it is and vnderstandeth. My meaning is, that we should not wonder at the world for the worlds sake it selfe, but rather at the workmaister and author of the world. For it were too manifest a childishnes to wonder at a portraiture made by a Painter, and not to wonder much more at the Painter himselfe.

Now the first consideration that offereth it selfe to the beholder of this worke, is whether it hath had a beginning or no: a question which were perchaunce vnnecessary in this behalfe, if euery man would consult with his owne Reason, whereunto nothing is more repugnant, than to thinke an eternitie to be in things which we not only perceiue with our senses, but also do see to perish. Howbeit so, as much as the world speaketh (saith the Psalmist) both in all Languages and to all Nations: let vs examine it, both whole together, and according to the seuerall partes thereof. For it may be that the worldlings (if they distrust their owne record) will at leastwise admit that which the world it selfe shall depose thereof. Let vs examine the Elements altogether: they passe from one into another; the Earth into Water, the Water into Ayre, and Ayre into Water againe, and so forth. Now this intercourse cannot be made but in time, and time is a measuring of moouing, and where measure is, there can be no eternitie. Let vs examine them seuerally: The Earth hath hir seasons, after Springtime commeth Sommer, after Sommer succeedeth Haruest, and after Haruest, followeth Winter. The Sea hath his continuall ebbing and flowing, which goeth increasing and decreasing by certeine measures. Diuers Riuers, and especially Nyle, haue their increasings at certeine seasons, and to a certeine measure of Cubits. The Ayre also hath his windes, which doe one while cleere it and another while trouble it: and the same windes doe reigne by turnes, blowing sometime from the East, and sometime from the West; sometime from the North and sometime from the South. And vpon them de-

The world it selfe telleth vs that it had a beginning.

pendeth Raine and faire wether, Stormes and Calmes. These interchaunges which are wrought by turnes cannot be without beginning. For where order is, there is a formernesse and an afternesse, and all chaunge is a kinde of moouing, insomuch that the alterations which are made successiuely one after another, must of necessitie haue had a beginning in some point or other; on the Land, by some one of the Seasons, on the Sea, by ebbing and flowing; and in the Ayre, by North or by South, & so forth. For if they began not at any one point, then could they not holde out vnto another point. The Land then by his Seasons, the Ayre by his chaunges, and the Sea by his Tides, cease not to cry out and to preach vnto all that haue eares to heare, that there is no euerlastingnesse in them, but that they haue had a beginning all of them. Againe, when we consider that the Earth receiueth his Seasons from the Sunne the Sea his Tides from the Moone, and the Ayre his Windes from an outward power that is vnseene: ought we not to seeke the beginning thereof aboue and not beneath, without them and not within them, seeing that nothing heere below hath moouing of it selfe? And if the Elements which are accounted for the very grounds & beginnings of things, acknowledge a beginning of their moouings; ought we not acknowledge the same in all other things? Againe, if we consider how this Moone which maketh the Tides in the Sea, hath no light but from the Sunne which maketh the Seasons of the Earth, doe we not conclude by and by, that the Seasons of the Earth, and the Tides of the Sea, and the continuall chaunges, moouings, and (as ye would say) breathings of the Elements, haue one common beginning? But it may be that these moouings haue place but onely vnder the moone, and not in that fifth Quintessence of the Heauen, the substantialnesse and eternitie whereof Aristotle doth so highly commend. Nay, what if the higher we mount vp, they proclaime their beginning still the lowder? What if the thing which we most chiefly wonder at in the Heauen, be most repugnant to eternitie? The Sunne maketh there his natural course in the Zodiacke betweene the two Tropickes or Turnepoints, so as the Zodiacke is as it were his race, & the Tropickes are his vtmost lists, both the which are so distinguished by degrees and minutes, that he cannot passe one heare breadth beyond them. The points of his two stops are his vtmost bounds, the which so soone as he commeth at, by and by he turneth head backe againe. Must he not then needs haue had a place to set out from, seeing he hath a place whereat to stop? Euery fower and twentie houres he is caried from East to West be the moouing of the Skye: and like as by his naturall moouing he maketh the Sommer and the Winter, so by this violent moouing he maketh Day & Night. Can such succession of times and Seasons be made otherwise than in time, or rather be any other thing

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than time: The Mone likewise finisheth her course euery Moneth: we see how she chaungeth, groweth, becommeth full, and waneth. Euerie Planet hath his prefixed time and his ordinary course. To be short, men see the rising and the going downe of the Starres, and likewise their appearing and their tarying out of sight: & the very Heauen it selfe which himself carieth al the rest about, doth it not but by mouing. Now whatsoeuer is moued, is moued in time, and al goings or wheelings about, must needs begin at some one point, like as in the drawing of a Circle, the one shanke of the Compasses is set fast in some place, and the other shanke is caried round about. What followeth then, but that the mouing of the Heauen and of all the things which the Heauen beareth and carieth about, hath had a beginning? Then let vs not wonder at the brightnesse and light thereof as Aristotle did; for that bewraieth the matter so much the more apparently in that it hath not that light but by distribution of mouing, nor at his perpetuall mouing, for that sheweth the more his streight seruice whereto he is subiect, nor at his Constancie, for that is necessitie, nor at his huge greatnesse, for he is so much the more hugely bowed downe. Surely the Skye is as the greate wheele of a Cloke, which sheweth the Planets, the signes, the howers, and the Tides, euery one in their time, and which seemeth to be his chiefe wonder, proueth him to be subiect to time, yea and to be the very instrument of time. Now, seeing he is an instrument, there is a worker that putteth him to vse, a Clockkeper that ruleth him, a Minde that was the first procurer of his mouing. For euery instrument, how mouable so euer it be, is but a dead thing so farre forth as it is but an instrument, if it haue not life and mouing from some other thing than it selfe. Yea, but (will some man say) the Heauen goeth about cõtinually, and in so many worlds & ages as haue beene, we perceiue no alteration at all. Wretched man that thou art! Thy Heart and thy Lights also haue a continual mouing, and neuer lie still, & thou, with all the wit thou hast, canst neither increase it nor restreine it. The Philitions themselues feele it, but can find no cause of it. The Philosophers ouertire themselues in seeking it, and yet canst thou not tell the ende and the beginning thereof? Doost not thou things thy selfe which men as thou art do deeme to be without end, as straunge Mules & Trindels, and such other kinds of selfemouings, of whose beginnings not euen Children are ignorant? And yet vnder colour that the great wheele of Heauen hath now of long time turned about without ceasing, wilt thou be so childish or so blind, as to beleeue that it hath turned so from euerlasting? O man, the same workmaister which hath set vp the Clocke of ỹ hart for halfe a score yeres, hath also set vp this huge engine of ỹ skyes for certeine thousands of yeres. Great are his Circuits & iust are thine, & yet when thou hast accounted thẽ throughly, the come hath to one.

An obiection.

Let vs come to the things that haue life and sence. The Plants shoote forth into braunches, and beare both bud and fruite: but yet either the plant springeth of the kernel or ꝑ kernel of the plant, & both of them proceed of a maker. Of liuing wights, some bring forth their yong ones aliue and some lay Egges, & we knowe which is ingendred of which: but whether the Egge come of the Hen, or the Hen of the Egge; it must nedes be confessed that the one of them had a beginning. But I will leaue this vaine disputing whether of them was the first; which question the holy scripture will discusse in one word. Yea and nature it selfe also will discusse it, which requireth to haue the first things brought forth in their perfect being. For it is enough for our purpose, that they may finde themselues convicted of a beginning throughout all things. And I pray you, if they cannot tell whether the mouing of their Heart or of their Lungs, began first with shutting or with opening, at the thrusting the breath forth, or at the drawing of it in; (whereof notwithstanding they cannot but knowe that there was a beginning:) ought they to be admitted to denie that things had a beginning, because it might be doubted at which point they began?

Man had a beginning.

Now if Dumb and speechlesse things crie out so lowd, and the things that are void of reason conclude so reasonable; shall onely man whom God hath indued both with speech and reason, be either so vnhonest as to hold his peace, or so shamelesse as to resist? Worthy as touching our bodies, we knowe the beginning of them; and our so curious searching out of Pedegrees, maketh vs to confesse it whether wee will or no. And if any thing in the worlde might haue any true pretence or likelyhood to boast of an eternitie, our Soules might doe it, which without mouing themselues doe cause a thousand things to remoue. They mount vp vnto Heauen, and go downe to the deepe, without shifting their place. They horde vp the whole world in the storehouse of their memory, without combering of any rome there. They packe vp all times past present and to come together, without passing from one to another. To be short, they conceiue and containe all things, and after a sort euen themselues also. And yet shall we be so bold as to say they be eternall without beginning? Nay, how can that be, sith we see that they profit and learne, yea and oftentimes also appaire and forget, from age to age, and from daie to daie? How (I say) can that be, sith we se that they passe from ignorance to knowloge, from darknesse to light, from gladnesse to sadnesse, and from hope to dispaire; and that not by yeares, but euen in minutes and moments? And (which is more) we se them receiue great trouble and alteration by and for the things that are mutable and transitorie, which florisheth in the morning, and are withered and parched as in an Ouen at night. Now, to be altered and chaunged, importeth a mouing, and

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be that graunteth a mouing, graunteth also a beginning. and to be moued by things mutable, sheweth an other great inconstancie which is a thing twoo contrary vnto eternitie. To be short, how can that thing be eternall or euerlasting, which cannot so much as by any imagination resemble ought that this word eternitie betokeneth? And yet this soule of ours is the thing which in man ioyneth Heauen and Earth together, maketh the chaunges in thinges aboue, and for the most part worketh them in the things beneath, carying vp a handfull of dust aboue the skies, and after a sort bringing downe Heauen and Earth. Much more reason then is it that neither that in the Heauen nor in the Earth, nor in al the Harmonie of the whole world which we so greatly wonder at, there shoulde not be any approching of all vnto eternitie.

Some man perchaunce will say vnto me, that in the partes of the world there is no eternitie, but yet there may be in the whole. Nay, how can a whole be eternall, which is composed of brittle and temporal parts? And what call they the whole, but the huge frame of Heauen, whose mouing proueth that it had a beginning? Againe, some other perhaps say, there is a beginning of mouing in the world, as well in the whole as in the parts thereof, but yet it doth not therefore follow, that it had beginning and being. Nay, if the being thereof was euerlastingly afore the mouing thereof, could it be called Latine Mundus and in Greeke Cosmos. that is to say, A goodly or beautifull order, seeing that for the most part, Order dependeth vpon mouing? For, take from the Heauens their turning about, and from the Sunne his course, and set them fast in some place where you list, and you shall make the one halfe of the Earth blind, and the whole Earth either scorched with his continuall presence, or desert and vninhabitable by his absence: and ye shall make the Sea for the most part vnsaileable, & the Ayre vnfruitful or vntemperate. Therefore it will follow at the least, that the world hath not beene inhabited euerlastingly, nor the Plants thereof beene equal, nor the liuing creatures (no not euen mankind) beene without beginning. Surely I wot not what eies the Philosophers had, who had leuer to eternise the Stones, Rockes and Mountaines, than themselues for whome those things were made. And againe, to what purpose serued the Sunne & the Mone at that time? wherefore serued Ayre, wherefore serued Sea, when nothing did yet liue, see, and breathe? It remaineth then that afore mouing, it was but a confused heape, masse or lumpe of things without shape, and that in processe of time (as some say) a certeine Soule wound it selfe vnto it, and gaue shape to that bodie, and afterwards life, mouing and sence to the partes thereof, according as he had made euery of them capable to receiue: insomuch that the world is nothing els but that confused heape now orderly disposed, indued with soule and life, so as of that soule and confused lumpe

An obiection.

together

together, there is now made one perfect liuing wight. A proper imagination surely, and mete for a very Beast, to father his so orderly essence vpon the shapelessenesse of a Chaos, that is to say, of confusednesse remoued away, rather than vpon the wisedome and power of a quickning Spirit. But seeing that this Chaos could not receiue either shape or order, but by the said Soule, if they be both eternall, how met they together in one point, being of so contrary natures, the one to shape and the other to be shaped? If it were by aduenture, how did that Soule by aduenture so set things in order, and how happeneth it that it hath not since that time put them out of order againe? Or if it wer by aduise, of whom should that aduise be but of a superiour? And who is that Superiour, but God? Againe, either this soule was tied really & in very deede to this bodie of the world from all eternitie, or els it did but onely pearce through it by his power, as seemed best of the owne freewil. If it were tied, specially to such a confused masse, by whom but by force of a higher power? And then what els could that confused Chaos be to him, but an euerlasting graue? And what els also were that to say, that then the said Chaos was as a shapelesse Childe yet newly begotten and scarse set together in the mothers wombe, which within a few daies after, by the infusion of a Soule beginneth to haue shape, mouing and sence, and afterward in his due time is borne, and being growne vp decayeth againe, and so endeth, as our bodies doe? Or if a soule pearced into it and went through it by a free will and power, let vs not striue about termes, for a Soule is so named in respect of a bodie whereto it is tied) the same is the liuing God, who at his pleasure gaue it both shape, life, and mouing. But I will shew hereafter, that he not onely gaue the world his shape, but also created the very matter stuffe and substance thereof. But it sufficeth me at this time to wrest from them, that he is the maker & shaper thereof.

Let vs yet more clearely set forth the originall of the world. I aske what the world is of it selfe? If it moue not, it forgeth both his order and his beautie, as I saide afore. And if it mowe, it sheweth it selfe vncapable of eternitie, but there is yet more. These lower spaces of the world are the harborough of liuing creatures, and specially of man, who knoweth how to take benefite thereof. The temperatenesse of the aire serueth for him, and yet the aire can not be tempered nor the Earth lighted, without the Sonne and the Moone: Neither can the Sunne and the Moone giue light and temperatenesse without mouing: The Moone hath no light but of the Sunne, neither can the Sunne yelde it either to the Moone or to the Earth, but by the mouing of the Heauen: and the great Compasse of the Heauen going about, is the very thing which we call the world, not esteeming these lower partes (as in respect of their matter) other wise than the dregges of the whole. And whereas the Ele-

The linke of things together,

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mentes serue man, and the Planets serue the Elements, yea and the Planets them selues serue one another: doe they not shewe that they be one for another? And if they be one for another, is not one of them in consideration afore another, as the ende afore the things that tend vnto the end, according to this common rule, that the Minde beginneth his worke at the end thereof? Now then, if the turning about of the Heauen serue to shew the Planets, and they to yelde light to the Earth, and to al things thereon: doth it not serue for the Earth? And if it serue the Earth, I pray you is that done by appointment of the Earth, or rather by appointment of some one that commaundeth both Heauen & Earth? Againe, seeing that the end is in consideration afore the things that tend therto: shal this consideration be in the things themselues, or rather in some Spirit that ordereth them? Soothly, in the things themselues it cannot be: for if they haue vnderstanding, they haue also will, and the wil intendeth rather to commaund than to obey, and vnto freedom rather than bondage: and if they haue no vnderstanding, then knowe they neither end nor beginning. Moreouer, for as much as they be diuers, and of contrary natures, they should aime at diuers ends, whereas now they aime all a one end. Nay, which more is, how should the Sunne and the Moone, the Heauen and the Earth haue met euerlastingly in matching in their dealings so iumpe together, the one in giuing light, and the other in taking it? In what point, by what couenant, and vnder what date was this done, seeing it dependeth altogether vpon moouing, which is not to be done but in time? It remaineth then, that the said consideration was done by a Spirit that commaundeth all things alike, and that he putteth them in subiection one to another as seemeth best to himselfe, for as much as he is mightie to keepe them in obedience, and wise to guide them to their peculiar ends, and all their ends vnto his owne ende, and he that thinketh otherwise thinketh that a Lute is in tune of it owne accord. Or if he say that this spirit is a Soule inclosed in the whole, he doth fondlie incorporate the Spirit of the Luteplaier in the Lute it selfe, and likewise the builder in the building. In effect it is al one as if a Child that is borne and brought vp in a house, should thinke the house to be eternall or els made of it selfe, because he had not seene it made: or as if a man y had bin cast out newly borne in a desart Iland, & there nursed vp by a Wolfe as Romulus was, should imagine himselfe to be bred out of the Earth in one night like a Mushrome. For, to beleeue that the World is eternall, and that the race of Mankinde is bred of it selfe without a maker, is all one thing, and spring both of one error. Doe not the two Sexes of Male and Female in all liuing things ouerthrow y said eternitie? For how should they be euerlastingly the one for the other, seeing they be so diuers? Againe, haue they bin euerlastingly but two, or euerlastingly no than two?

The inworking of the Minde beginneth at the end.

If

If but two, where are those two become, seeing that eternitie importeth immortalitie, and a beginninglesse forebeing from euerlasting inferreth an endlesse afterbeing or cõtinuance to euerlasting? And if they were many: see ye not still the selfesame absurdities? And if ye say they be made euerlasting by succession of time; what (I pray you is death) but a token that they were borne? What is life (I speake of this our life) but a continuance of death? and what is succession, but a prolonging of time? Thus then ye se how ẏ aswell by the parts of the World, and by the whole World it selfe, as also by the agrément of the whole with his parts, and of the parts among themselues; we be euidently taught that the frame of the World had both a workemaister and a beginning. But now some man will aske vs when it began? And that is the point which we haue to treate of next.

The Eight Chapter.

When the World had a beginning.

Doubtlie, it is not for me to stand here disproouing the doubts of the Accounters of times for the ods of some yéres, yea or of some whole hundreds of yeres, is not to be accounted of betweene eternitie and a beginning. But if we haue an eye to the proceeding of this lower World: we shal euidently perceiue, that like a Child it hath had his ages, his chaunges, & his full points, rests or stoppes; so as it hath by little and little growne, béene peopled, and replenished, and that (to be short) whereas the world supposeth that it shall indure for euer, it doth but resemble an old Dotard, which (bée hée neuer so foreworne & drooping for age,) yet thinkes himselfe stil to haue one yere more to liue. But I haue alreadie sufficiently proued, that both Heauen and Earth haue had a beginning; and also that séeing the one of them is for the other, they had the same at one selfesame time, and both of them frõ one selfesame ground. And therefore loke what shalbe declared of the earth, shall also be declared of the heauen: and forasmuch as the earth serueth for the vse of liuing creatures, and speciallie of man; loke what

beginning

beginning we shall proue of man, the like shall wee haue proued of the disposition of the earth. For to what purpose were the Heauen being imbowed about these lower parts like a Vaut; or to what purpose were the earth being as a floore or plancher to go vpon, if there were no inhabiter at all vpon earth? Surely if the world were without beginning, it shoulde haue bene inhabited from without beginning, and no people should be of more antiquitie than other: Or at least wise how auncient so euer it were, yet should no new thing be founde therein. But if euen the oldest and auncientest things of all, be but newe; ought it not to be a sure argument vnto vs, of the newnesse thereof? What thing I pray you can we picke out in this world, for an example of antiquity?

Let vs begin at the liberall Sciences, and we shall reade of the first commings vp of them all. Philosophie, which consisteth in the searching out of naturall things, is of so late continuance, that afore the time of Pythagoras, the very name thereof was not knowne. The Romaines counted it for folly long time after that. And Lucrece the Epicure singeth in his time, that the nature of things was found out but late afore. Also Seneca who came long after him, saith that from the first comming vp of Philosophie to his time, there were not full a thousand yeares. Socrates is said to haue bene the first that brought it from studie to practise drawing it (as they said) from Heauen to Earth, and from Cities to houses and persons: that is to say, by teaching men to knowe themselues & to gouerne both themselues and others. And that is not aboue two thousand yéres agoe at the most: For he was since the time of Esdras, who is the last Historiographer of the Bible. And whatsoeuer knowledge they had thereof, they had it (as I said afore) from the AEgiptians, and the AEgiptians had it from the Hebrewes and Chaldeans. For Pythagoras learned his skill of Gonchedie, and of the Iewes, plato, of Sechnuphis, Eudoxus, of Conuphis, and all they, of the Disciples of Trismegestus, and Trismegestus, (as appeareth by his bookes) learned of Moyses. To be short, Clearchus the Peripateticke saith, he saw the Iew of whom Aristotle himselfe learned his Philosophie. Also Iamblicus maketh mention of Mercuries Pillers, wherein Pythogoras & Plato had red his Doctrine: And Porphirius witnesseth that all the Philosophie of the Greekes which they boast of with so many words, came vp at the least a thousand yeres after Moyses. Now if the studie of wisedome be so late in the world, how late is wisedome it selfe? And if Greece were so lateward therein, where shall the antiquitie thereof be found among the Gentiles?

Some man will say that in asmuch as Socrates drewe men from Heauen to Earth, Astrologie ought to be of more antiquitie: and I willingly agrée thereto: for when a man loketh vp to Heauen, he setteth his first thoughts vpon that place. But how many yéres shall we gaine by that?

The Originall of Sciences. Lucr: Carus: This nature & reason of things was lately found out, and I my selfe was one of the first that did stumble vpon it, & am able to turne it into my native language.

And Persius saych, It came hither after the time that my Countrymen began to tast of Peper and Dates.

Austin. lib. 18. of the Citie of God, Cha. 37.

Cicero: Iamblichus: Porphyrius.

Orpheus in his Argonauts

Proclus vpon Timeus.

Plutark in his Isis and Osiris.

Iamblichus in his booke of Mysteries. Chap. 1.

Clemens Alexandrin. in his booke of Stromats alledging Alexander, Hermippus, & Clearchus.

Porphyrius alledged by Eusebius. lib. 11.

that? If Thales were the first that taught it to the Greekes, (as they themselues say:) we know both by the very Greeke authors and by Thales himselfe, that he had it of the Aegiptians, and the Aegiptians of the Chaldeans, who are in very deede the authors thereof, insomuch that the word Chaldean is ordinarily put for an Astrologer. And if we say with Plinie, that Iupiter Belus was the Author thereof; if the same Belus was the first of that name, then was it about the time of Abraham. And if the Phenicians were the founders thereof, as it is said in another place: what were they els but the Hebrewes? Againe I pray you what was the Astrologie of those folke? By the report of Plinie Thales was the first among the Greekes, & Sulpitius Gallus among the Romaines that obserued the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Insomuch that their Armies (as Plutarch & Quintilian report) were dismaied at the sight of them, so as the one of them did let passe the next three daies, and the other let passe all the rest of that Moone, ere they durst enterprise or go in hand with any thing. Nay it was counted high Treason towards God to alledge any naturall cause thereof. Anaxagoras was put in Prison for it, and Pericles had much adoe to get him released. Protagoras was banished Athens for it, and the Mathematicals were vtterly condemned for it. And what more do the sauagest people of the world our prie Americans? It was attributed vnto Thales, that he was the first that obserued the North Starre, and to Pythagoras, that the morning starre and the euening stare be both one, & that the Zodiacke goes a Skiew, and girdeth the World about like a Girdle: and vnto Solon (as saith Proclus) that the Moone finisheth her course in thirtie daies. Afterward came Archimedes, who gathered the obseruations of many things, and thereof made the Sphere. Yet notwithstandings, all these are but little entraunces, for the great Speculation of the Planets came long time after. What shall we say to this, that the very account of the yeere was vncerteine and confused in the cuntrie of Europe, vntill the time of Iulius Cæsar, and so remaineth still vnto this day in the greater halfe of the world? Insomuch that vntill a three hundred yeares afore the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, the Greekes and Romaines had not yet any Quadrant, nor any other Clocke, Diall, or distinction of howres.

Laertius in the life of Thales.
Thales in his Epistle to Pherecides in Clemens Alexand.
Plinie. lib. 5. 6.
Plinie. lib. 2.
Plutark in the life of Nicea;
Quintilian. lib. 1.
Censorius concerning Christes birthday. Cap. 9.
Varro.

As touching Arithmetike and Geometrie, which were taught so precisely vnto Children in Platoes time, it is well knowen that the authors of the notablest grounds of those artes, are Pithagoras, Eudoxus, and Euclides (who gathered them out of the writers of olde time) and certeine others. And they which father the finding of them vpō Trismegistus could not haue led vs more directly vnto Moyses.

Arithmetik & Geometry.
Plato in his Epinomis.

But forasmuch as man is naturally more carefull of his health and commodity, than curious of the Starres, it may be that his Trades,

The Originall of Crafts, Trades and Arts.

Crafts

Crafts and Artes, are of more antiquitie than his Sciences. Surely as touching handicrafts, Varro a great searcher of antiquities witnesseth, that al the Handicrafts were inuented within ỹ space of a thousand yeres reckened backe frõ his time. And let not the Grækes brag any more, For euen in their Histories we finde the first inuention or finding out of fire, which is the ground and beginning (if I may so terme it) of the most part of Handicrafts. And forasmuch as there are which haue written particularly of the finding out of euery of them: I sende the Reader vnto them. Varro in his fifth booke & first Chapter of Husbandry

But let vs speake of Leachcraft which conteineth Phisicke and Surgerie, the art which is so necessarie for all mankinde. Doe we no sée how it brædeth, and from day to day groweth and increaseth of sicknesses and Woundes, yea and euen of the death of men? Diodorus attributeth it to the Aegiptians, and Moyses in Genesis maketh some mention of Pharaos Phisitions. Others doe father it vpon Esculapius, and some vpon Arabas the sonne of Apollo: but what maner of Phisicke was that? If we follow the wordes of Moyses, they were rather Imbalmers of Dead bodies, than Phisitions of sicke persons. And Esculapius (as saith Cicero) was estæmed as a God for teaching to pull out Teeth, and to lowzen the Belly. Also Podalirius and Machaon his successors, medled not but with outwarde Cures. To be shorte, Herodotus, saith, that one was a Leache for the Eye, another for the Head, and the third for the Fæte; and that when they were at their wits ende, they laide the diseased person in a place of resort, to trie there vpon him the receit of whosoeuer came first: and that was a kinde of Leachecraft, which as yet had neither Head nor Taile. Also the brute beasts taught men diuers herbes and remedies by little and little, and some men did put them in proof vpon others, vnto the which herbes they left their names; insomuch that in the ende one Hippocrates and certeine others made a collection of all those things, and so of many mens experiences was made an arte, and that Arte hath bæne inriched from time to time, and more peraduenture in our age than euer it was before. Howsoeuer the case stand, it is certeine that the first Phisition that was sæne in Rome was one Archagatus, who about a fiscore yæres afore the comming of Christ, in the Consulship of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, & Marcus Liuius, was made fræ of the Citie; after whom diuers other Greeke Phisitions came thither by heapes, but they were by and by driuen away againe by Cato the Censor, as Hangmen or Tormenters sent by the Greekes to murther the Barbarians (for so did the Greekes call all other Nations besides themselues) rather than the Phisitions to heale the diseazed: and that was, bicause that in al cases without discretion, they vsed launcing and searing to all sores. Now sith we sæ the Sciences and Artes growe af- Leachcraft which comprehendeth Phisicke and Surgerie. Cicero in his booke of the nature of the Gods. Herodotus.li.2.

ter

ter that maner from Obseruation to Obseruation, and from Principle, to principle, and to be so newly come vp among the Nations of greatest renowne and learning, shal we doubt to conclude that it was so among the ruder nations likewise?

The originall of gouernmẽt

Let vs come to Lawes, for euen the barbarousest people had of them: and it may be that seing man is borne to societie and fellowship, they had greater care to set an order among themselues by good lawes, than to marke the order of the Skyes or the disposition of their owne bodies. But doth not the Lawe written, leade vs forthwith to the Lawe vnwritten: And doe not the greate volumes of Lawes which we turne ouer now adaies, leade vs to the pẽces of Trebonian, and Trebonian, to Scevolaes and Affricanes; and these againe to the Lawes of the Twelue Tables: And I pray you what els, be the twelue Tables, but the infancy of the Romaine Lawes, which being very simple rudiments of Ciuill gouernment, like those which are to befound at this day among ỹ most barborous Nations, we through a foolish zeale of antiquitie do wonder at in the ancient Romaines, and dispise them in the auncient Almaines, Thuringians, Burgonions, Salians, and Ripuaries: who notwithstanding had them farre better than the Romaines: But what antiquitie can be said to be in them, seing their continuance hath not bẽne past a fower hundred yeares afore the comming of Christ, as ỹ Romaine Historyes themselues informe vs: Again, doe not the twelue Tables send vs backe to the Grecians: And of whom had the Greekes them, but of Draco and Solon as in respect of the Athenians, who lived in the time of Cyrus King of Persia, and of Lycurgus as in respect of the Lacedemonians, who liued about the end of the Empyre of Assiria: And what els is al this huge Depth of Antiquitie whereof the Greekes make so great boast, but late newnesse among the Iewes? Moreouer Plutarke saith ỹ Solon and Lycurgus had bẽne in AEgipt to seeke Lawes, and that there for all their bragging of antiquitie, they were skorned as yong Children. The AEgiptians also had their Lawes of Mercury, and Mercury doubtlesse had them from the Paterne of Moyses, whome Diodorus witnesseth to haue bẽne the first Lawe maker of all. To be short, what shall we say, seeing that (as Iosephus noteth against Appion) the very name of Lawe was vnknowne among the Greekes in the time of Homer?

Aulus Gelius lib. 20. Cap. 1. & lib. 17. Cap. 21.

Pomponius of the first comming vp of the Lawe.

Plutarke in the liues of Solon and Lycurgus, and in his treatise of Isis & Osyris.

Iustine the Martyr alledgeth Diodorus in his exhortation.

Iosephus against Appion

But it may be that there haue bẽne Kings time without minde: for they were as a liuing Lawe, and their determinations were turned into Lawes. Let vs marke then, that from the great Monarkes we come to the Kings of seuerall Nations, and from them to vnderkings of Prouinces and of Shires, and afterwards to Kings of Townes, Cities, and Villages, and finally to kings of Households which were the Fathers and Pasters of houses, and were the eldest or auncientest of them, and these

these do sende vs to the one common stocke (that is to saye, the one common beginning) of them all. And when was that? Surely Iustine the Historywriter witnesseth, that the Kings which were afore Ninus King of the Assyrians, were but particular Iudges of controuersies which rose betweene folke of any one Towne, or Citie, or Householde, and that the said Ninus was the first King of whome any Historiographers haue written. And Herodotus saith that the Aegyptians had the first Kings. And he that will mount vp any higher, must do it by the holy Scripture. which teacheth vs that Nembrod was the first that brake the saide fatherly order of Housholdgouernement, wherein euery father raigned ouer those that descended of him, without any other prerogatiue than of age, which sort of Gouernours Manetho called Shepherdkings, saying that they had beene a thousand yeares afore the warres of Troy. For as for the Greekes and Romanes, either they were not as yet at all, or els surely they liued with Acornes like the People whome wee at this daye call Sauages.

Iustine in his first booke.

Plin. lib. 7. Herodotus lib. 2.

Manetho cyted by Iosephus against Appian.

But let vs see if at least wise the Gods of the Heathen haue any antiquitie: for in asmuch as the essentiall shape of man is to acknowledge a certeine Godhead, it is likely that nothing should be of greater antiquitie than that. And in verie deede Nations haue beene founde both without Lawes and without Kings: but without Gods and without some sort of Religion, there was neuer any found. But what shall wee say if men haue beene borne afore Gods, yea, and also do liue still after them? Let vs not buzie our braynes about the first comming vp of the petigods as wel of the Romanes as of the Greekes, who had moe of them than they had of Shyres, Cities, Townes, and Houses; nor yet about their Pedegrees which are sufficiently described by their owne seruers and worshippers the Idolaters themselues: but let vs go to the verie roote of them. What is to be said of the first Saturne, who is called the father of them all? Of what time is he? Soothly, if wee beleeue the notablest Storywriters among the Greekes, and the Epitaph of Osyris reported by Diodorus the Sicilian Saturne, (I meane not the Saturne of the Greekes, but the auncientest of all the Saturnes) is none other than Cham the sonne of Noe, neither is Osyris any other than Misraim the youngest sonne of Cham. And those which would make Saturne auncientest, say he was but Noe himselfe. I forbeare to say what Berosus and others of the like stampe report of him, because I holde them for fabling and forged authors. As touching Iupiter, if ye meane him that was surnamed Belus, that is to say Baller Maister; he was the Sonne of Nembrod, which Nembrod was also called Saturne, which was a common name to the auncientest persons of great Houses. And if he were that Iupiter which was surnamed Chammon, or Hammon; he was the same

The originall of the Heathen Gods.

Cham or Chamaſes the Sonne of Noe, which was worſhipped in Lybya: for it is certeine that he toke his iourney thither. For as for Iupiter of Creete or Candy, and Saturne his Father, which were worſhipped among the Greekes after the example of the other Iupiter & Saturne which were of farre more antiquitie: they were but a little while afore the warres of Troy, and long after the time of Moyſes. What manner of antiquitie then is that, which palleth not the ſpace of three thouſande yéeres? And ſhould the Greekes haue come by the knowledge thereof, if it had not béene written by others than themſelues? But this point ſhall be handled more at large in another place.

Traffike of Merchandiſe, and bargaining, buying and ſelling.

What ſhall we ſay of Trafficke betweene Nations, and of bargayning betweene man and man, ſéeing that from Coyne of golde wee muſt come to Coyne of ſiluer, from Coyne of ſiluer to Coyne of braſſe, & from Coyne of braſſe to Coyne of yron, yea euen among the Romanes themſelues? And againe, from Money ſtamped and coyned, to Money by weight and meaſure without ſtamp, from weight to exchange of wares and of one thing for another, and from exchange to that bleſſed commonneſſe of all things which was in the firſt ages of the world? Nay, the greater halfe of the world continueth ſtill the ſaid exchange, euen vnto this day; and ſome Nations had neuer any ſkill thereof as yet, if the Nauigations of our time had not taught it them. And as for Nauigation it ſelfe, which is as the ſinewes of Trafficke and Marchandiſe; if we beléeue Plinie, the firſt Ship that euer was let a flote, was vpon the red Sea; and the firſt Ship that euer came into Greece, came from the Coaſt of Aegypt. And if wée credite Strabo; the Tyrians were the firſt that excelled in Nauigation, inſomuch that ſome men make them the firſt authors thereof. For, as touching the Nauigations of Vliſſes, they paſſed not out of the Midland Sea. And what els was it (if it were a true Storie) but a floting of a Veſſell at the pleaſure of the winde, without kéeping of any certeine courſe or direction? For it is certeine that the voyage which he had to make, is ordinarily done nowadayes in leſſe than fiue or ſeuen dayes. And doth all this leade vs any further than to that little Countrey which on the one ſide is *bounded with Aegypt, and on the other ſide with the red Sea? And do not the Stories of that Countrie direct vs to the Arke of Noe? For what els was that Arke but a Ship, as the true Beroſus doth in déede call it? And whereas Moyſes telleth vs that anon after the Flud, ſuch and ſuch of Noes offspring inhabited the Iles; is it not almuch to ſay, as that the example of the Arke had imboldened them to venture vpon the Sea?

Nauigation. Plinie. lib. 7.

Strabo. lib. 16.

Tibullus Elegia. 7.

*That is to ſay, the land of Canaan.

Beroſus alledged by Ioſephus againſt Appion.

But forasmuch as Trafficke ſéemeth to ſerue for liuing wealthily, and ſimple liuing went afore liuing wealthily: I pray you how long is it agoe (may we thinke) ſince men liued by Acornes? From the delicates

Feeding.

of

of Apicius, wee come to honest houshold fare; and from such housholde fare, to poore labouring mans fare: that is to saye, from deintinesse to thriftinesse, and so forth from thriftinesse to brutishnesse, as such time as men wayted for the falling of Acornes and Mast from the Trees like Swine. To be short, from Cities and Townes, we come to houses dispersed; from houses, to Sheds; from Sheds to Tents; & from Tents to the life of the people called the Nomads or Grazyers. I meane not here the Americans, nor yet the barbarous people of olde time; but euen the verie Greekes and Romanes themselues: Wee knowe the first finding out of Corne, of Meale, and of Ploughes. If it were Triptolemus, who taught it to the Greekes; he was the sonne of Ceres: Or if it were Ceres; it was the Goddesse of Aegypt the wife of Osyris. And what was this Osyris (to speake of his most antiquitie,) but Misraim the graundchild of Noe? Plinie sayth that afore the Persian warres, there was no common Baker in Rome. The first Cherries that came in Rome, were brought thither by Lucullus. When the Galles came into Italy, there were no Vynes in all Gallia: insomuch that the worde which signifieth Wine as well in Greeke as in Latine, is strange to them both, and is borowed of the Hebrewe worde *Iain*. The Earth hath bene manured by little and little, and euen yet it is scarcely halfe inhabited. And at one word, our deifying of the first founders of Corne, of Wine, of Tillage, of Fewell, and of Baking, as of personages of great account aboue vs all; doth wel conuince vs of our former rudenes. And yet wee mock at the sillie barbarous people (of the newfound lands) for terming vs folke falne from Heauen, when they see our great ships: whereas notwithstanding it is not yet full two thousand yeares agoe, since we were worse than they.

Plinie.li.7. & Diodorus.lib. 1.&6.

But we should not haue knowen those things (will some man saye) vnlesse they had bene put in writing: and therefore Historyes are of more antiquitie than all the things that wee haue spoken of. Be it so. But yet let vs repaire from the Historyes of the Romanes to the yerely Registers of their Highpriests, and we shall finde that the Romane writers are of much latter time than the Greekes, and the Greekes of much later time than the Babylonians. For their greatest antiquitie is but frō the reigne of the Persians. And Phericydes the Assyrian, whom they report to haue bin the first that wrote in prose, was welneer eight hundred yeres after Moyses. The Romane Historie flourished not, vntill such time as their Common weale began to drope: and the beginning thereof is nothing els but a Matterbooke of names, & a recounting of Shields fallen from heauen, and of Launces trimmed with flowers. The Greeke Historyes began at the Empire of the Persians: And Plutarke (who was a diligent searcher thereof,) sayth expressely that beyond Thebes, the

The first comming vp of Historie.

Plinie.lib.7. Apuleius in his florishes.

Plutark in the life of Theseus.

Countrie was nothing but Sand, and a wast Wildernesse vnapprochable, a frozen Seacoast, or scorched Countries, such as men paint in the vttermost partes of Pappes, that is to say, either vaine fables or darke ignorance. And yet for all this, what els is the life of Theseus than an heape of fond fables, or what euidentnesse or certeintie is there in the Greeke Histories, afore the fourescoth Olympiade, that is to say, afore the reigne of Darius, seeing there was not yet any skill vsed in marking out the time eyther of the warres of the Medes, or of the warres of Peloponnesus? Varro the best learned of the Latins, intending to make an Historie of the World, could well skill to diuide it into three partes. The first, concerning that age which was from the beginning of the world vnto the Flud: The seconde, from the Flud vnto the first Olimpiad, which falleth out about the time of the building of Rome: And the third, from the first Olympiad, vnto his owne time. But as he calleth this latter age Historicall; so calleth he the second age fabulous, because he found not any certeintie thereof, neither in the Originall Registers and Recordes of the Romanes, nor in the Histories of the Greekes. To be short, to begin his Historie at the furthest ende, hee maketh his entrance at the reigne of the Scyonians, which was the verie selfesame time that Ninus began his raigne, euen the same Ninus which made warre against Zoroastres, which was about the time of Abraham. The same Varro accounteth Thebes for the auncientest Citie of all Greece, as buylded by Ogyges, whereupon the Greekes called al auncient things Ogygians; and by his reckoning it was not past two thousand and one hundred yeares afore owne time. Trogus Pompeius beginneth his Historie at the bottome of all antiquitie that remained in remembrance; and that is but at Ninus, who (by report of Diodorus) was the first that found any Historiographer to write of his doings. The same Diodorus saith that the greatest antiquitie of Greece is but from the time of Iuachus, who liued in the time of Amoses King of Aegypt, that is to say, (as Appion confesseth) in the verie time of Moyses. And intending to haue begun his Storie at the beginning of the world, he beginneth at the warres of Troy: and he saith in his Preface, that his Storie conteineth not aboue a thousand one hundred thirtie & eight yeares, which fell out (saith he) in the reigne of Iulius Cæsar, in the time that hee was making warre against the Galles; that is to say, lesse than twelue hundred yeres afore the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ. Also the godly Historie of Atticus, whereof Cicero commendeth the diligence so greatly, conteineth but seuen hundred yeares. Which thing Macrobius obseruing, commeth to encounter with vs. Who doubteth (saith he) whether the World had a beginning or no, yea euen a fewe yeres since, seeing that the verie Histories of the Greekes do scarcely conteine the

Censorimus.

Varro in his third booke of Husbandry vnto Pto.

Diodorus. lib. 3.

Clemens Alexandr. in his first booke of Strom.

doings

doings of two thousand yeeres? For afore the reigne of Ninus, who is reported to haue beene the father of Semiramis, there is not any thing to be found in writing. Yea and Lucrece himselfe (as great an Epicure and despiser of God as he was) is constreined to yeld thereunto, when he seeth that the vttermost bound which all Historyes (bee they neuer so auncient) doe atteine vnto, is but the destruction of Troy; For thus saith he.

Now if that no beginning was of Heauen and Earth at all,
But that they euerlasting were, and so continue shall:
How haps it that of former things no Poets had delight
Afore the wofull warres of Troy and Thebes for to write.

Lucretius the Romane Poet.

Yea, but the Registers of the Chaldees (will some man say) are of more antiquitie. For (as Cicero reporteth) they make their vaunt that they haue the natiuities of Children noted & set downe in writing (from natiuitie to natiuitie) for aboue the space of three and fortie thousand yeeres afore the reigne of the great Alexander. And that is true. But (as it hath beene verie well marked) when they speake after their Schole-maner, they meane alwaies (as witnesseth Diodorus) the moneth yeere, that is to say, euery moneth to be a yeere: which account being reckoned backe from the time of Alexander, hitteth iust vpon the creation of the World, according to the account of the yeeres set downe by Moyses. Likewise when the Iberians say they haue had the vse of Letters and of writing by the space of fiue thousand yeeres agoe; they speake after the maner of their owne accounting of the yeere, which was but foure moneths to a yeere. And in good soth Porphirius himselfe will serue for a good witnesse in that behalf, who saith that the obseruations of the Chaldees which Callisthenes sent from Babylon into Greece in the time of Alexander, passed not aboue a thousand and nine hundred yeeres. As for the obseruatiõs of Hipparchus, (which Ptolomie vseth, they draw much nearer vnto our times; for they reach not beyond the time of Nabucodonozer. To be short, from our Indictions wee mount vp to the Stories of the Romanes, and from them to the yearely Registers of their Priestes, and so to the Calenders of their Feastes and Holidayes, and finally to the time of their driuing of the nayle into the wall of the Temple of Minerua, which was done alwayes yearely in the Moneth of September, to the intent that the number of the yeeres should not be forgotten. From thence we procede to the Greeke Olimpiads, the one halfe of which time is altogether fabulous; and beyond the first Olimpiade, there is nothing but a thicke cloude of ignorance, euen in the lightsomest places of all Greece. In which darkenesse wee haue nothing to direct vs, if we follow not Moyses, who citeth the booke of the Lords warres, and leadeth vs safely euen to our first originall beginning. And how

Diodorus. lib. 8.1.

Plinie. lib. 7. Herodotus. lib. 5. Varro in his first booke of Analogie.

Crates the Greeke Philosopher demanding why the Greekes declined not the names of their letters saying: Αλφα, αλφατος, as wel as they said γραμμα γραμματος, was answered by the Greekes themselues, that it was because those names of their letters are not Greek but barbarus. Lucane. lib. 3. Eupolemus in his booke of the Kings of Iuda alledged by Clemens of Alexandria in his fourth booke.

should the Histories of the Gentiles be of any antiquitie, when there was not yet any reading or writing? From Printing, we step vp vnto bookes of written hande; from the Paper which wee haue now, wee come to Parchment: from Parchment, to the Paper of Aegypt, which was inuented in the time of Alexander: from that, vnto Tables of Lead and Ware: and finally, to the Leaues and Barkes of diuers Trees. From writing wee goe consequently to reading, and so to inuention of Letters: which Letters the Greekes taught vnto the Latins, and the Phenicians to the Greekes, (who had not any skill of them at the time of the warres of Troy, as the verie names of them doe well bewray) and the Iewes taught them to the Phenicians. For in verie deed what are the Phenicians, in account of all Cosmographers, but inhabiters of the Seacoast of Palestine or Iewrie? And so the saying of Eupolemus a verie auncient writer of Histories, is found true: namely, that Moyses was the first teacher of Grammer, that is to saye, of the Arte of Reading: (notwithstanding that Philo doe father it vpon Abraham:) and that the Phenicians had it of the Iewes, and the Greekes of the Phenicians; in respect whereof Letters were in olde time called Phenicians.

Phenicians were the first (if trust be giuen to Fame)
That durst expresse the voice in shapes that might preserue the same.

Here I cannot forbeare to giue Plinie a little nippe. Letters (saith he) haue bene from euerlasting. And why so? For (saith he) the Letters of the Aegyptians had their first comming vp about a fiftene yeres afore the reigne of Ninus. But Epigenes a graue Author sayth, that in Babylon certaine obseruations of Starres were written in Tyles or Brickes a fourehundred and twentie yeres afore. And Berosus & Critodemus (which speake with the least) doe say fourehundred and fourescore yeres. O extreame blockishnes: he concludeth the eternitie of letters, vpon that whereby they be proued to be but late come vp. Now then, seing wee finde the originall comming vp of Artes, of Lawes and Gouernement, of Traffick and Merchaundise, of sworde and of verie Letters: that is to say, both of liuing well, & of liuing after any sort; should we rather graunt an euerlasting ignorance in man, than a kinde of youthfulnesse which hath learned things according to the growths therof in ages? And seing that the Sciences, Artes, Honors, and Deinties of the life it selfe do proue vs a beginning thereof: is there any man either skilfull or vnskilful great or litle, Philosopher or Handicrafts man, Labourer or Follower of the worldly vanities; that will any more be so bolde as to stand in contention that the worlde is without beginning? What shal we then as now conclude of all this discourse? First that the inuention of all things is of so late time, that it is of sufficient force to

make all men beleeue, (of what trade or profession euer they bee) that it is but a while agoe since the world began. And secondly, that the saide inuentions gathering together into one time, do lead vs to some one certeine Countrie as to a Centre, where mankind hath first sprong vp, and afterward spred it selfe abroad as to the outermost partes of all the Circle. This time is the same space that was betwixt Moyses and the vniuersall Flud: And the Countrie is the same where mankinde did first multiplie after their comming out of the Ark: that is to wit, all the coast from Mount Taurus along by Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phenicee, vnto Aegypt; wherein we comprehend the land of Palestine or Iewrie as the middle thereof, which by the auncient Greeke and Latin Historiographers, (who were vnskilfull in Geographie) is diuerslie accounted & allotted to the greater Countries that lye round about it, accordingly as it bordereth vpō them; one while to Syria, another while to Aegypt; some time to Phenicia, and sometime to Araby the desert. And therefore as touching time and antiquitie, it is good reason that we should beleeue the Histories of those Nations, and not of the Greekes or of the Latins, who are but yong babes in respect of the others; especially seeing that we would thinke it a thing worthie to be laughed at, if a man should stande to the iudgement of the Stories of Iewrie in the matters of the Greekes. But now let vs heare their contradictions.

Obiections.

If the world be so new (say they) wherof commeth it that it is so wel replenished and full of people? May rather, if it be without beginning, or of so great antiquitie as thou surmizest; how happeneth it that it hath not alway beene knowen? whereof commeth it that it is euen yet so slenderly peopled? how comes it to passe, that it is not throughly inhabited in all places, or at least wise in the best places of the world, where euen in our time are found both Iles and maine Lands well habitable, and yet vninhabited? It is not past an hundred yeares agoe, since wee knewe nothing at all of more than the better halfe of the world. Wee were but at the entrance of the earth, & we thought our selues to haue bin come to the full knowledge of Geographie. Wee thought our selues to haue knowen the vttermost Coastes of the world, when as wee had not yet passed the South circle which diuideth the world in twaine. And yet notwithstanding, he that had spoken otherwise, should haue bin counted of most men for a fole. Yea & euen yet stil at this day, we know nothing of the maine Land of the South, & but verie litle of the North. It is not past two hundred yeres ago, since the Swedians sent the first inhabiters into the countrie of Groneland: and both Scotland and Ireland (being in our part of the world) are yet still halfe barbarous. We shall read in Cæsars Commentaries, that in his time Germanie was a continuall Forrest, wherein a man might haue gone 50 dayes iourney ere he could

The World scarce knowē in olde time.

Read the Nauigations of the Portingales & Spanyards.

see any ende of it, and that the people thereof were sauage and beastlye sacrifyinge their owne children to their Gods. It seemeth hers to speake of the Cannibals or the people of Brasilie. It was long time after ere the Romanes durst aduenture ouer farre in that Countrey. Whereby it appeareth that all the auncient Townes and Cities which stand vpon the Riuers of Rhyne and Danowe, towards Fraunce and Italy, did serue rather for a Banke or a Jettie against the ouerflowing of the Germanes, than for Fortresses to assayle them withall. Euen in the time of Tacitus, what were the people on the Sea coast of Germanie? What were the Saxons in the time of Charles the great? And a fewe hundred yeres agoe, what were the Lowe Countreys of Germanie, which at this daye be the flourishingest people of all Europe? The same is to be said of England in Cæsars time: and likewise of Fraunce, Italy, and Spaine, if wee mount a little higher. For seing that Rome is the oldest Citie of the Latines; how happeneth it that Alexander (who sought newe worldes to conquer) knewe it not by the statelinesse thereof? How happeneth it, that he knewe as little also of the Frenchmen and Spanyardes, of whome all the auncient Historyes speake either nothing at all, or els with wonderfull ignorance? And what shall wee saye of Ephorus, whome men account the diligentest Historiographer of them all? As great a Countrie as Spayne or Iberia is; he writeth thereof in such sort, as if it were but onely one towne. Also what was Greece afore the time of Orpheus and Amphion, who (as Thucidides reporteth) drewe the Greekes out of their Forrestes and Fennes, about the time of the warres at Troy? And where learned Orpheus to lay away his owne sauagenesse, but in Aegypt? The holy Bible it selfe when it speaketh of the Greekes and of the lesser Asia, speaketh of them as of Ilands, that is to saye, as of Countries that were furthest off from the knowledge of that time. Thus do ye see the latenesse of the Westerne Nations; whom I call so, as in respect of the rest of the whole world, and of the Centre and middle point therof, which I haue taken to be from Mount Taurus vnto Syria.

Thucidides in his first booke.

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Herodotus. lib. 4.

Now let vs see the Easterne Nations also. The Countrie of India beyond the Riuer Ganges, was vnknowen in the time of Alexander, who notwithstanding had cast the platforme of his Conquest, on that side of the world. And his Pylots which went to seeke new worldes, passed not beyond the Iland of Sumatra then called Taprobane, which is vnder the Equinoctiall and Easterly a great way off from the Molucques. And when it was tolde the Romanes that a Ship was found which by the commaundement of Necho King of Aegypt had sayled about all the Coast of Affrike, they toke it for a fable: and therefore much lesse did they euer come at Iaua the lesse or Iaua the more, or at the firme Lande which is next vnto them. To be short, they did not ordinarily passe the

Streites

Streites of Gibraltar; by reason whereof their greatest Philosophers could lesse skill of the nature and course of the Tydes, than the meanest Seamen or Sailer of our time. Now then what is to be saide of Plinie with his Dogheaded men, his one-eyed men, his Long-eares, his Centaures, his Pigmees, and his Cyclopes, seeing that in all the Countrey where he planteth them, we finde Men, Cities, and Kingdomes, no lesse whit flourishing than the same wherein he himselfe was; and as for any likelyhood of that which he writeth of those things, wee find none at all? As touching the Southcountries & the Northcountryes, that is to wit, beyond the Circles of the two Poles: The foure Empires which haue beene so renowmed, neuer heard speaking of them but at randone, and much lesse extended them selues so farre; in so much that euen wee our selues know but a little of them, which Tempest and Shipwreke hath taught vnto vs.

What win wee then by this discourse? Verily that the World was not knowen of all those great Empyres, and much lesse of them that lined vnder their subiection. And that it was not peopled all at once, but that as folke ouerswarmed in a place, and chanced to hit vpon a man that was aduentrous, they spred themselues further and further vnder his guiding, into the Countreys next vnto them. And (to be short) that the neerer any Countries were to our foresaid Centre, the soner were they inhabited, made ciuill, and manured: which thing appeareth more plainly euen by the verie genealogie of the World. Therefore let vs take our Centre to be either the toppe of Mount Taurus where it is called Caucasus, and where Stories report the Arke of Noe to haue rested: or els the playne of Sennaar, where Moyses saith that the Languages were confounded, and folke dispersed abroad: or else some place of Mesopotamia, (for it skilleth little in respect of the world) and by considering the auncientest Estates, we shall finde the States of Assyria, of Syria, of Aegypt, and of Persia to haue beene neerest to our Centre, and that the State of Assyria was the greatest of them all, and yet in verie trueth but small in comparison of the States that succeeded it. From the Assyrians, the Monarchie came to the Persians: from ỹ Persians to the Greekes: from the Greeks to the Latins; from the Latins to the Frenchmen; and from the Frenchmen to the Almanes, accordingly as Countreys multiplyed their habitations, and that their people growing in Ciuilitie, matched their force with wisedome? And Spayne which heretofore was counted the vttermost part of the world, is now become the first discouerer of the new world. But let vs go on with the East partes: from the Persians we go to the Indians, and from the Eastindians to the Westindians, so long till we come to their vttermost Coast, which is the selfesame place where the Spanyardes found their first landing. And surely if two

The proceeding or growing forward of the world.

folke

folke should kéepe on their way continually, the one on the one side & the other on the other (that is to say, the one Eastward and the other Westward:) in the end they should méete both together, if there were firme land all the way for them to go vpon. And in verie déede, like as Ireland, a part of Scotland, Lapland, and Groneland, being the vttermost partes of our side of the World, are as good as sauage: so also be the vttermost inhabiters of the West-Indies, namely Canada, Baccalea, Brasilie, and Petagon, which are discended of the East-Indies. And contrariwise, like as in our Countries, the more they tend towards the Centre which I haue taken, the mo tokens haue they of their antiquitie; as, Fraunce mo than Germanie; Italie mo than Fraunce; Greece mo than Italy; Aegypt mo than Greece; and so forth of the rest: So the Spanyards, who in their first Conquests found but Cottages and Bogges; did at their entering further into the Land, finde goodly cities well inhabited, orderly distinction of Commons and Nobilitie, Ministers of Iustice and men of Warre, Trades and Handicrafts wel gouerned, Victories of their doings, wonderful antiquities, Towers passing the Pyramyds of Aegypt, and whatsoeuer els the world hath counted wonderful. And out of doubt the nérer they come to the Centre of that part, the more shal they finde still. For there is no man ignorant nowadayes what goodly great cities and flourishing kingdomes, haue within these fewe yéeres béene discouered in the West-Indies: And where it commeth to face the East-India with the Sea betwixt them both; there we sée the great Empyre of China, so beautifull, so flourishing and so well gouerned in all respects, that the ciuilest time of all the Romane Empyre, may well séeme vnto vs to haue béene barbarous in comparison of that. It is in effect all one as though the Westerne Indians making Conquestes vpon vs as we haue done vpon them, should haue arriued at the first in Ireland, Scotland, or Groneland: for as little could they haue said of vs, as we of them. And whereas it may be replyed, that although the people there be rude, yet notwithstanding it hath euermore bin peopled. Let it be added thereunto, that in following the Coasts, men haue found many Countries euen yet vnpeopled. And also that euen in the best peopled places of all their Conquestes, they haue not found the tenth part of so much people as the Countrie being manured were able to beare: whereas on the contrarie part, in our Countries the Nations do pester one another. And whereas our verie vttermost borders are more frequented than theirs: the cause thereof is, that ours be much nérer the Centre which I set downe, then theirs be: as the Cosmographers do easily perceiue. Wherevpon it hath come to passe, that the people which haue béene spred abroad from our Centre vnto the vttermost Coasts of the frosen Sea, finding themselues more multiplyed than their Lands were able to maintaine, and being

An Historie of the realme of China.

not

not able to go any further for ye Sea that hemmed them in: haue rebounded backe againe vpon the next Countries, as namely the Cymbrians vpon the Almanes and Romanes, and afterward the Gothes vpon Italy and Fraunce, the Humes vpon Pannoy, the Vandales vpon Spayne, and lastly the Turkes and Tartarians vpon all Europe. Which thing hath not happened vpon the other part of the World, because of the large scope of their Countrey, which emptyeth the Easterne Indya into the Westerne: The Westerne into newe Spayne: newe Spayne into Brasilie: and Brasilie into the Southerne lande, whereof not so much as the Seacoast is yet knowen. Neither befell it so vnto vs in the first ages, because our part of the World was not yet sufficiently peopled to ebbe backe againe againe: but it befell chiefely a little afore or a little after the comming of Jesus Christ, that is to wit, towardes the perfect age of the World. To be short, were there neuer so much people, yet were it no wonder to him that would take the paines to account what onely one offspring might amount vnto in one hundred yeeres, and how manye one man might see to come of himselfe in his owne life-time: which in another hundred yeere might increase into an infinite multitude. The Empyres haue alwayes extended their largenesse towards the North & the South, but yet more Northerly than Southerly, because the Centre which I take, is still afore towardes the North, and in the temperatest Clymate of our halfe Globe, that is to wit, towardes the 35. and 40 degrees (or thereabouts) of the Equinoctiall lyne, which diuideth the World euen in the middest: which thing I desire the Readers to marke aduisedly. And truely Iseland (which in old time was called Thule,) was knowen in the time of great Alexander, notwithstanding that it be situate about 68 degrees North: whereas yet for all that, the greatest part of Affrike was vnknowen to them, & the vttermost reach of their knowledge was the Ile of Taprobane, which neuertheless are but vnder the Equinoctiall: so farre off were they from attayning to the Southpole.

To be short, the Coast of Affrike or Barbarie and of Spayne, was peopled by the Phenecians, whome we read to haue beene long time Lordes of the Sea. And the Commonweale of Carthage, which was so highly renowmed and reached so farre off, was an ympe of Tyrus the chiefe Citie of Phenecia, which bordered vpon Iewrie. For Tyrus sent thither the one halfe of their people: whereupon it was called Carthago, that is to say, the halfe towne. And the first people that dwelled there, went into that Countrie by a narrow peece of drye lande called Catabathmos, which is a falling ground that ioyneth Palestine vnto Aegypt, as remained yet still to be read in the time of the Historiographer Procopius, vpon a Piller in Tingie a Citie of Affrike, set there by the inhabitants of Chanaan which had fled away from the sight of Iosua. And in good sooth,

Strabo. lib. 3. Plutark in the life of Scipio.

as appeareth by many sentences of S. Austines, the Punicke tongue was but a kinde of seuerall proprietie of the Hebrew.

The Histories of Affricke.

Some persist yet still in demaunding, from whence the Southlande, the Countrie of Brasilie, the Land of Perow and such others could be peopled? And whence I pray you was Affrick peopled, for the replenishing whereof thou canst not but know that inhabitants were sent thether both by Sea and by land? Affrick was peopled first by the forsaid narrow peece of drye Land called Catabathmos, and afterward refreshed againe by the streightes of Gibraltar. And the Southland was peopled on the one side by the Ile of Taprobane, and on the other side by the streightes of Magellan which do butt there vpon Brasilie. And Perow likewise was peopled by the narrow point of land called Darien, by the which way Brasilie also was peopled. At such tyme as the Spanyards entered first into that great Messe which conteyneth both Brasilie & Perow, they thought it to haue bene an Iland. In like manner, if the Perouians had landed in Affrick by the Athlantike Sea, and had found so long a side as the side of Affrick is that stretcheth vnto the red Sea, so as they being wearied with following it as the Romanes were, had made the like question: we would then haue mocked at them because we know the passage whereby men came thether: and they haue like occasion to mock vs, because they know theirs. But yet againe, from whence came the people which are spred abroad from the Land that is called Newe Spayne by the streight of Daryen? Procede on yet a little further, and thou shalt finde Cathay and Indya ioyning to that Land; and Groneland facing it on the Northside; and the streight of Anian on the West side, which is almost as nere within the view of it as Spayne is vnto Affrick by the streightes of Gibraltare. And I praye you what more maruell is it that they should haue passed by that streyght, than that the Latins passed into Cicilie by the Fare of Messana, or that the Vandales passed into Affrick and the Sarzins into Spayne by the said streightes of Gibraltare? But the mischicke is, that nothing can suffize vs for proofe of the trueth; but for witnesse against it, wee admit both Ignorance, Heresay, and Doubtes, and the verie least suspitions or surmizes that can come in our minde. For I pray you what can be more childish, (or rather as Varro saith in his Eumenides) more worthie of Hell; than to saye, that men sprung vp in a Countrey as Bætes and Rapes do? After that maner were the Athenians called Aborigenes, that is to say, Homebred or bred in that place: and in token thereof they wore a Grashopper in their Cappe or Bonet: insomuch that Aristides to flatter them withall, told them that their Territorie was the first that euer bore men; and yet for all that, there had bin whole realms of men in Syria, afore there were any mē in Greece. The Latins also would vaunt themselues of ȳ same:

Aristides in his Panthenaik.

but

but Dennis of Halycarnassus and Porcius Cato acknowledge them to haue come out of Achaia. Aske the Sauages, and they will say the verie same that the Sages say: for they know neither one thing nor other, further than their owne remembrance can reach.

But goe to Moyses, and he will tell you the Originalles of the first Nations, and the Genealogie of the whole World. And the names of them remaining from thence vnto vs, will put the matter out of all doubt to a man of vnderstanding. For of Noe by his eldest sonne Iaphet, issued the Gomerians or Cymbryans, the Medes, the Ionians who were the first inhabitants of Greece, the Twiscons Duchmen or Almanes, the Italians, and the Dodoneans: namely of Gomer, Maday, Iauan, Aschenes, Elisa, and Dodanim. By Cham there issued the Chananites, the Aegyptians, the Libians, the Sabeans, and so forth; who retained the names of his children, that is to wit, of Chanaan, Misraim, Lud, Saba, and so forth: For Misraim in Hebrewe betokeneth Aegypt. By Sem there descended the Elamites and Persians, the Assyrians, the Chasdeans or Chaldees, the Lydians, the Aramites or Syrians, the people of Ophir and others; that is to wit, of Elam; Arphaxad, Lud, Aram, Ophir, and others. And these names were written and recorded by Moyses, afore those Nations were of any reputation, and they remaine yet still among the Hebrewes at this day. Now looke in what measure these fathers of houses increased their children, so did euery of them spred out his branches a farre off; insomuch that the offspring of that stocke did couer and ouershadowe the whole earth, and the Arke of Noe did after a manner saile ouer the whole world.

But here is an Obiection which seemeth stronger. These reasons (say they) do bring vs vp to the Flood: but as the Flood brought mankinde to that small number, whereby the World was by little and little renewed againe: So may it be that there were other former Fluds, that had done the like afore; so as this latter Flud was rather a renewing of the World, than a first beginning thereof. And to this purpose they will alledge this saying of Plato in his Timæus, that the ouerflowings of waters and the burnings by fire, doe from time to time refresh the World, and destroy the remembrance of former ages, & also of all Artes, Sciences, and other inuentions. This is woorthie of some examination. Surely of Burnings either vniuersall or any thing great in respect of the whole world, there is no mention found in any storie: Also of any other generall Flud, than that which we take to be ỳ first, & last, there is as little to be found, vnlesse they will apply that name to the ouerflowings of Riuers in some small quarter, or to the winning of the Sea by force of his breaking into some countrey a League or twain, which can nothing serue to this purpose. And if their alledging of it in

An obiection of Fludds taken out of Plato.

that:

that behalfe be vnfeinedly and in good earneſt, as I beléeue it is; well mought they fare for their confeſſion. For then wil I aſke them whether this Flud were vniuerſall, or particular but to ſome one Countrey. If it were particular: how commeth it to paſſe that all Nations confeſſe it to be vniuerſall? And how commeth it to paſſe alſo that the Countries which had no part thereof, haue no incling thereof either in memorie or in writing? Or if it were vniuerſall; did any men eſcape from it or no? If none eſcaped, how then come we to the knowledge of it? And whence are we alſo, but of a new Creation? And he that was able to create vs againe, why was he not able to create vs alſo afore? If ſome eſcaped, as all of vs do conſent that there did: why beléeue we them not as well in the things that went afore the Flud, as we beléeue them concerning the Flud it ſelfe? And who be thoſe that eſcaped but Noe and his iſſue, who lead vs to the firſt beginning both of the world and men? For in all the Hiſtories of the Heathen, what finde we thereof worthy the alledging? Againe, I demaund whether this ſaid Flud and others which they pretend to haue abolished the remembrance of the former times, befell by chaunce or by prouidence? If by chaunce; was it not poſſible, that of ſo many which may perchaunce haue béene either from euerlaſting or of verie old time, perchaunce not ſo much as any one ſhould haue eſcaped? Or if by Prouidence; by whoſe prouidence ſhould it be but by Gods? or who could haue power to vndoe & confound this worke, but onely he that made it? And what warrant haſt thou that he deſtroyed it more than once, ſéeing thou art inforced to graunt that he made it but once? Nay, it may be that it befel through ſome coniunction of the Starres. And who told them ſo? And if they know ſo much thereof, let them tell vs what ſtarres. I omit to tell them that ſuch coniunctions (as they themſelues teach) threaten not the whole world, but ſome ſmall part thereof. After this maner did the Aſtrologers ſay, that in the yeere 1524. there ſhould méete the like Coniunction as was at the general Flud, by reaſon whereof the whole earth ſhould be couered with water: and yet as (Viues ſaith) a fairer yéere was neuer ſéene. To be ſhort, all things will goe for payment with theſe folke, ſauing the trueth.

The obiection of Auerrhois.

But ſée héere their laſt Ankerhold. How hapeneth it (ſaith Auerrhois) that God forbore ſo long, and where had he that newe deuice of making the world? Sillie ſoule that thou art: which gloriеſt in aſking Queſtions whereas ſkill conſiſteth in aunſwering. Thou wilt néedes proone the world by thy reaſons to be without beginning: and yet in thoſe words which thou haſt ſpoken, thou ſheweſt that thou knoweſt not what eternitie or euerlaſtingneſſe is. In eternitie (friend mine) there is neither length nor ſhortnes of time: the euerlaſting prouidence is not tyed to new caſualtie. Conſider that thou art a man. The Plants cannot iudge of

Sence:

sence: the Beastes cannot iudge of the drift of Reason: neither canst thou which art subiect to time, iudge of eternitie which is without time. For if euen the little Babe which is in time, cannot conceiue what time is: how shall he that is but in time, vnderstand the euerlastingnes of the euerlasting? After that maner the brute beasts (if they had speech) would decipher the reach of thy wit, according to their owne imagination. And thou wouldest mocke at them if they should goe about to describe what thy memorie is, which ioyneth past, present, and to come all in one. And how thinkest thou thy selfe able to iudge of eternitie, which altereth with the Windes, with the Moones, and with the seasons of the yeere, euery day, euery houre, and euery minute? Askest thou why God forbore so long time? Nay rather, aske why God listed to make the time it selfe: for in one vndiuidable moment is eternitie ioyned both to the beginning and to the ende of time. Learne this also, that where there is any bound or end, there is no long time. The long time of a Worme, is a moneth: of an Ant, a yeere: of a Horse, thirtie yeeres: of a man, an hundred yeeres: of all mankinde, certeine thousands of yeeres: of time it self, a certaine space of time: and the terming of any of all their times long, is in respect of the long continuance of their life in time: but vnto him that made time, nothing indureth lesse while than time. Put the case that the world haue lasted a hundred thousand yeeres, or (if ye will) ten hundred thousand, what shall ye gaine by that? That the world shal haue bin of the greater antiquitie. But in respect of whom? of God, or of thy selfe? of a Worme, or of a Spirite? of eternitie, or of time? And what is all that in comparison of infinitenesse? Is not the Question all one still? Whence is this deuice? whence is this chaunce? as well in a hundred, as in a thousand: and as well in a thousand, as in a thousandthousand: Yet was the deuice and purpose eternall, notwithstanding that the execution thereof be in time, insomuch that he hath brought forth time, and time is a measure of moouing, and mouing procureth a beginning, & the beginning which it taketh is euer newe. Thou then which by a mouing hast a beginning procured vnto thée, giue ouer thy surmised eternitie & cõfesse a newnesse of time, for nothing is newer than time. Which like reason maist thou demaund why God made the world rather here than elswhere. For these distinctions of time & place were created & brought forth together at one instant with the world, so as they be neither without it nor afore it. He that is without time and without place, made both time and place: and if he had bin subiect to time and place, as thou imaginest: he could not haue made either place or time. Yea, but what did he then (sayest thou) afore the world and out of the world? Once againe amend thy plea. For in God ther is neither afore nor after, within nor without. But surely it is a goodly question, & welbeséeming a great wit.

Afore

Afore thy Clocke or thy building was made, thou diddest not ceasse to liue and to delight thy selfe in the perfectnesse of thine Arte: and afterward thy building added nothing vnto thée, but thou vnto thy building. Thou wouldest haue béene ashamed to haue asked of Scipio what he did at home in his house in the Countrey, after he had giuen ouer the affaires of the Common weale and the warres: and he would haue answered thée that he was neuer lesse idle than when he was idle, nor lesse alone than when he was alone. And yet thou thinkest that it stode God greatly on hand to make this goodly palace of the world for thée, and to harber such blasphemers as thou art therein, as if he could not haue forborne thée, or liued without thy company. God did the same thing without the world, which he doth still with the world: that is to wit, he is happie in himselfe. The world hath nothing at all augmented his felicitie or happinesse. But to the intent (as ye would say) to shed foorth his happinesse out of himselfe: it liked him to creat the worlde. Yea, but why did he it no sooner? What a number of faults are here in one spéech? Thou wilt nedes be priuie to ẏ cause of Gods will in all things, & yet is Gods wil the cause of the causes of al things. By eternitie thou hast not bin able to haue knowen his power: for the Maiestie therof would haue made thée dark: and it is so bright that thou couldest haue séene lesse, than thou couldest sée now if thou wert lodged in the body of the Sunne. Now he maketh thée to perceiue his power, by the creation of the world: his eternitie by comparison of time: & his glorious brightnes, by ẏ shadow therof. By eternitie, thou couldest not haue knowen his wisedome: for thou wouldest haue déemed all things as wise as he, séeing they had bin as euerlasting as he. And what wisedome had remained in him, if al things had bin of necessitie, and nothing at his owne choyce and libertie? But now thou séest his wisedome in the stones, in the Herbes, in the dumbe creatures, yea & euen in the workmanship of thy selfe. Thou séest it in the order, in the succession, and in the bréeding of all things. Thou gasest at it in the greatest things, & thou wondrest at it in the smalest; as much in the Flye & the Ant, as in the whole Cope of heauen: whereas the eternitie of things would haue caused thee to haue attributed Godhead to the skyes, the starres, the earth, the Rockes, the Mountaines, and in effect to all things rather than thy selfe, as they did which were taught so to do. Also by this eternitie thou couldest not haue conceiued his goodnesse, because thou wouldest haue thought that God had had as much nede of the World, as the World had of him. Thou shouldest not haue knowen thy selfe to be any more beholden to him, than to the fire for heating thee, or to the Sunne for giuing thee light, because they should no more be either fire or Sunne, if they forwent that nature. But hee sheweth thée by the creation, both that he himselfe is euer, and that thou hast had

thy

thy being since the time that it pleased him to create thée: that he without thée is eternall; and that thou without his goodnesse haddest neuer béen that little which thou art: and to be short, that he is not tied to any néede or necessitie as Aristoles God is, (which could not refuse to giue the Will, but was tied to it whether he could or no:) but that his doing of things is altogether of his owne infinite goodnesse, wherethrough he vouchsafeth to impart himself vnto others, by making the thing to be which was not; yea and by making the thing happie, which of it selfe could not so much as bee. Now, had man any will or skill to acknowledge the power, wisedome, and goodnesse of his God: (I thinke not.) Then was it for thy benefite and not for his owne, that he made not the World either of greater antiquitie, or eternall. For had he made it eternall, (let vs so speake séeing ye will haue it so,) thou wouldest haue made a God of it, and thou canst not euen now forbeare the doing thereof. And had he made of it more antiquitie; thou wouldest haue made it an occasion to forget thy God, and for all the newnesse thereof, yet wilt thou not beare it in thy minde. Then séeke not the cause thereof in his power. The cause thereof is in thine owne infirmitie: Nay, the cause therof is in his goodnesse, in that he intendeth to succour thine ignorance. And so, notwithstanding all their obiections, we shal by this meanes hold still our conclusion, to wit, that the World is but of late continuance; That it had a beginning, and that concerning the time of the first beginning thereof, and concerning the continuance thereof vnto our daies, we ought to beléeue the bookes of Moyses aboue all.

The Ninth Chapter.

That the wisedome of the World hath acknowledged the Creation of the World.

Ith we haue séene with what consent the whole harmonie of the World chaunteth the Creation thereof and the praise of the Creator, now it followeth that we sée what the wisedome of the world hath beléeued in that behalfe: wherein we haue to consider the selfesame thing which we considered in the doctrine of the three Parsons; that is to wit, that the neerer we come to the welhead thereof, the more cleerer we finde it: yea and it is as a fountaine of Platos teaching. That in these high matters of the Godhead, of the Creation of the world, and of such other-

like, we must giue credit (as vnto a kinde of Demonstration,) to the sayings of men of most antiquitie, as folke that were better and nærer to God than we. Here I should begin at Moyses, as the anncientest of all writers, and whom all the Heathen Authors doe honour and wonder at in their writings. And the very first word of his booke simply set downe in these termes, In the beginning God created Heauen and Earth, ought to be vnto vs as a maxime of Euclyde, which in those daies men were ashamed to call in question. But to the intent we confounde not the worde of God with the worde of man, forasmuch as the folke with whō we haue to deale, are such as refuse those whom they cannot accuse: let vs ouercome them rather by their owne Doctors. Carteinly whosoeuer will take the paine to confere Mercurius Trismegistus with Moyses, shal reape thereby most singuler contentation. In Genesis Moyses describeth the Creation of the World, and so doth Mercurie likewise in his Pœmander. Moyses espieth darkenesse vpon the Waters: Mercury fæth a dreadful shadow houering on the moist nature, and the same moist nature as it were brøded by the word of God. Moyses saith that God spake, and forthwith things were made: and Mercurie acknowledgeth and bringeth in Gods worde shining, whereby he created the light and made the World and all that is therein. Moyses parteth the nature of moysture in twaine, the one mounting aloft which he calleth Heauen, and the other remaining beneath which he calleth Sea: And Mercury fæth a light fire which he calleth Aether mounting vp as it were out of the bewelles of the moist nature, and likewise an ayre calling it selfe betwæne the water and the elementarie fire, which is nothing els but a more clære & subtile ayre. The Sea and Land (saith Moyses) were mingled together vntill God had spoken, and then by and by either of them toke his place by himselfe. After the same maner Mercurie saith that those Elementes lying erst mingled together, seuered themselues a sunder at the speaking of the spirituall word which inuironed them about. What more? God (say both of them) created the Starres and the Planets. At the voice of his word, the Earth, the Ayre, and the Water, brought forth Beastes, Birdes, and Fishes. Last of all, God created man after his owne image and deliuered all his workes into his hand to vse them. Is not this a setting downe not onely of one selfesame sente, but also of the selfesame termes and words? But when as Mercurie addeth afterward, that God crieth out into his works by his holy word, saying, Bring ye forth fruit, grow, and increase: may it not seeme vnto vs that we heare Moyses himselfe speaking? And as for the small differences which are in him concerning the seauen Circles, the Zones, and such other things, they serue greatly to the manifestation of the truth; namely, that this maner of Mercuries writing, is not a bare borrowing or translating out of Moyses

The men of most antiquitie beleeued the Creation of the world.

Mercurie in his Pœmāder.

Mercury in his Pœmander, the. 1. & 3. cap.

Mercury alledged by Cyrillus in his second booke against Iulian the Renegate.

Mercury in his holy Sermon.

but

but rather a tradition conueied to the Aegiptians from the Father to the Sonne. In another place he saith that God by his holy, spirituall & mighty working word, commaunded the day sunne to be, and it was don: that the Sea and Land should be seuered asunder, that the Starres shoulde be created, and that Herbes should grow vp euery one with his séede, by force of the same word. Also that the World is but an alteration, a moouing, a generating and a corrupting of things, and that it cannot be called good. These are conclusions cleane contrary to eternitie or euerlastingnesse. But forasmuch as (if I should set downe al his sayings which he hath to that purpose,) I should be faine to copie him almost whole out: it is better for me to desire the Readers to go to the verie place it selfe.

Orpheus the auncientest of the Greekes, had beene in Aegipt as he himselfe saith, that there he learned, That there is but one God, and that

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

The Ayre, the Heauen, the Sea, the Earth, and Hell
With all the things that in them all doe dwell.

were harbered in his breast from all eternitie.
And also that

The running streames, the Ocean, Gods and Men,
Things present, things to come lay all at ease
In that wide lap of his: and that within
His belly large the bond lay lapped vp
Which holdeth all this great huge worke together.

And afterward he addeth further,

These things which yet lay hidden all
Within the treasure of his brest,
He into open light did call,
Creating as he deemed best
This stately stage, whereon to showe
His noble doings on a rowe.

And what els is this; than that God did euerlastingly hold the world hidden, (as the Apostle saith) in the Treasury of his infinite wisedome: Or (as Dennis saith) in the Closet of his purpose and will, and afterward brought it forth in time when it pleased him? And in another place, I sing (saith he) of the darke confusion, I meane the confusion that was in the beginning, how is was disfigured in diuers natures, and how the Heauen, the Sea and the Lande were made. And what more? I sing (saith he) of Loue, euen of the Loue that is perfect of it selfe, of more antiquitie than all these things: and of all things which the same hath brought foorth, and set in order, yea of time it selfe. I haue alreadie heretofore declared what he meaneth by this Loue: namelie the goodwill of GOD; and that also doe euen some of the Hebrewes meane

πάρχαιον χάος ἀνυπόλλω.

by the Spirit which Moyses speaketh of. To be short, he saith that he him selfe made a booke of the Creation of the worlde, which was a common argument among the Poets of that time, as Empedocles, Hesiodus, Parmenides, and such others, which were al Philosophers. And in many places he reduceth all things to Water and to a certeine Mud as to their originall, which thing agreeth well enough to the deepe of Moyses. The like is done by Homer and Hesiodus, whiche came after him. For Hesiodus maketh discription, not onely of the Creating of the worlde and the partes thereof; but also of the Chaos or confusion and of the Gods themselues. And when Homer intendeth to curse a man I would (saith he) that thou mightest returne to Water and Earth: that is to say, I would thou wert not any more, as the time hath beene that thou wast not. To be short, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and the very Comedi writers speake after the same manner: and for proofe of them all, Euripides shall suffice, who was the least religious of them all. The time hath beene (saith he) that Heauen and Earth were but a lumpe: but after that they were seperated, they ingendred al things, and brought to light the Trees, the Birds, the Beastes of the fielde, the Fishes, and Men themselues. For as for others, they speake more to the purpose, as Aratus, who saith that God hath set the Starres in the Skye to distinguish the Seasons of thy yeare: that he created all things: that men are his offspring: that by the signes of Heauen he ment to giue them warning of the chaunges of the Ayre, and the tempests. And the voice of these Poets is to be considered as the opinion of the people to whom they sung their Verses.

Orpheus in his Argonawtes.

Hesiodus in his booke of workes and Daies, and in his Genealogie of the Goddes.

Now let vs go on with the auncient Philosophers. Pythagoras (by the report of Plutarke) saith that the Worlde was begotten of God, of it owne nature corruptible, because it was sensible and bodily, but yet that it is not corrupted, because it is vpheld and maintained by his prouidence. The same thing doth also Diogenes Laertius witnesse. And where as Varro saith that Pythagoras acknowledged not any beginning of liuing Wights: Architas his Disciple shall mainteine the contrary for his Maister: For his wordes are these: Of all liuing Wights man is bred most wise of capacitie to consider things, and to atteine to knowledge, and to iudge of them all. For GOD hath printed in him the fulnesse of all Reason. And like as God hath made him the instrument of all Voices, Sounds, Names and vtterances, so also hath he made him the instrument of all vnderstandings and conceits, which is the workemanship of wisedome: And euen for that cause (saith he) doe I thinke that man is of Gods creating, and hath receiued his instruments and abilities at his hand. Thales one of the seuen Sages held opinion, that all things had their beginning of Water, and that God created all things thereof, who is alonely vnbegotten, and hath not any ende or any beginning.

Plutarcke in his booke of the opinions of the Philosophers.

Varro in his second booke of Husbandry.

Iamblichus one of the sect of Pythagoras crying Architas.

Laertius in the life of Thales.

And

And againe, The World (saith he) is most excellently beautifull, for it is the worke of God. Also being asked whether was first of the Day or the Night, he answered that the Night was sooner by one day: as if he had ment to say, that afore God had created the light, it must needs be confessed that out of him there was nothing but darkenesse. Now this Philosopher also as well as the rest had gone to Schoole in Aegipt. Plutarch in his banket.

Timeus of Locres termeth Time the Image of eternitie, and saith that it toke his beginning from the creating of Heauen and Earth, and that God created the very Soule of the World afore the World it selfe, both in possibilitie and in time. To be short, Plutarch affirmeth that all the naturall Philosophers of old time, held opinion that the begetting of the World began at the Earth as at the Centre thereof: and that Empedocles saith that the finest kinde of Aer which they call Aether, was the fift part thereof that was drawne vp on high. And Anaxagoras is reported by Simplicius, to affirme that God (whom he calleth Minde or Vnderstanding) created the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne and the Starres, and scarsely is there any one to be found, which teacheth that time is without beginning.

Some of Platoes latter Disciples, (as namely Proclus writing against the Christians) would nœdes beare their Maister downe, that he beleeued the worlde to haue had no beginning. But if we may beleeue Aristotle, who was a scholler of his a two and twentie yeres, he taught that the world was created, and it is one of chiefe Principles wherein they most disagree. Philo who was as another Plato, saith that Plato had learned it of Hesiodus. And Plutarch who sheweth himselfe to haue perused him throughlie leafe by leafe, speaketh of him in these wordes. There are (saith he) some studiers of Plato, which by racking his words, indeuour by allmeanes to make him denie the creation of the Worlde and of the Soule, and to confesse the euerlastengnesse of time, notwithstanding that in so doing they bereaue him of that most excellent treatise of his concerning the Gods, against the despisers and skorners of whome in his time he wrote, And what needeth anie thing to be alledged for proofe thereof, seeing that this whole booke of Timæus is nothing els but an expresse treatise of the Creation of the World? The same thing also doth Aphrodisius witnesse concerning Plato. In his booke intitled Athlantike, he termeth the worlde a thing Longago created. In his matters of State he saith that the worlde was setled and founded by God, and that it conteineth store of good thinges, and that the troublesomenesse which it hath, is but a Remnant or Remainder of the former confusion. Also Socrates in his booke of Commonweale, termeth it θεὸν γεγονότα A Godhead begotten or created. And which of the auncient writers did euer doubt, that Plato taught not the Crea- Aristotle in his eighth booke of naturall Philosophy. Epicurius in Cicero. Plutarke in the Opinions of the Philosophers, and in the creation of the Soule. Aphrodisius as he is alledged by Simplicius vpon the bookes of Heauen. τὸν πᾶλαι γεγονότα.

tion of the World, considering that he hath made descriptions, both of al the parts thereof, and of the Gods themselues? And also that he saith that ꝯ world was created corruptible of it selfe, but yet above immortall and uncorruptible through the grace of God which upholdeth it? But let us examine the racking which Proclus offereth unto him. Plato (saith he) affirmeth in his Commonweale, that whatsoeuer hath a beginning hath also an ende: Nowe the Worlde, as he saith in his Timæus, shall haue no ende: Therefore it followeth that it had no beginning. If another man should reason after that maner against Proclus, Proclus would laugh him to scorne: for he shifteth the termes: and yet our Soules which he concludeth to be without ende, faile not to haue had a beginning. But though we were neuer so well contented to let him passe: yet doth Plato assoile him in one worde. The world (saith he) is corruptible of it selfe, for euery thing that is compounded, may also be dissolued: but it is not Gods will that it should bee corrupted. And mine ordinance (saith the euerlasting) is of more power to make thee to continue, than thine owne Nature is to make thee to perish. The which thing he speaketh yet more shortly in another place, saying that the world hath receiued an Immortalitie at the hande of the workemaister which made it. Now, then, seeing that by Nature it may perish, surely by Nature it had a beginning: and the power that hath preserued it from perishing, is the very same that made it to bee. Proclus addeth: Plato propoundeth a Question (saith he) whether the Worlde was created after the patterne of a thing forecreated, or of a thing without beginning. Therefore he doubted whether it were eternall or no. What a conclusion was this for a great Philosopher? I aske whether men be bred of themselues or created of another; & therefore I uphold that they be bred of themselues: as who should say ꝯ in disputing, it were not an ordinarie matter to set downe both the Contraries, for the affirming of the one & the denying of the other. Againe, if it were begotten or created, after ꝯ example of a thing afore created could it be beginninglesse, seeing that ꝯ patterne thereof had a beginning? And if it were created after the example of a thing uncreated, can it come to passe that it should be euerlasting, seeing that it is not the very patterne it selfe? No: but as I haue said afore, we admit horned arguments against the trueth, whereas in defence of the trueth the perfectest demonstrations suffice us not. Also in another booke intitled of a String he saieth thus: Plato in his booke of Lawes saith that Commonweales and Artes haue infinite times beene vtterly destroyed by Waterfloods and Burnings, and therefore that men cannot certeinely say from what time men haue first growne into Commonweales: Ergo, he beleeued that the World had no beginning. Nay, he saith these things in his Timæus, which is the booke whereof thou

Plato in his commonweale. ἀϊδιότητα ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ.

canst not doubt, but that he treateth there expressedlie of the Creation of the Worlde. And he repeateth the same ageine in his booke of Commonweale matters, hauing said afore, that God created Heauen and Earth, the Starres and Gods. Now then, seeing it is one selfesame Author that speaketh these things, and in one selfesame place, and one immediatly after another: is it not certeine that he ment not to match cleane contrarie doctrines together? What is to be said then, but that he spake there after the maner of the common multitude, who (as Aristotle saith doe call the things infinite, which they be not able to number? Or as Moyses himselfe speaketh, who calleth the things eternall, euerlasting or endlesse, which are of very long continuance, notwithstanding that he made a booke expressely of the Creation of all things? But in deede it was a surmize of the auncientnesse of the Worlde, which Plato (as it should seeme) had brought home out of Aegipt, accordingly as the report of Solon sufficiently declareth, who telleth him that the Aegiptians had Registers of nine thousand yeeres, that is to say (as Plutarke interpreteth it) nine thousand Moones.

Against Aristotle Eternity

But let vs come to Aristotle, to whome this opinion doth properlie belong. For although some of his Schollers being ashamed on his behalfe, would faine beare him on hand that he was of another opinion, or at least wise that he held it as a doubtfull point; yet notwithstanding his sentences in that case are too certeine, too cleere, and too manifest, for them to goe about to cloke his opinion. But seeing he was so bold as to remoue the former bound setled by the authoritie and beleefe of all that went afore him: needes must it be that he had very expresse termes, and very certeine Demonstrations. And I pray you let vs see what maner a ones they be? From the mouings that are here beneath, he leadeth vs to the mouings that are aboue, and from them to a first mouer. Hetherto he is well. But afterward he will haue this first mouer to moue euerlastingly, and therefore that time should be euerlasting also. Neither the ground nor the consequence of this argument are oughtworth. Howe will ye proue that the first mouer moueth eternally? Nay contrariewise, mouing argueth a beginning. For in mouing there is a certeine point from whence the mouing is made, vnto another point whereto it tendeth: and euen according to Aristoles owne doctrine, forenesse, afternesse, and continuance of time do followe forenesse, afternesse, and continuance of mouing and that implieth a manifest contrarietie to the definition of mouing from place to place. And that time should be beginningliesse, what els is it to say, than that time is not time, and (as ye woulde say) an implying of contradiction of the verie worde it selfe? For what els is time according to Aristotle himselfe, than the number of mouing by forenesse and

Aristotle in his. 1. 3. & 8. bookes of naturall Philosophie: in his first booke of the Heauens. and in his first booke of the breede of liuing things.

afternesse, by past and to come. And if it be a number, where is the infinitenesse thereof become? And if there be afore and after, where is the eternitie thereof? In another place he saith, that mouing is eternall because time is eternall, and that the cause why time is so, is that it is alwaies ioyned to that which is past. I pray you what a childishnesse is this? By the same reason I may say that the mouing of a Mil, or the stirring of any liuing wight is eternall: for in those cases euery instant followeth immediatly in the necke of that which is past, no lesse than in the mouing of time, and yet we be not ignorant that they haue a beginning. But like as there is a certeine first forthsetting in those, so is there also in the mouing of the Heauen, who is the breeder of time. And Algazel answereth Auerrhois verie wel vpon this point, That loke what a point or pricke is in things that hold on whole vnbroken off; the same is an instant or moment in things that immediatly or continually succede one after another: and that as a point or pricke is the beginning of a line: so an instant is the beginning of time: and Auerrhois could not disproue this reason, otherwise than by flowting him for it. He replieth yet againe, and saith; Yea but if the World had a beginning, how shall the maker thereof be void of alteration? To such a question as this is, me thinkes he him selfe should answere thus: That the alledging of an inconuenience assoileth not the question. But good Sir Philosopher! By your seeking to bring vs to this inconuenience, you graunt at least wise that God created Nature. And is it not a strainge ouersight in you, that you wil nedes tie him to the lawes of Nature, which is the maker of Nature? and measure the power and libertie of the Clockmaker, by the subiection of the Clocke vnto him? Art thou not ashamed to yeeld lesse preheminence to God, than to thy king whom thou exemptest from subiection to his lawes, because he is a maker of the lawes? I pray thee what a thing it were, if thou shouldest vntertake but onely to measure Nature by thine owne wit? What a number of times hast thou found thy wit to stumble at the least things? How often hast thou found it against thy selfe? Now, if Nature goe beyond the reach of thy wit, how farre shall the very maker of nature out goe it? Thou canst not shift thy place without remouing, and therefore thou deemest the like of God. But consider at least wise that thy Soule or Minde not being limitted within any place, is the place of a thousand things, and that a thousand things are the place thereof. Againe, thy soule cannot conceiue any thing, without passing from cõtemplation to action: no nor abide in contemplation, without chaunge. Now thy desire is to haue God like thy selfe in this behalf. But if thou wilt not yeeld thy selfe to other mens reasons; at least wise yeeld thy selfe to thine owne reasons. For whereas thou saiest, that beyond the Heauen there is neither emptinesse nor time, but that whatsoeuer is there, is exempted from all

Algazel

Aristotle in his first booke of Heauen. cap. 9.

manor

maner of time, moning, chaunge, and possibilitie; and that in that vniuersall eternitie al things do leade a most happie and welcontented life: darest thou say lesse of God, whom thou thy selfe doest place farre aboue all those things? The very brute Beasts would bable after that maner of the nature of the Soule, yea and more to the purpose too. For whereas there is no comparison betweene God and thee, they yet haue a thing that doth somewhat resemble thee. For thou chaungest in doing, because thy doing is another thing than thy being, and the thing that thou aimest at is out of thy selfe; which thing cannot chaunge for thee, and therefore thou art faine to chaunge for it. Also thou chaungest in beholding, for the thing which thou beholdest, and thou which beholdest it, are two: and to be short, in beholding, thou doest after a sort suffer at the thing which thou beholdest, and in doing, thou sufferest at the thing which thou doest: but vnto him which is the maker of all things, to be and to behold, to behold and to doe, to doe and to will are all one thing. For euen in willing a thing he hath done it, and his willing thereof is after a certeine and determinate maner, (I vse humaine words for ỳ vttering of my meaning.) To be short, vnto him that beholdeth al things in himselfe, nothing can spring vp that shall be new. Let vs now put the case, that the forealleged inconuenience be most to purpose, and let vs see at least wise if thou canst skil to auoide it in thine owne opinion. If God (saist thou) do make any thing new, he must néedes chaunge his minde. And yet thou sayest therewithall, that in all things which are done here beneath by naturall causes, there is a certeine influence of God, at least wise of the vniuersall influence vnder the which thou puttest all things. So speakest thou, so speaketh Auerrhois, so speaketh Proclus and the rest of you thereof. Now, seeing that God doth euery day a thousand newe things here beneath, I demaund of thee whether he doth them vpon new deuise, or vpon euerlasting forepurpose? If he doe them vpon newe deuise, thou stumblest at that which thou wouldest eschew: for (by thy reckoning) God doth that which he did not afore, namely, in sheading forth his influence anewe, and his producing (by that influence) the thing that was not afore. Or if he do them vpon euerlasting forepurpose, then confessest thou that which thou meanest to denie: to wit, ỳ God determined euerlastingly to make or doe things by his power, and that according to that determination, he giueth to euery thing in their times, whatsoeuer he had forealloted them of his gōdnesse. For what difference makest thou in the case betweene one Plant, and all Plants? betweene the Plant that is newe sprung vp to day, and the Plant that was withered a thousand yeres agoe? betweene the whole world, and the least thing conteined therein, if thou be faine to admit a new deuise, as well for the least thing as for the greatest? May thou hast deuised thee a God that is turned about vpon his

Proclus concerning the Influence of the first cause.

Whole

whéle, a God that hath but a little more wit than thy selfe, and a little more strength than thy selfe: and yet such are thy speeches of him sometime, that I cannot tel whether thou wouldest be contented to be likened to him or no.

Let vs se his other Reasons. All the auncient Philosophers (saith he) sauing Plato, beleeued that time is without beginning. A strange case, that he which taketh so great pleasure in controlling of men that went afore him, will now néedes shéld himselfe vnder them; But I haue alreadie proued that that saying of his is false. And againe what greater contraries can there be, than time and eternitie? Also, The Heauen (saith he) is a diuine body, vncorruptible, the dwelling place of the Gods wherein there hath not any corruption beene sene that can be remembred: *Ergo* it is eternall. But how will he proue this Diuinitie, and this Quintessence of his, Whence will he proue this vncorruptible nature? What will he answere to this saying of his owne, that the Gods and Godheads dwel aboue Heauen, & vtterly without the compasse or reach of time? Is not this a setting downe of that thing for a ground, which is the thing that resteth to be proued, and (to speake after his owne maner) a craning of the principle? But if we beléeue Pluarke, who affirmeth that Aristotle held opinion that the Heauen is a mingled nature of heate and moisture together, shall it not be corruptible of it selfe as wel as the grounds are whereof it is composed? he addeth that auncient Grécke called it Aether (as ye would say Ayrun) because it runneth about continually. And what will he answere to Plato, who saith that the Heauen or Skye is called Aether, of his brightnesse, in which respect also he calleth the Starre of Mars Aiton. Also what will he answere to all the former Philosophers, who are of opinion that ẏ Skye is as Cristal composed of water? And finally what is this Running about: but a departing from one place to another? Soothly great reasons to maintaine eternity, for if a man do but breath vpon thẽ they vanish into smoke. And therfore Plotin in his book of the World, and Damascius in expounding Aristocles booke of the Skye, and Proclus in his second booke vpon Platoes Timæus, haue very well noted, that for the proouing of the eternitie, Aristotle hath set downe many things which néede none other disproofe than bare deniall, and which would be as hard for him to proue, as to proue eternitie it selfe. What is to be thought then, if euen by the propositions of Aristotle himselfe and of his Schollers, we proue against him and his Schollers, that the World had a beginning? The World (say they) is eternall, as yet as eternall as it is, it dependeth vpon God. In that point they all agrée. The disagrément among them is in this, that some of them make the depending thereof vpon God to be as vpon an efficient cause, and some as vpon a finall cause, and euery of them drawe-th

παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ θεῖν. Plato in his Cratilus.

παρὰ τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἰέναι

Plotin in his booke of the world.

Damascius vpon the booke of the Skye.

Proclus in his second booke vpon Timeus.

Aristotle against Aristotle.

Aristotle

Aristotle to his side as much as he can. Now, if it depend vpon GOD, as an effect dependeth vpon his efficient cause, who seeth not that an effect is after his cause, and that there went a working power afore the effect distinguished essentially from the cause thereof. And where is then this goodly ground of theirs become, that the World is eternall because no fore working power went afore it? Or if it depend vpon God as a final cause therof, that is to say, if it were for him, & not frō him so as it was not a thing of his making, but a thing that he could not conueniently forbeare: wheresoeuer an end is intended, is there not also a forecast? And where forecast is, can chaunce and necessity beare there any sway; And if God had no nēed of the World, was it not at his choice whether it should be or no? And being at his choice, can it be beginningless, seing that the being thereof dependeth vpon another than it selfe? Againe, if the World depend vpon God as vpon the end therof, the working power which they themselues require in the creation of all things shall either haue gone afore it or not. If it must nēdes haue gone afore it, then was it not from euerlasting, for this worde forego being a betokener of time, excludeth the world from eternitie or euerlastingnesse. Or if there nēded not any fore working power to haue gone afore the world, but that it be simply an issue proceēding from the force of the cause, why should it not procēde as well in time as from euerlasting, seing that the said force or power is directed by Reason and by Will? And why then hold they this principle, That the World cannot be of creation, because that if it were so, some cause must needes haue gone afore it? Againe, whence hath the Skye his beginning of mouing, but from an instant? And whatsoeuer could be neuer so little a while without mouing, why might it not be without mouing a longer while, seing that the respect is all one, both of eternitie vnto all times, and of infinitenesse vnto al places? Therefore whereas Aristotle saith that the World (notwithstanding that it is eternall) dependeth vpon God; he graunteth consequently that it is not eternall. Secondly, contrarie to the teaching of all that went afore him, he deliuereth vs three first grounds; namely, Matter, Substance, or Stuffe, forme, shape, or fashion, and Priuation, want, or bereauing, and his Schooles are so greatly delighted therewith, that there is nothing els to be heard spoken of in them. But if these be the first beginnings or grounds of things; where is then there eternitie? And if they keepe a circuite in going round about; how can it be that they had not a beginning? Also how can a substance, be imagened to be without forme, shape, or fashion, or forme, shape, or fashion to be without a substance, seing that euen misshapnesse it self is a kind of shape, and also that a shape is nothing els than the forme or fashion of a substance? Moreouer, what greater absurdity can there be, thā to make ya beginning of being, which hath by it-

As in way of end.

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selfe no being at all, nor can haue any being but in another thing, as if a man would make blindnesse to be the beginner of sight, or darkenesse the beginner of light? Againe, seeing that neither substance nor shape haue of themselues any being at all: how can they cause other things to bee? Or how comes it to passe that two things which haue had no being at al doe meete together in one essence or being, but by vertue of the souereine Beer, who hath willed and determined that it should be so? And if his willing or determining be the cause of the being of them, who is he that did set or appoint him the terme wherein to do them: But to excuse one vntrueth, a man telles a thousand, and to shift off on error, he falleth into ten thousand: and yet it cannot be eschewed, but that the trueth will sparcle out of the Contrarietie of vntruthes, as fire sparcles out of the knocking of one Flint stone against another. In his booke of Problemes (which seeme notwithstanding to be of many mens gathering, he saith concerning the gendring of liuings thing, ỳ the smal things, as Wormes Cutsoules, and such other, are ingendred by the ordinarie alterations of time, the greater by the greater alterations as things that haue neede of greater beginnings or grounds, and that there hath in time past beene such an alteration, as of it selfe hath ingendred them, yea euen the notablest liuing things and man him selfe, supplying therein both the roome of the efficient cause, and also of the materiall, both at once. And it may bee that that cause why Varro saith that Aristotle beleeued that there was no beginning of liuing things, or that liuing things haue bene from euer without beginning. Also in another place he saith, that there was such an alteration at the same time that liuing things were first brought forth, and that if it behoue Nature to bring forth any mo of them, there must be such another alteration going afore, namely, by a rare Coniunction of some Starres. And in another place he saith further, that if Man and other liuing wights had a beginning, it was either in egge, in seede, or in worme, and so forth. What a number of Monsters are here for the stablishing of one Monster, and yet he hath not alledged any thing which is not against himselfe. The lesser Coniunctions (saith he) doe breede the smaller liuing things, the meane breede the meane, and the great ones breede the great. Well, be it so. Yet these coniunctions must not but by the course of the Starres; and that course is a mouing, and euery mouing hath a beginning: and therefore it followeth that the wights had a beginning. Againe if the mouing of the Sky and of the Starres be euerlastingly, the Coniunctions thereof are euerlastingly also, as Aristotle himselfe concludeth, and so on the contrarie. For if it haue turned about from euerlasting, the Coniunctions haue likewise incountred from euerlasting. But euerlastingly they could not incounter: for the smal ones, ỳ meane ones, ỳ the great ones are not all at once together,

Aristotle in problemes Sect. 10. Probl. 64.

Sect. 10. Prob. 15.

Aristotle in his third book of the breding of liuing wights. Lucrece: The Wormes of the Earth grew fit for rootes.

Aristotle in his xij. booke of Metaphisicks Chap. 7.

ther, but they come seuerally one after another with the space of certeine hundred yeres, and with diuers reuolutions betwixt them: whereas if they were eternall, none of them could goe or come afore another. Therefore it followeth that there is a beginner of liuing wights, and a beginner of the goings about the Skye and of all the whole order which we see: And that is euen God himselfe.

How much better had Aristotle done, if he had hild himselfe to that which he saith well in other places, namely, that forasmuch as the most things cannot haue a perpetuall continuance in the particular, that is to say in in themselues, by reason of being too farre distant from their beginning: therefore God hath continued them by the spreading forth of their kind, and to that end hath made them male & female and ordeined copulation betwixt them. For if we make the liuing things without beginning, doe we not make them to be euerlasting? And if we ground their beginnings vpon some reuolutions of the Skyes; can those Reuolutions be euerlasting? Also, how shall they haue bene brought forth, in full growth, or young, seeing that at the bringing forth of all things, the things are tender and vnperfect? And if the things be not euerlasting, where then is the euerlasting mouing of the Heauen: that is to say, where is Aristotles eternitie become? The same followeth also that which he saith in another place, namely that he which did first gather men together, was the author of very great good. For in acknowledging that there was a time wherin folke liued like the men of Brasilie, or like the wandring Nomades, he acknowledgeth also an infancie of the World. For els what should let that men haue not béene either euerlastingly dispersed, or els euerlastingly vnited together? And how comes it to passe O Aristotle, that there haue not béene Aristotles from euerlasting? Againe, who shall choose out the very instant in eternity for the breeding and bringing forth of any thing particularly, but he that is the Lord of eternitie it selfe?

Aristotle in his Moralles commendeth godlinesse, and behighteth blessednesse to them that follow it, teaching vs that it consisteth in Contemplation. Now, seeing that this Contemplation or beholding is the meane to make vs blessed; it must needs be the beholding of a thing that is right blessefull: but blessefull it cannot bée, if it consist in these inferiour things which are base & subiect to so many miseries and tormoiles: Therefore he meaneth the Contemplation which is the beholding of the onely one God. Also in other places he saith that our Soules are of a diuine nature, that they be immortall, that they come into vs from without, and that they be (after a sort) a kin of the Gods: and his Disciples would be offended at him that should say, that their Master doubted of the immortalitie of the Soule. And whereto is all this, if the World bée eternall? If it be eternall, either our Soules also be eternall, that

Aristotle in his second booke of Generation and Corruption. Cap. 10. and in his bookes of Commonweale.

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is to say without beginning, or els they be not eternall. If they be, how happeneth it they haue imprisoned themselues in these our bodies? Or if they be so imprisoned at the appointment of an other: who shal that other be but God? And if God appoint or allot them to this newe state in time certeine, who hath made one eternitie subiect to another? And what is then become of this Maxime of theirs, that the World is eternall because God maketh not any thing there a newe? Moreouer, if they be euerlasting, who hath made them proportionable to their bodies, that is to wit, infinite Soules to infinite Bodies? And then what becomes againe of this other rule of theirs, that Nature cannot abide any infinitenesse? Or if they be euerlastiug and yet of some certeine number, going and comming into new bodies by course: is not that the opinion of Pythagoras, and Aristotle both so greatly mislike? And if our Soules at their departing out of our bodies, doe goe to the enioying of the blessed immortalitie, doth it not followe, that from after the passingoner of that reuolution, men must moue without Soule, dispute without reason, and iudge without minde, yea and that euen Aristotle himselfe speaketh and reasoneth without wit? To be short, what boteth it to be godly or religious, if our Soules acknowledge no better thing than themselues? What auaileth it to loke for the blessed Contemplation, if they be perfectly blessed of themselues? But perfectly blessed they be, if they be eternal. And whereto then serueth the rewarding of them with immortall life, if they haue the eternitie or immortalitie alreadie? What els then is his vpholding of the world to be eternall, than a turning of the whole world vpside downe? But there are (saith Aristotle) Godlinesse, Blessednesse, and Immortalitie: then doth it follow that our Soules are not eternall. And if they be not eternall, then haue they a beginning, and that beginning haue they, either of God, or of the world. Of the world they haue it not: for (as I haue said) were the world eternal, the Conuersions or turnings about therof should be eternal too, & consequently so should our soules be also, as which should be bred of their power. But now are all things mortall that are ingendred by those conuersions, as Aristotle himselfe graunteth. But we put the case that they haue an originall notwithstanding that they be immortall. Therefore it remaineth that the same is from God. Now, they could not proceede from God as beames of his substance: for all of the Philosophers vphold that he is a single & vndiuided substance, vnited in it selfe and most perfectly one: but we be subiect to alteration, to ignorance, to euill affections & such other things. It remaineth therfore (and otherwise it cannot bee) that our Soules are the worke of Gods power. Now, if our Soules (which after a sort doe comprehend the World and all things therein) be the effects of Gods power, which through his goodnesse vttereth it selfe when he listeth: shall not the world

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it selfe and the senseleſſe and tranſitorie things which serue vs, yea and our bodies also which are but the Cotes or Instruments of our soules be so in likewise? Now then, let Aristocles Disciples chuse whether they will giue ouer the eternitie of the worlde or the immortalitie of their Soules: the euerlasting turning about of the wheele, or the immortall setlednesse of blessed state: for both of them together cannot stand.

But surely his Disciple Theophrastus seemeth to haue perceiued these inconueniences and contradictions well, when he proceedeth so farre as to say that God created the world, yea euen of nothing. And so doth Algazel the Saracen against Auerrhois, vnto whom he saith, that God for the creating of the world needed neither stuffe nor newe aduisement, but that like a most perfect workeman, hauing all things in a readinesse, he toke his owne leasure for the performance of his worke when it pleased him. And yet it seemeth that Aristotle towards the end of his life repented him of that doctrine: insomuch that in his booke of the world, he saith that God is the binder and preseruer of al things in the world after what maner soeuer it be. And euen in his Metaphisickes, hauing reiected the opinions of many men concerning these things, he saith thus. He that saith that God or the seuereine Minde is the Cause and Author not onely of liuing things, but also of Nature it selfe and the World, and of all the order therein, seemeth to speake discreetely and weladuisedly, and they that speake otherwise, speake vnaduisedlie. And they that are of the former opinion, haue verie well set downe that Cause for the ground of all things that are, as the which is such a beginning as giueth mouing to all things. And in his booke of Wonders, (if it be his) he speaketh yet more euidently: saying, that naturally the Sea should couer the Earth as higher than it, but that God hath caused the Sea to withdraw itselfe, that the Earth might be vncouered for the vse of man & of other liuing wights. And this is in effect a commingbacke to the opinion of his predecessors, from the which he would so faine haue departed afore. How-soeuer the case stand, all the auncient Philosophers doe either conclude the Creation of the world with vs, or els yelde vs arguments into our hands wherewith to conclude it against themselues. To be short, when Aristotle who was the first that stepped out of the high way, saith that the world is without beginning, he seemeth to be Aristotle no more, he doth so often gainsay himselfe and offend against his owne rules. And where he chaunceth to say that the world was created, he seemeth to be minded to yelde himselfe to vs. And where the case concerneth not (at least wise expressely) the one nor the other: he leaueth vs many Conclusions, which do quite ouerthrow and destroy the said opiniõ of his, & make him whether he will or no, to conclude on our side.

Theophrast in his booke of Sents, Sauors, or Smelles.

Νὺξ ἄστρων.

The Latins fell to Philosophie somewhat later than the Greekes, The Latins.

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by reason whereof they had the more cause to ouershote themselues in the case of Eternitie: but yet we see that the most part of them followed the opinion of Plato. That man (saith Cicero) that first gathered together men afore dispersed, was surely a great Personage. And (as saith Pythagoras) so was he which did first giue names to things, and which first comprised within a certeine number of letters, the sounds of mans voice which seemed to be infinite, & which marked the Courses & proceedings of the wandring Planets, and which first found out Corne, Cloth, building, defences against wild Beasts, & the rest of the things that make our liues the more ciuil. What els is this than an acknowledging of a beginning. For if men were from euerlasting, did they not from euerlasting speake? Did they not frō euerlasting giue names to things? Could they not inuent euery thing from euerlasting. Yes: and therefore he concludeth. We be not created by haphazard, but surely there was a certeine Might or Power which had a care of Mankind, and which would not haue begotten him to fall into the mischiefe of endlesse death, after he hath outworne the great and innumerable aduersities and toyles of world. Now, if we were created, and that there be a soueregne power wich hath had care of Mankind, surely then hath there bene a beginning, seeing that the said power had a care of vs either when as yet we were not at all, or after the time that we were. And in another place he saith, That God created and furnished man, and that it was his will that he should haue the souereintie of all other things. That the world, the Sea, the Land, and all other things obey Gods tokens. And if at any time he bring in an Epicure alledging such worshipfull reasons as this, With what engines and edgetooles did your God build the World, and such other, either he sendeth him away with such answere as he deserueth, or els by holding his peace, sheweth sufficientlie that he deserueth no answere at all.

Cicero in his first booke of Inuention, & in his first booke of the Orator.

Cicero in his second booke of the Nature of the Gods.

Cicero in his Lawes.

Varro the best learned of the Latins, maketh an vniuersall Historie deuided into three times. The first (as I haue said alreadie) is from the Creation of the world, vnto the first Olimpadie. This man being a man of great reading, found the Creation of the world to haue bene but late a fewe yeares so late, that he ioyned it immediatlie to the time of the first Olimpiade. Likewise Seneca found all things to be new, and acknowledgeth in manie places that God created the whole worlde, and man peculiarly to serue him. And euer since the beginning of the World (saith he) vnto this day we be guided by the intercourses of daies and nights, and so forth. Macrobius passeth yet further, and saith that the world cannot be of an long antiquitie, considering that the furthest knowledge that is to be had thereof, reacheth not beyond two thousand yeares. As touching the Poets, whose speaches pertain for the most part represente

Varro.

Seneca in his first booke of the happy life. Chap 31. and 32. and in the first booke of his naturall Questions: and in his Epistles.

Macrobius li. 1 Saturnal.

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vnto vs the opinion that was admitted among ỹ common people: Virgill is ful of excellent sentences to that purpose; & Ouid hath made a booke expressely of that matter. And euen Lucrece also who professeth vngodlinesse, saith that beyond the Warres of Troy and Thebes, there was not any iote remaining to remembrance; than the which, he could not better haue declared the World to be but young, howbeit that (after the maner of his owne sect,) he fathereth that thing vpon chaunce, which al the wise men ascribe to the euerlasting prouidence. Plinie is the onely man whom I wonder at, that being so curious a searcher of Nature, he could not conceiue that which is printed in euery part of it, and which euerie man might of himselfe learne by his owne reading therein. He maketh a long Calender of the first inuenters of things, as of Letters, of Howses, of Apparrell, and of very Bread. He reckoneth vp the Companies that haue fleeted from place to place for the peopling and replenishing of Countries. And can there be a greater proofe of newnesse than that? Sometimes he saith that the Earth is become wearie, and sometimes that it is waxed barreine in yelding of fruite and Mettalles, because it groweth olde. But in one place he saieth expressely, that mens bodies by little and little become a smaller stature by reason of the witheredneesse of the world which waxeth olde. And is not this a reporting of the Skye to be like a wheele, which gathereth heate and chafeth with rowling and whirling about? And what importeth this waxing old, but that it had also (as ye would say) a birthtime? What meaneth the wearing thereof away, but that it had erst bene new? What is ment by the chafing of it, but as the temperature thereof is altered? For if the World be eternall; why is not the wheele thereof eternally in one heate, and men eternally of small stature? Or if at least wise it be of verie auncient continuance, why were not men become Pygmées long agoe? And if the contrary bee to bee seene in Nature, what remaineth but to confesse that the World is but of late beginning? To be short, the Stoikes (as Varro witnesseth of Zeno) taught that the world was created of God, and that it should perish. The Platonists affirme that it is created of God and mortall, but yet is sustained from perishing of God. The Epicures graunt that it had a beginning, howbeit by haphazard and not by prouidence. The Peripatetikes say in their conclusions, that it is without beginning, and in their premisses they vtterly deny it. The greatest despisers of God, as Plinie and such other like, doe write in their Prefaces, that the world is an euerlasting God; & throughout the whole treatises of their bookes, they vnlay it againe. Now then, after so many graue witnesses, and after the confessions of the parties themselues, is there yet any of these pretensed naturalistes to be found, which dareth thinke the contrary still?

Virgil. Ouid. Lucretius the Poet. Pliny. Plinie. lib. 7. Plin. lib. 2. The Stoiks. The Platonists. The Epicures The Peripatetiks. Plinie. The operations of the Platonistes.

But now since the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ into the Earth, this

this doctrine hath bene receiued throughout the world, so as the thing which had aforetimes bene disputable among the Heathen, is now admitted as an article of faith, welneere among all nations and sects on the earth. It may be that the miracles which were sæne then in Heauen, in Earth, in the Sea, vpon men, and vpon the very Fiendes, made the world to perceiue that there was a Creator of the world. For who could doubt that the creating of a new Starre, the restoring of a dead man to life, or onely the making of a blindman to sæ, was not the worke of an infinite power, yea euen as wel as ỹ building of the world, considering that betweene being and notbeing, betweene life & death betweene the hauing of a thing and the nothauing, the distance is infinite? And if may be that the signes which we haue sæne from Heauen in our time, do serue to make the blasphemers vpon earth vnexcusable. But whereof soeuer it came, the verie Philosophers themselues began to make a grounded principle thereof: insomuch that the Greekes, Persians and Arabians, and likewise afterward the Turkes and Mahometists, did put it into their beléefe as a thing out of all controuersie. To be short, there is not at this day any ciuill or well ordered people, which haue not their Chronicles and Histories of times, begun alwaies at the Creation of the world, wherein they doe all hold of Moyses, and agrée all with vs Christians, sauing in the controuersie of some fewe yéeres.

Of all the Philosophers, onely the Platonists continued in estimation: and all men reiected the newfound opinions of Aristotle, and they stoode at defiance, rather with the Gnosticks than with the Christians. Saint Austin saith concerning the Philosophers of his time, that their opinion was, that God was before the World, howbeit not in time, but in order and by way of vndersetting onelie: like as if a foote (saith he) were euer in one place, the print thereof should also be euer there. Vnto whom it may be answered in one worde, that like as abilitie and intent of going went afore the going it selfe, both in the man and in the foote, so in God also, the power and intent of creating, went afore the Creation. But it is best to heare of their owne words. Plotin in his booke of the World findeth himselfe not a little graueled in this case, and he maketh very little account of all Aristotles suppositions. If we say (saith he) that the Skye is euerlasting as in respect of the whole bodie thereof: how can that be, seeing that the liuing Creatures die, and the Elements passe from one into another, and that (as Plato affirmeth) the Skye it selfe is in continually wheeling? If we say that the Elementes and the liuing wights continue their perpetuities in their kinds: why doth the Heauen continue his perpetuitie rather in number and particularitie? If the cause thereof bee, that nothing can slip out of it because it conteineth al things: how can that reason agree to the Starres and Planets, which do not conteine

Plotin. Ennead. 2. lib. 1. cap. 1. and 2.

all

all things as the Heauen or Skye doth, and yet we affirme them to be euerlasting? And if nothing impeach it without, what shoulde let that something may not impeach it within, seeing that all liuing wights doe naturally perish through the distemperance of their parts, notwithstanding that they liue euen while they be a dissoluing? And what insueth hereof, but that both sortes of bodies, as well Cœlestiall as terrestriall, do perish? yea and both Heauen and Earth likewise, sauing that the Cœlestiall indure a longer time, and more slowly than the Earthlie? Certeinlie (saith he) if we tooke this world eternitie (as well in the whole world as in the parts thereof,) not to betoken an euerlastingnesse (that is to say, a perpetuitie or continuance without beginning or end) but only a difference of continuance, there would be the lesse doubtfulnesse in the matter. But all shall be out of doubt, if we father the same eternitie vpon the wil of God, which of it selfe is able enough to vphold the World, for so shall things haue their continuance according to his pleasure, some in their kindes, and some particularlie in themselues. Now, if the World were eternall; were it not impossible that it should be otherwise than it is? But if it haue this being from the will of God, is it not discharged of that necessitie? And what shall then become of this saying of his, which he setteth downe in diuers other places, namely that the World is of necessitie, because it would behoue a second Nature to accompanie the first, vnlesse we vnderstand it to be spoken of the necessitie that is conditionall, and not of the necessitie that is absolute as they terme it. Againe, the same will which made the World to bee, and hath giuen continuance to the parts thereof, some after one sort and some after another, & hath disposed of them as it listed it selfe, shal it not also haue made them when it listed it selfe? Whosoeuer then saith, that the being of the world, as well in the whole as in the partes, dependeth vpon the will of God, taketh from the world all necessitie of being. And he that saith that there is no necessitie that it should haue bene from euerlasting, (let vs vse those words for want of other,) saith therewithall that it is not euerlasting.

In his booke of Eternitie and of Time, he saith that eternitie & time differ in this respect, that eternity is verified but of the euerlasting nature, and time is to be verified of the things that are created: So as eternitie, is and abideth in God alone, whom he calleth the World that is to be conceiued but in minde or vnderstanding, and time abideth in the world that is subiect to the sences: adding neuertheless, that the world (to speake properly) was not made in time, after which maner we also doe say that it was not made in time but together with the time. But when he hath deliberatly scanned all the definitions of time made by the former Philosophers, and hath searched all the corners of his wit to find out the best, in the ende he concludeth thus. Wee must needes come Plotinus Enead. 3 lib. 2. Chap. 2.

an infinite distance to being liuing and mouing: Doth it not follow also that there is infinite ods betweene him that is, liueth, and moueth, that is to say God, and the thing that waiteth to haue beeing life and mouing at his hand, that is to wit the forementioned Chaos. And what is it that hath bounded, or filled vp this distance, but onely the will of him who onely is? And if will were the doer thereof; then was it not of necessitie: And if it was not of necessitie; then where is the eternitie thereof?

Porphirius disputing of the Minde or Vnderstanding, the which he termeth the beginning, ground, or welspring of the World, saith that it was bred of God from euerlasting, by a certeine eternall or beginninglesse breeding, euen such a one as was afore all eternitie. It was not bred in time (saith he) for as yet there was no time at all: and after that time was made, the world can scarsely be said in verie deede to bee, if it be compared with the foresaid Vnderstanding or Minde. This is all one with the saying of Trismegistus in a certeine place, where he calleth this minde, a true, euerlasting, and first borne Sonne of God, and this world Gods yonger Sonne: the one begotten of his verie nature, and the other of his will.

Proclus and Simplicius keepe a great coile in maintenance of the eternitie of the world, and haue made bookes thereof against Philoponus: but al their reasons are sufficiently refuted, by the thinges which I haue discoursed against Aristode. But seeing they mainteine Gods Prouidence and the immortalitie of the Soule, do they not reiect eternitie whether they will or no? And whereas Proclus writing against such as vpheld that there be infinite worlds without number, saith that such infinitenesse is against reason and knowledge; and that the admitting thereof excludeth God, and abandoneth al things to fortune: why should he rather admit infinitenesse of time in this one world than infinitenesse of number in many, specially seeing he alloweth Gods prouidence? And whereas Simplicius condemneth those to Hell which beleeue not the Prouidence vpon the Reasons of Epictetus: doth he not consequently condemne the defenders of the eternitie of the worlde to the same punishment? And when Auerrhoes himselfe saith that it is our duetie to magnifie God by praier and sacrifice, and that it is planted euen in nature to offer sacrifice, is he not contrarie to him selfe? for to what ende reuerence we God, if we be nothing beholden to him? neuertheless my alledging of these things is not as though I knewe not wel that the Platonists, yea and euen these aforementioned Philosophers also, do call the world euerlasting and vnbegotten: but to shew that the very surest of them haue wauered in this opinion: insomuch that they haue left vs principles contrarie to their conclusions: and after all their long skirmishes, they find no rest but in our Camp. And sothly the most part of them be driuen

Porphirius.

driuen to acknowledge certeine Degrées of eternitie. Whereof the first should be, that which is measured by a continuance of that which is euermore of it selfe, and becommeth neither the longer for ought that is to come, nor yet the shorter for ought that is past; and that is it which is to be ascribed alonely vnto God. The second as the measure of such things as haue stayed and béeing stable, and yet haue also a certeine succession in their operations, of which sort are the vnderstanding spirits or Angells; and this is properly called Aynesse. The third as the measuring of durablenesse continued by forenesse & afternesse, hauing a beginning but not an end, & this they cal Time, attributing it properly to the world. And what els is this than to speake ỹ thing by circũstance, which we vtter in one word? For to what purpose call they a thing eternall or euerlasting, if by the termes Eternall and Euerlasting, they meane temporall? After which maner the Emperour Iustinian speaking vnproperly of his owne Lawes, said he hoped that they should be eternall and euerlasting.

Iustinian in the preface to his Digests.

As touching the opinion of Epictetus the Stoike and of Plutarke no man can doubt except he quite and cleane disanull their bookes. GOD (saith Epictetus) hath ordeined that there should be Winter and Sommer, good seasons and bad: he hath giuen to the Earth both fruitfulnes and barrainnes, and his disposing of things so by contraries, is to mainteine the harmony of the whole. He hath brought vs into the world, giuen vs bodies and members, and assigned vs heritages and fellowheires. It is he that hath made both the sight and the colours, and neither sight nor colours were ought worth, if it were not for the light, and therefore hath he also made the light. Thus from point to point he leadeth vs to this conclusion, that God made the World and all that is therein. Plutarke saith thus: If God were not maker of all things, then should he be restreined in some things, and so were he not Lord of all. But he is to be acknowledged for Lord of all, and therefore of consequence he is the maker of them all. And here might a great number of the forealledged sentences of the selfesame Authors be alledged againe.

Plutark in his Psychogonie.

But what will we say if Galen (who in common account is the most heathenish of all writers,) after he hath throughly ript vp both man and the world it selfe, be in the end constreined to come backe to the same point? I make here (saith he in his booke of the vse of parts) a true Himne in the honour of our Maker. Whose seruice I beleeue verily consisteth not in the sacrificing of hundreds of Oxen vnto him, or in burning great heapes of Frankincense before him, but in acknowledging the greatnesse of his wisedome, power, and goodnes, and in making the same knowene vnto others. For whereas of his owne free will he hath vouchsafed to garnish and beautifie all thinges in the best maner

Galen in his third booke of the vse of the Partes of mens bodies.

that

that could be, and hath not enuied so great a benefite to any thing, I hold it for a proofe of perfect goodnes: and so farre praised be his goodnes. Againe, to haue found out the meanes how to adorne things so richlie, sheweth a souereigne Wisedome, and to haue brought to passe and perfected all that euer he had forepurposed, betokeneth an incomparable might and power. And in his seauententh booke, who so considereth (saith he) the composing and knitting together of euery liuing thing, shall finde that it carieth in it a proofe of the Creators wisedome. And seeing that in the middes of that Puddle of humors ech liuing wight hath a Soule dwelling, indued with so great force and vertue: he ought of reason the more to wonder at the greatnes and excellency of the Minde that dwelleth in heauen. And who is he (had he saide afore) which looking but onely vpon the Skinne of a thing, wondereth not at the cunning of the Creator? Yet notwithstanding he dissembleth not that he had tried by all meanes to finde some reason of the composing of liuing wights, and that he would rather haue fathered the doing thereof vpon nature, than vpon the very author of nature. But yet for all that, in the ende he concludeth thus. I confesse (saith he) that I knowe not what the Soule is, notwithstanding that I haue sought verie narrowly for it, neither can I yeelde a reason how the Babe is formed in the Mothers Wombe. Well doe I se that in that case there is very great Wisedome, and therefore I am of that opinion that it is not for any man to meddle with the searching out of it, but that it ought to suffice vs that our Creator hath willed it to be after that fashion. For shall we presume to seeke a reason of the doing of that thing, which (without making of an Anatomie) we should neuer knowe to haue beene done? It is all one as if he should say, that Nature whereat we wonder so much, is nothing els but whatsoeuer it pleaseth God to commaund.

Gal. lib. 11. & 17.

Galen in his booke of the breeding of Children.

Galen in his fifteenth booke of the vse of Partes

And now what remaineth more but to heare Apollo (that is to say, the very Deuill himselfe) who being praied to say an Himne to the great God, beginneth it with this verse.

Which made the first Man and called him Adam: which verse Iustine the Martyre affirmeth to haue beene commonly sung in his time.

After the confession of wickednesse it self, if we list also to heare the confession of Ignorance, there is not at this day so brutish a Nation, which either by reading it in the great letters of ẏ Heauens, or by tradition frõ their predecessors, reteine not ẏ opinion that the world was created: howbeit that the case doth stand wt̃ them as it doth with the diuersity of Portratures drawen out, ẏ first frõ the liuely patterne it self, the second frõ ẏ first, a third frõ ẏ second, & so forth on until ẏ last counterfeit retaine scarse any feature at al frõ ẏ first original paterne. Of ẏ nations which we cal

Sauage or Wilde, some affirme themselues to keepe and reuerence the places where they surmise to haue béene the originall of the Sea, of the Sonne, of the Mone, of the first man and of the first woman, &c. Others some holde opinion that there came one from the North into their country which beightened the Valleies and releued the Hilles, and replenished their Country with Men and Women whom he had created, and that the same partie giueth them fruites of all sortes abundantly. Who (whensoeuer they prouoke him to wrath,) will chaunge their good soile into barran land, and take from them the fatnesse of the heauen. May ye not see clearely here the creation of the world, the sinne of man, and the curse which God hath giuen to the earth for mans sake? And as for the partie whom they speake of, it is a mingling of the storie of the Creation, which the storie of some partie that first brought people from the North into those Countries to inhabit them euen long time after, ioyning the creation of the world with ỹ peopling of Countries, as things not farre diuers, accordingly as is done in diuers Histories. And I pray you how many euen of our Neighbournations that inhabite the vttermost borders of the world, could euen at this day answere more fitly to that question.

Now seeing that the World and all the partes thereof do sing out the creation, seeing the wisedome of the world teacheth it vngodlines (euen whether it will or no) auoweth it, Ignorance seth it, and all together in all ages both taught, auowed, and perceiued it: may not we with the allowance euen of the blockishest and of the wickedest, pronounce this definitiue sentence, That the World had a beginning, and that it had it at such time as it pleased God the Creator thereof? But there remaineth yet one point to be discussed; namely, whereof God created the World: and that is matter enough for another Chapter.

The tenth Chapter.

That God created the World of nothing, that is to say, without any matter or stuffe whereof to make it.

I Cannot tell whether I may wonder more at the good insight of the auncient Philosophers in the knowledge of many naturall things, or at their blindnesse in the knowledge of the author of them, in that they set it downe for a definitiue sentence, that nothing in all the worlde is made of nought, and therefore that the great Workmaister himself could not make any thing without matter or stuffe whereof. For in effect it is a measuring of the builder and his building both by one rule or skantling, and an abasing

abasing of ỳ power which they themselues confesse to be infinite, vnto the state of our infirmitie. God (say they,) cannot make any thing without matter whereof. And why? Because a Mason cannot make any building without stuffe whereof. As who would say there were a more absurde kinde of reasoning in Logicke, than to conclude from the finite to the infinite, from the mightlesse to the almightie, from the transitorie to the everlasting. Nay rather thou shouldest reason thus. Man, who is lesse than a Worme in comparison of the highest, draweth Golde out of the Rocke, or out of the dust of the earth: Of the same earth or stone he maketh such cloath, wire, and leaues of goldfoile, as no man would dreame to haue come of so grosse a matter. Of the grene Herb he draweth out whit flower for his sustenance: of the stalkes of Flaxe and Hempe, he draweth out threede to make cloath of: of ragges he maketh Paper to write on: and of the excrements of the little Silkeworme he draweth out a great deale of Silkecloath. Againe, he turneth some one rude and rough kinde of stuffe into a hundred thousand fashions: of the least things he maketh very great things, and by the excellencie of his wit draweth most excellent things out of that where the most part of men (notwithstanding that they be men as well as he) found not ne perceiued not any thing at all: as for example, out of the Flint, fire to warme him: out of the barreine Ferne and vile Seawéede, glistring Glasse: out of a Shelfish that the Sea casteth vp, Purple to make Ornaments of. To be short, after a certeine maner, he maketh somewhat of nothing. Now, séeing that the weakenesse of mortall men can do so much, shall not the mightie power of the everlasting, be able to doe much more? And séeing that a thing of nought is able to do so much, shall any thing be impossible to the maker of all things? But although this which I haue said might suffice the discreete, yet notwithstanding let vs discusse more largely this matter concerning matter or stuffe.

Sothly if God néeded matter or stuffe to worke vpon, either he himselfe made it, or els it was eternally of it selfe as well as he. If he made it, he made it of nothing: for in séeking the matter of matter, ye shal proceede to infinite; and so haue I the thing I would haue. If it were from everlasting, then were there two eternalles together, which is a thing repugnant to all reason and contrarie to it selfe. For nothing can bee more contrary to eternitie, than to say that there is a matter or stuffe which attendeth or waiteth to haue his shape forme or fashion at some workmaisters hand, or that there is an eternall thing which hath not any other life or being, than such as another eternal thing hath vouchsafed to giue vnto it. For let vs sée I pray you what maner of thing they imagine this matter to bée? They will haue it to be a thing without shap but yet a receiuer of al shapes: they will haue shape to be without matter

He that granteth God to be former fashioner or giuer of shape, doth therewith confesse him to be the Creator.

ter wherein to bee, but yet as a moulde wherein to fashion all matters, so as the matter should haue no beeing at all, but by reason of the shape or forme, as of the giuer of beeing thereto. But how can mater be without forme, seeing that euen deformitie it selfe is a kinde of forme? Or how can matter be alone by it selfe, seeing that forme is the thing that giueth beeing vnto it? Nowthen, to say that matter is without forme, is all one as to say that it is and is not, which were the saying of a mad man.

Yea (say they,) but how is it possible for somewhat to be made of nothing, sith there is an infinite distance betwixt somewhat and nothing? Nay, I say rather, what is it which is not finite, in respect of him that is infinite? I meane in respect of him whom thou thy selfe affirmest to haue bounded the selfesame matter which thou doest take to teach to be infinite: But if thou listest to consider it, thou shalt perceiue that thou confessest a thing no lesse vncredible to thine owne sence, than is the same which thou reiectest by thy sence. For when thou imaginest a matter without forme, and a forme without matter, thou speakest things that destroy one another. But whereas I say that God created the world of nothing, that is to say, without hauing any thing whereof to make it: in deede I say a thing that is wonderfull, howbeit which hath not any repugnancie in it selfe. Now, there is great difference betweene speaking aboue reason, and against reason. For trueth and mans reason are not inclosed within the like and selfesame boundes. But forasmuch as thou hast graunted that God is the author and worker of Nature, I would faine knowe how thou canst be so bolde to denie, that he hath put life and mouing where none were afore; and that he hath made both sight and light, hearing and sounds, speech and vnderstanding, where erst was more than death, more than blindnesse, more than dumbnesse, and more than vulnesse, that is to say, more than the bare priuation of bereauing of those things, considering that neither to bee nor euer to haue bene are much more wants than simply not to be. Now, betweene liuing and not liuing, seeing and not seeing, and so forth, there is an infinite distance as well as there is betweene beeing and not beeing, which distance can not be filled vp but by an infinite power: and loke where an infinite power is, it is alike mightie towards al things. Therefore it followeth that sith thou attributest vnto him the making of thy sight, of thy liife, and of thine vnderstanding, thou canst not deny him the creation of the things þ haue light, life, & vnderstanding in them. Which if thou graunt in one thing needs must þ grant it alike in al. For to giue life, & to giue beeing, to giue forme or shape, and to giue matter, and to giue them to one thing, and to giue them to al things, are al workes of one selfesame power, how diuers soeuer the degrees of them seeme vnto thee at the first sight. He therefore that confesseth God to be the former or giuer of shape, doth also confesse

him

him to be the creator of all things. Nay, I say more, that when thou termest God the soueraine or highest being, (as Aristotle doth) or him that essentially and in very deede is, (as Plato doth:) thou saist (though vnwittingly) that he is the Creator, that is to say, the author of the being of all things.

Aristotle in his second booke of things aboue nature.

If we looke into nature, the thing that holdeth the first place in things of order, is commonly the cause of all the things that fal vnder it. Among hot things, some be hotter than some, but yet fire, which holdeth the highest degree in heate, is the cause of heate in all things, and sheadeth it selfe into al without diminishing of it selfe, and by imparting it self to thē is still increased: insomuch that the striking of a Flint inforceth the casting forth of a thousand sparkes, whereof euery one were enough to set the whole World on fire. In lightsome things, one light lighteth another, and by imparting maketh it selfe after a sort infinite: and the Sunne wich is as the fountaine of light, extendeth and spreadeth it selfe out infinitely without disseuering, & after a maner createth light where was nothing but darknesse. Also in humaine affaires, kinges impart their dignities to Princes, Princes to their Vassalles, and Vassalles to their Subiects: and when they giue any man a qualitie which he had not afore they terme him their Creature, as hauing made somewhat of nothing, in respect of the qualitie wherewith he was indued afore. To be short, sents or sauors are shed forth, and Sciences are taught from one to another, and from one to infinite: yea and euen diseases, which are nothing els but corruptions, ingender one of another without diminishing themselues. Now, as for Heate, Light, Sauour, Science, and Dignitie, they be but qualities, termed by the degrees of the first, second, and third qualities yea and moreouer dead, senseless, & liueless: and yet notwithstanding, loke which of these qualites holdeth ỳ first place, the same doth naturally bring forth al the rest, without diminishing it selfe. And shal we then thinke it strange that God, (who is the Being, which euen by their owne confession holdeth the chief & first place of all Beings or rather alonely can they in very deed be said to be) should by his being bring forth al other things?

Yea say they, for we se not any thing brought againe to nothing, and therefore nods must they haue beene created of something. Nay, if worldly things should returne to nothing, considering how transitorie and fleeting they be already, how short a time could the world indure, or rather how long agoe had it come to an end? But it was Gods will that it should continue. And therefore thou shouldest rather say thus: I se that the Trees, and the greatest Beastes, yea and men themselues doe spring as it were of nothing, and are resolued againe into as good as nothing. I se them multiply, liue, and do wonders. Of one selfe same seede I se spring both flowers, leaues, & fruite, and of another, the wonderfulnes

of.

perfecteth the matter and maketh it to be that which it is named to be: must it not nedes follow, that he which gaue this forme shape or fashion to the matter, created a substance which was not afore, yea and a much more excellent substance than the matter which thou surmisest to haue bene afore it? Now, why should not he that was able to create the better, be also able to create the lesser good? Rightly therefore doth Aphrodiceus in his booke of the Soule say, that the forme shape or fashiō which the Craftsman giueth to his worke, is no more a substance than the art, craft, or cunning whereby he giueth it: but y the forme which Nature giueth no lesse substance than nature it self is. Let vs proceed further. Of the Mettals, thou estemest Gold & Siluer: of the Herbs, thou estemest some for food, & some for Phisicke: of the Beasts, thou estemest some to eate, & some to serue thee: of men, (which yet notwithstanding make all but one kinde) thou admittest & acceptest some for one purpose & some for another. Now if thy esteming of them be for the matter whereof they consist, how is that matter but one? Or if it be for the forme, as in respect whereof Gold is not the same that Leade is, is not that forme a substanee? And if it be a substance, shal it not follow y he which gaue that shape forme or fashion to the matter, is also the Creator of the matter it selfe? And seeing there is such difference of Mettalles, Hearbes, Beastes, and Men; doth it not follow that there are as many diuersities of Creation? And whereas he hath created all these diuersities of substances, wouldest thou make him to faile in that one the basest of al? What shall I say to it, that some one thing shall haue diuers powers, vertues and operations in diuers parts thereof; so as it shalbe cold without and hot within, white in the outside and red it the substance, colde in the leafe and hot in the roote, laxatiue in the pith and costiue in the barke? As for example, the rinde of the Orenge is hot, and the meats within it is cold, the leaues of flowers of the wild Vine do cole, and the inner part of them doth burne. Phisitions report that the Lungs of a Hare healeth folke that are short winded, that the blood of him breaketh the Stone, and that the heare of him staunch eth blood. Haue not these diuers parts diuers formes, besides the vniuersall forme of the thing whereof they be the parts? And are not these diuers formes as many diuers substances, and consequently as many Creations? The Adamant or Lodestone draweth Iron to him, and sheweth continually the Northpole, and yet is disapointed of his force by Garlicke. The Amber also draweth al light things vnto it, Horsflies laid to a mans heele maketh blisters in his bladder; Agarick purgeth Fleagme, Rhubarb Choler, and Elleborus Melancholie. If these operations come of the matter alone, tell me how that may be. And why bee not the same operations common to all things? Or if (as thou saist) they come of a secrete propertie, doth it not then come of the substantial forme, seeing that

Aphrodisæus in his first booke of the Soule.

nothing

nothing can be said to bée that which it is, or to haue any peculiar propertie, but by reason of the substantiall forme? Thou wilt perchaunce say, that it is the mingling of the Elements together that giueth forme or shape. Nay: for if it be that mingling, where is then the foresaid common matter become? And what mingling together or what medley or mixture can be made of one selfesame thing? And if thy meaning be that the foresaid matter is a diuers compounding of the Elements together, then is thy matter a forme compounded of diuers formes. For wherein do the Elements (being so contrary) differ one from another, but in their essentiall formes? And if it be a mixture or Composition, where is then the eternitie therof? Moreouer, we sée that in Plants, Beasts, and Men, the Composition that is made of the mixture of the elements, abideth euen when they be cut downe or killed. For put a blocke into the fire, and the moisture that was in it when it grewe a Trée boileth out with the the heate, the aire thereof steameth vp into smoke, the fierie matter thereof burneth out in an oylie substance, and the earthly part thereof falleth downe into ashes. And in all liuing wights aswell as in man, the outward lump (which thou wilt haue to be composed of the mixture of the Elements,) remaineth whole after they be dead. But as for the Soule whereby the things haue their life, sence, and reason, which Soule, is the peculiar forme both of Trées, Beasts, and Men each after their kinde: that appeares no more when the thing is once dead. And therefore it followeth, that besides the matter (which is liueleste) and the mixture of the Elements, there is also a substantiall forme, which maketh the thing to be a Trée, a Beast, or a Man; and without the which it is not a Trée but a blocke, nor a Beast or a Man, but a dead Carkesse or Carrion. Furthermore, when a Trée is dead, there remaine still certaine vertues both in the barke, and in the wood, and in the leaues thereof, which vertues are not onely diuers, but also sometime contraries, and those vertues procéde not of the matter; but of the substantiall forme. Whereof it followeth, that besides the forme of the Plant which fadeth by the death of the Plant it self, there are also other formes peculiar to euery part therof, which abide after that the forme of the whole Plant is perished. Now if the mixture of the Elements cannot make the forme whereby the vpper kindes differ one from another; as the senceleste things from the things that haue sence, & the things that haue but onely sence, from the things ỹ haue reason to, can it make the difference that is betwéene the vnderkindes ỹ are comprehended vnder euery of the vpperkinds, or betwéene the perticulars that belong to euery vnderkind, or betwéene the seuerall parts ỹ are in enery particular? If the mixture of the Elements (say I make not a Trée to liue, that is to say to be a Trée, shall it make it to heale, both some certeine diseases, and also some certeine parts of it,

some

some certeine parts of man? And if it make not a Beast to haue sence, that is to say to be a Beast: can it make it to be a Lion, an Elephant, or a Stagge? And if it make not a man to haue life, sence, and mouing: can it make him to speake, and to reason, one of one thing and another of another, each man according to his seuerall inclination? But how shoulde the Elementes giue life, which they themselus haue not? or free mouing they themselues being caried vp and downe whether they will or no? or also sence, being themselues but the obiects of our sences? Then must we conclude that the defference of the vpperkinds from the vnderkinds from the Particulars, and of their parts one from another, consisteth not in the matter whereof they be made, but in their forme, & that the same forme is the peculiar substance of euery thing, and that loke how many sundry sorts of formes there are, so many sundry sorts of creations there haue bene, all proceeding from the power of the Former giuer of them. And so, he that attributeth vnto God the forming or fashioning of the World, must whether he wil or no attribute vnto the power of creating it also. For without creating of a newe substance (what matter soeuer ye presuppose to haue bene afore) he had not created the World in such sort as it is. And he that was able to create any one of them, was able to create them all. For like might and power is requisite to the creating of an Emet as of an Elephant, of a Ponde as of the Sea, of a pece of the world as of the whole world.

They procede on still with their Chimere. God (say they) draweth the forme out of the Abilitie of the matter. Let vs examine this doterie yet further. Abilitie (saith Aristotle) is the beginning of moouing and of chaunge. Also there are (say his Disciples) two sorts of Abilitie: the one which worketh the said beginnning in the other, and that is GOD, and the other which suffereth the mouing and chaunge at the others hand, and that is matter or stuffe, which by the mouing wrought into it by the other, receiueth his perfection which is termed Forme. Now, I demaund whether this passiue Abilitie of the matter, be a qualitie or a substance. They dare not say it is a substance, for were it a substance, then euen by their owns doctrine it were a forme also: & wheresoeuer is a forme, there is also an act, and that is more than an abilitie: but matter (as they say) is a mere abilitie. And if they say it is a Qualitie, (as Aristotle himself affirmeth:) then followeth it that God draweth a substance out of the qualitie of an accident. Now, he that draweth the very Essence or being of things out of the passiue abilitie of another, can much more drawe it out of his owne actiue abilitie or worksul power. For shal he be barraine of himself, which maketh a qualitie (yea and lesse than a simple qualitie) fruitful in bringing forth so many things? And seing ỹ Quality & substance & al the highest kinds of Contraries be (as they teach) further

The Peripatetikes.

differing:

differing one from another than fire from water, and also that qualitie and accident are nothing of themselues: shall it not followe that God is able to create substances of nothing? Surely it is the saying of Trismegistus in many places, that God created the Worlde and all that is therein, and man with all his parts by his most fruitfull word and also that the will of God was the breeder of the Elements. Pythagoras and all the old Diuines affirme, that God or the onely One is the beginner of all thinges, yea euen of the first matter, as Simplicius reporteth in alledging the record of Eudorus. And Syrian the Maister of Simplicius saith, that in that behalfe Plato followed Archenetus and Brotinus, which agreed with Pythagoras. And in very deede he telleth vs, that to speake properly, Matter is no Essence at all, nor can be conceiued otherwise than by a bastard reason, that is to wit by imagining it void of all shape, and consequently also void of all being!

Simplicius vpon the naturals.

Syrian vpon the Supernaturals.

As touching Aristotle, he maketh matter to be the first beginning of all things. But if he beleeued the world to haue beene beginninglesse according to his owne teaching; where is this beginning become? Also he disproueth the Chaos with very liuely reasons, and to scape that, he holdeth himselfe to the eternitie, which is quite and cleane against him. But howsoeuer the case stand, it is fully agreed vpon among his most approued interpreters, that these names of Matter, Forme, and Priuation, serue not to betoken things truely being the same wherof they pretend the names, but onely are inuented to teach their schollers, after what maner things are bred & corrupted, by putting off one shape & putting on another? And whereas he saith that ỳ power of al life seemeth to be partaker of some diuine thing, & better than the Elements, and that the Soule of man hath his being from without, and not from the elements or from matter as the body hath: And ỳ al Soules are formes, and al formes are substances: Doth he not make God to be the creator of substances, yea and of better substances than the elements? Againe, when he saith that the knitting parts that is to wit the bones, the skin, the sinewes and such like may be made of the mixing together of the elements, and that the vnknitting parts as the Head, the Leg, the Arme, and so forth cannot be so made, but are made by nature and heauenly skill; insomuch that the proper essence and forme of the knitters, procéedeth neither of heat nor of cold, of moisture nor of drith: Doth he not acknowledge in euery seuerall part a seuerall forme and substance which commeth from some other where, than of the matter or of ỳ mixtur of the elements? And fifth he saith in another place, that it were possible to haue such a continuation of the heauenly bodies, as might produce not onely an efficient cause, but also euen matter it selfe for the creating and bringing forth of liuing things, yea and of mankinde also: why should he haue thought it vncredible,

Aristotle in his second booke of the breed of liuing thinges. Chap. 3.

Aristotle in his 4. booke of Meteores, Chap. 10.

Aristotle in his second booke of the breede of liuing wights, towards the end.

that

that God who dwelleth verie farre aboue such Coniunctions, should be able to do the like? Also we see that Theophrast the greatest Clark of all his Disciples, findeth himselfe so graueled in his booke of Sauors or Sents, by reason of the particular natures of things, that he bursteth out into expresse words, and sayeth that God created all things of nothing. And Algazel the Arabian disputing against Auerrhoes, saith that the cause of all things, did also make matter it selfe. Also Aphrodiseus declareth in his Problemes, that the Philosophers were faine to referre the effects and vertues of many things, to some other thing than to the Elements. And if they could not father them vpon the Elements, how could they father them vpon matter or stuffe, seeing that the Elements haue power and force to do, whereas matter hath abilitie but onely to suffer or to be wrought vpon. And if they could not father them vpon matter; vpon what else should they father them than vpon God, who hath created both the propertie and the substance of them togither?

Arist. in his probl. sect. 10. probl. 64.

Aphr. probl. 1.

The Platonists that wrote since the comming of Christ, haue giuen libertie to their owne braynes, to gad out into a thousand imaginations. But whereas Plotin telleth vs that Gods actions and effectes, are contemplations which imprint in nature the seedes of all things: he teacheth vs to thrust farre from vs such brutish questions as these: namely, Of what kinde of stuffe did God frame the world? And with what tooles did he it? which are further off from the nature of the Godhead, than our doings are from mere contemplations. For what else is contemplation (according to their owne doctrine) than to be wholy seuered from matter? He speaketh often of the first matter, but how doth he describe it? He saith that the verie matter it selfe which is ioyned to the forme hath not any true beeing, and he termeth it beeing of a Notbeeing, that is to saye, a thing, that in deede is not; and that doeth he to distinguish these transitorie natures from the verie Beeing of God, which he termeth The Supersubstantiall Beeing. But as for the first matter, he calleth it The verie Notbeeing, that is to saye an imaginatiue thing which hath not any beeing at all in deede; as if yee would say (as he himselfe addeth) a certeine vnshapednesse, which is the cause of all misshapennesse, the chiefe default or want: which is the cause of all the defaults or wants that are in particular things: the verie euill, which is the originall of all euils; and to be short, a thing that can neither be knowen nor imagined, otherwise than wee imagine what Darknesse is by the knowledge of light: namely an vtter absence of all light.

The Platonists.

Plotin in his book of Contemplation & of the One.

Plotin in his 1 book Enne. 2. Whence euil commeth.

Yea, but (will some man say) Although it be not an Essence, yet ought it at the least to be a Qualitie; and by his terming of it an Euill he seemeth after a sort to make it a qualitie. Nay like as (saith he) when we call the first of all Beeings by the name of Goodnesse, wee meane not

that that Goodneſſe is in him a Qualitie, but a verie ſubſtance, yea, and more than a ſubſtance: So when wee call Matter by the name of Euill, our meaning is not that it is a Qualitie or hath any Qualitie in it; But that it is no Qualitie ne hath Qualitie in it: For had it any Qualitie in it, then ſhould it be a Subſtance, and conſequently a ſhape or forme too; but it is not any forme at all. That in effect is the ſumme of his booke concerning euill and the originall thereof. In his booke of Matter hee declareth that there was a matter, (for hee would not els haue made bookes thereof in vaine;) but yet he ſayeth that the ſame was neither eſſence, qualitie, nor quantitie, nor had any eſſence, qualitie, or quantitie in it: ne differed any whit from priuation, ſauing in this reſpect, that priuation is verified as in reſpect of ſome ſubiect or ſubſtance that is bereft of ſome thing that is peculiar or incident vnto it, whereas Matter is an vniuerſall and vtter want of all things, that is to ſaye, a thing farre worſe than priuation. And yet for all this, he will not haue it to be vtterly nothing at all, but as a waſt or emptie ſpace, a thing without bounds, a béeing without béeing. And what or where then ſhall that be? At length he findeth it in the world that is to be conceiued but onely in vnderſtanding, that is to ſay in God, in whome he will haue it to abide as a forme or patterne of the vniuerſall maſſe of all things. What a ranging is here abroad to fall alwayes into one ſelfeſame path again? Might he not with more eaſe haue confeſſed plainly, that God is both the formall and the materiall cauſe of all things, that is to ſay, the Creator, former and ſhaper of all things by his wiſedome and power? Againe, whereas in other places he telleth vs, that Matter being it ſelfe no eſſence at all, cannot be the cauſe of the particular béeings of ſo many ſundry things; nor hauing no life, bée the cauſe of life, but that both life and béeing are breathed into all things from without, euen from the ſoueraigne minde: doth he not iumpe with vs, which ſaye that GOD created all ſubſtances of nothing? And if he could creat that which was, and giue vnto it both béeing and life: could he not alſo forbeare the thing that was not, that is to ſay matter? Atticus and his adherents would néedes beare Plato downe by reaſon of certeine ſentences of his Timæus and of his Commonweale maters miſunderſtood, that matter was eternall as well as God, howbeit that the ſame being voide of reaſon, was brought vnto reaſon by him that is the verie reaſon it ſelfe. With theſe fellowes we our ſelues ſhall not needs to deale, but onely heare Porphyrius diſproouing them after this manner: If neither God (ſaith he) be of Matter, nor Matter of God, but both of them be Beginnings alike; whereof then commeth it that there is ſo great ods betwixt them, ſith we holde opinion that God is Good, and the verie worker or Doer, and contrariwiſe that Matter is Euill, and but onely a Sufferer? The cauſe of

Ennea. 2. li. 4.

Plotin in his booke of Prouidence, & Enned. 6. li. 1. Chap. 17.

Porphyrie vpon Timæus

this

this difference cannot proceede from the one to the other, at leastwise if our saying be true: namely, that the one of them is not of the other. And much lesse proceedeth it of any thirde, considering that wee acknowledge not any higher cause: which beeing admitted, it followeth that these two so disagreeable Beginnings met and matched together by chaunce, and consequently, that all things are tossed and tumbled together by Fortune. Againe, If God (saith he) be apt to the beautifying and orderly disposing of Matter: and Matter be apt to receiue beautie and orderlinesse at Gods hande: I demaund from whence this mutuall aptnesse and disposition commeth? For considering that they bee so disagreeing and so full of contrarie one to another: surely, they could neuer haue agreede of themselues, but must of necessitie haue had a Third to make the attonement betwixt them. Now I am sure you will not saye that there was any Thirde to commaund them: Neither will I beleeue that they fell to agreement by aduenture.

To be short, seeing that Matter is not sufficient of it selfe to bee in happie state, but needeth Gods helpe thereunto: but GOD is of himselfe abundantly sufficient, both to be, and to bee happie: who seeth not that GOD is of more excellencie than Matter, and that Matter is not of it selfe so much as able to bee: For were it able to bee, it were also able to be happie. And therefore it is not to be denyed, but that he whome wee confesse to haue perfected Matter, was also the verie first maker and Creator of Matter. **But how could hee make it of nothing? Let vs heare once againe what the saide** Porphyrie **sayeth vnto this point.** Handycraftes (saith hee) haue neede of instrumentes or tooles. For their working is outwarde: and they haue not their matter or stuffe at commaundement. But the naturall Powers as more perfect, and beeing within things, doe perfourme all their dooings by their onely beeing. After that sorte the Soule by his essentiall life, doeth nowrish, growe, ingender, breathe, feele, and so foorth. So likewise, the Imagination, by the onely one Inworking of it selfe, giueth diuers qualities and mouings to the bodie, all at one instant. So also the bodilesse Spirites themselues, (as the Diuines report) doe worke wonderous things by their imaginations, without instrument or action. Much rather therefore shall the workemaister of the whole worlde who is a Mynd, giue substance to the whole by his owne onely beeing, that is to wit, to this diuidable worlde, himselfe beeing vndiuidable. For why should it be thought straunge, that a thing which is without a bodye, should produce things that haue bodyes; considering that of a very small seede there groweth so great a Beast, composed of so manie, so great, and so differing partes? For though the seede be little, the reason of the seede cannot bee small, seeing it woorketh so great thinges:

neither on the other side can it be great, forasmuch as it vttereth & sheweth it selfe euen in the smallest parcels. Now, this reason of the seede needeth matter to worke vpon, but so doth not the reason of God; for he needeth not any thing, but maketh and frameth all things; and notwithstanding that he bring foorth and moueth all things, yet abydeth he still in his owne proper nature. Now, when as the sorest and learnedst enimie that euer Christians had, acknowledgeth this doctrine in good faith and in so expresse wordes: who dareth open his lippes any more against it? Dare the Epicures with their motes do it? How can they alledge any reason for them selues, being by their owne opinion made by haphazard at aduenture without reason? Or shall the naturall Philosophers do it, with their temperings & mixtures? First let them examine their Maister Galene, concerning the things which I haue alledged out of him in the former Chapter: and if that will not suffize them, they shal heare him yet againe in this Chapter. Certesse as it cannot be denyed, but that as he laboureth by all meanes possible, to father the causes of all things vpon the Elements, and vpon the mixture of them together: so is he driuen at euery turne, to acknowledge somewhat in them which he is ashamed to father vpon them. In discoursing how the babe is formed in the mothers wombe, he findeth himselfe turmoyled with many opinions. But yet in the end, Soothly (concludeth he) I see so great a wisedome, and so mightie a power, that I cannot thinke that the Soule which is in the child that is begotten, maketh the shape thereof, considering that it is altogether voide of reason; but rather that it is formed by that which wee call Nature. In his booke of the tempering of things, a place that serued best for the exalting of the powers of the Elements to the vttermost; he verie sharply reproueth those which father the cause of the forming of the partes of the bodies of liuing things, vpon the qualities of the Elements. Notwithstanding (saith he) that these Qualities be but instruments, and that there is another that is the framer or fashioner of things. In his booke of the opinions of Plato and Hippocrates, he maketh the vitall spirite to be excellentest of all things that haue a bodie: and yet for all that, he will not haue it to be either the substance or the dwelling place, but onely the instrument of the Soule. And in his booke of Flesshes he proceedeth further, and saith, that in treating of Leachcraft he spake often according to the common opinion: but that if it came to the point of vttering the opinion that he himselfe held, he declared that both man and beast haue their beginning from aboue, and that their Soules are from Heauen, and finally that the Soule proceedeth neither from the qualities of the Elements, nor frō any of all the things that wee see here beneath. Now, if the Soule of man, or of the verie Beastes, proceede not of the Elements: how should it possibly proceede

Galen in his booke of the fashioning of infants in their mothers wombe.

In his second booke of Temperings.

of

of the Matter? And if it procéde not of the Matter, must it not néedes procéde of the forme, or rather must it néeds be the verie forme it selfe? And what els is so excellent a forme, than an excellent substance? And from whence is that (by his owne saying) but from a former fashioner or shaper? And what els shall that former be, than a Creator, séeing that euen shaping is a creating of a substance?

Now therefore, let vs conclude for this Chapter, both by vnsoluble reasons, and by the testimonies aswell of our enimies as of our friends: that God both was able to create and also did in déede creat the Worlde of nothing, that is to saye, by his owne onely power, without the helpe of any thing whereof to make it. And (to comprehend in fewe wordes whatsoeuer I haue treated of heretofore) that God of his owne goodnesse, wisedome, and power, did make, shape, and create the Worlde: that is to say, That (if a man may so say) he is the efficient formal and materiall cause thereof, without that he néeded either helpe, patterne, or stuffe to make it withall. And now let vs consequently sée the final cause: that is to wit, how and to what ende he guideth it: which shall serue for the next Chapter following.

The xj. Chapter.

That God gouerneth the Worlde and all things therein by his Prouidence.

ARistotle was wont to say, that the diuersitie of Questions ought also to haue diuersitie of Aunswers. Some (saith he) do aske whether Fire be hot: and these must be made to perceiue it by touching it; for their sense is sufficient to shape them an answer. Some demaund whether their father & mother be to be honoured; and such are not worthie to be disputed with, but rather to be rebuked right sharply. And others desire to haue it proued to them by apparant

reasons, that there is a prouidence which ruleth the worlde. Such kinde of folke (saith he) should be aunswered by a whip or a hangman, and not by a Philosopher. His meaning was in fewe wordes, that there is not any thing so sensible and naturall, nor any thing whereof the feeling is so fresh in our sences, or so deepely printed in our nature, as Gods prouidence ouer the world: and that we ought to thinke it more sure, than the things which wee fele with our hands, or than the things whereof our owne Conscience conuicteth vs. For in that he ordeineth a greater punishment for him that doubteth of Gods prouidence, than for him that resisteth sence and nature; he doth vs to vnderstand, that the fault is intollerable, as that which is either a manifest guyle, or at leastwise an ouergrosse ignorance, which the Lawyers affirme to be next cousin to guyle. And in verie deede, if the denying that there is any God, be a belying of a mans owne sences, and of his owne nature, and of the whole world it selfe, as I haue said afore: I cannot say but that the graunting that there is a God, & yet notwithstanding to denye him the gouernment of things, is more intollerable than the other; considering how great iniurie is offered vnto him in confessing him after such a sort, as to attribute vnto him eyes without sight, eares without hearing, might without mynd, mynd without reason, will without goodnes, yea and a Godhead without properties peculiar to a Godhead: In respect whereof the auncient Philosophers called the Godhead it selfe θεὸν or πρόνοιαν, that is to say God or Prouidence, because the one cannot be imagined without the other. And therefore in their iudgement, as much an Atheist was he that denyed Gods prouidence, as he that denyed the Godhead it selfe. I demaund of any man which confesseth that there is God, I say euen of the sauagest of them all, whereby he knoweth it? He will aunswere, by the orderly conueyance of things which hée seeth both aboue & beneath; by the order which they kéepe without fayling, and by the tending of so innumerable contrarieties to one marke: the Heauen heating the earth, the Ayre moystening it, the Earth bringing forth Herbs, the Beastes feeding vpon the same, and all serning for the vse of man. It is all one therefore as if he should say, that he knoweth him by his Prouidence, and by the interlinking of all things together which he hath marked in them all. Againe, he will say he hath perceiued, in Mettalles (as yee would say) certeine wombes which nourish them and bring them forth; in Plants, a certeine vertue which draweth their nourishment from the earth, and with verie good proportion distributeth the same abroad from branch to branch, and from leafe to leafe: and which (as though it had a kinde of vnderstanding of the owne mortalitie) bringeth forth a séede at such time as the decay thereof approcheth: and in Beastes also, that one member doth for another, and euery of them for the whole; a desire

Ignorance next cousin vnto guyle.

to

to increase their kinde; Dugges to giue suck; and a skilfull care to nourish and preserue their young ones: And he hath considered that none of all this could be so layde for afore hand by it selfe, and therefore that there was some other thing aboue them. Thus must it néeds be, that he is led againe by the consideration of the prouidence, to the knowing of God. Now, if the prouidence which we haue marked, do make vs to saye that there is a God by mounting vp frō the effects to the causes of them; doth it not followe that Prouidence is the peculiar effect of God, & that he which denyeth that, denyeth the Godhead it selfe, forasmuch as the Godhead is not to be knowen but by the Prouidence?

If God haue no care of the world, I aske of thée whether it be for that he cannot, or for that he will not? If he cannot, how canst thou say he is almightie? Or how canst thou say he is infinite, séeing thou knowest the bounds of his power? Againe, how canst thou call him wise, sith it is the propertie of wisedome to guide things to some certeine end, and not to leaue any thing subiect to fortune? And séeing that his power & wisedome haue extended to all things for the creating of them, who shall kéepe them from extending to all things for the ordering and maintayning of them? Besides this, the Plant hath no reason to guyde it selfe, nor to preserue it selfe against that which is to come, and yet notwithstanding thou séest there a mynde which furnisheth out all the partes thereof, and a wisedome which watcheth ouer it against that which is to come. The Beast also hath no more reason than the Plant, though it both séele and moue. Yet is there an Inwit in it which the Beast knoweth not of, which Inwit concocteth, digesteth, and distributeth that which the beast hath eaten, and disperseth it forth into his partes by iust proportion, watching for it when it slépeth, & thinking vpon it when it thinketh not thereon. It perceiueth (I wote not how) that it hath néed of Earth, of Ayre, or of Nest to lay the yong ones in: it prouideth afore hand for the time to come, and shifteth countries according to the seasons of the yeare, chosing them out naturally, without failing at any time. In all these things there shineth forth a certeine prouidence, which yet for all that, the beast neither knoweth nor conceiueth. Thou thy selfe which art indewed with reason, hast a forecast, and by that forecast doest the things which other wights do by nature, or rather which nature (that is to say the forecordinance of the Creator doeth for them,) the more whereof thou hast, the more also doest thou prouide afore hand. For as little a worme as thou art, thou inuentest a thousand trades and artes, which are euerichone of them so manie points of Wisedome, and consequently as many prouidences. As much as thou canst, thou makest all things to stoope to thy lure, thou applyest the raine and the drought, the heate and the cold, to thine owne commoditie: thou turnest the doings of thy

neighbors of thy Citie and of thy Commonweale to thine owne profits and honor: yea and if it were possible, thou wouldest apply the heauen, the earth, the sea, and oftentimes euen God himselfe to thine owne benefite. Now then who prouideth for the Plants and for the brute beastes in whome thou seest so great prouidence though they themselues haue none at all, but onely he which made them? Or who directeth the Arrowe to the marke, the Arrowe (I say) which seeth not the marke, but the Archer who hath eyes for it? And cannot he prouide for all, which giueth prouidence to all? And he that giueth it thee in such sort as thou thereby makest all things to stoope to thy Lure, whereas yet notwithstanding thou madest them not, and of whome thou scarsly knowest the names, is not he able to gouerne euery one of them according to their nature, and to direct them, yea and thee too, vnto the end that he hath purposed, seeing he hath made them? Againe, if God be not able to prouide for things, & to direct them to their end, how say we that he surmounteth all that euer we can imagine, sith we cannot deny, but that he which prouides aforehand is of more abilitie than he that cannot. And if we can imagine any thing to be greater than he, why should not wee our selues be that thing? And if euen in man, the abilitie of prouiding be better than the vnabilitie, seeing we vphold that whatsoeuer is excellent in our selues, (which yet notwithstanding is but in measure and by participation,) the same is infinitely and originally in God: Why do we not graunt that God by his infinite wisedome can direct all things to his end, as well as euery thing can by their particular wisedome which he hath printed therein, prouide for the things which the nature thereof requireth? To be short, seeing that prouidence is nothing els but a wise guyding of things to their end, and that euery reasonable minde that worketh, beginneth his worke for some end, and that God (as I haue said afore) the workemaister of all things, hath (or to say more truely) is the soueraigne minde, equall to his owne power: doth it not followe that God in creating the world, did purpose an end? And what other could that end be, than himselfe and his own glorie, considering that the end whervnto a thing tendeth, cannot be lesse good than that which tendeth vnto it: and againe that as farre as his power extendeth in abilitie to create the world at the beginning, so farre doth his wisedome extend in abilitie to guide and direct it to that end? And seeing that the beginner and the end of things (the Archer (I meane) and the marke that he shootes at) are both one, that is to wit, God himselfe: can any thing crosse him or incounter him by the way, to hinder his attaining thervnto? Well then thou seest now, that thou canst not denye God the gouernement of the world, vnder pretence that he is vnable.

What prouidence is.

All working of an vnderstãding minde is to some end.

But you will say, that he will not vouchsafe to haue a care thereof.

Vous

How come you I pray you to be so priuie to his will? Hath nature taught you? May, thou seest in the Plants a ceraine inclination to nourish all their parts: in beastes, a charishnesse to bring vp their yong: in men, a desire to prouide for their children and household: and in all folkes a regard to the maintenance of the things which they haue either made or manured. And him that doth otherwise thou estéemest to be, not a barbarous person or a wilde beast, but a verie block or a stone. Now then shall not he which hath giuen such inclination to all things, yea, euen to the verie senceleste creatures by his touching of them, shall not he himselfe (I say) haue it for them all? Darest thou bereaue him of that which thou takest to be a praise to thy selfe? or darest thou father that vpon him, which thou takest to be an iniurie to thy selfe? May, like as this care is a sparke of goodnes, so he that is the goodnes it selfe and the welspring of all that euer is good in all things, sheddeth forth this care into all things by his goodnes. He (say I) which hath vouchsafed to creat vs, wil not disdaine to preserue vs. But forasmuch as it was his will to create vs to some purpose, (for if nature do not any thing in vaine, how much leste doth he that created nature?) he will also guide vs to that purposed end, by his wisedome.

Let vs sée what things wickednes can alledge against so manifest a doctrine. First of all steppes me forth Epicurus, and denyeth that he sées any prouidence at all in the world, but thinkes to marke many things to the contrarie in the whole world: whereby he will néedes gather that there is no prouidence, no nor (if he durst say it) any God at all. For if there were a prouidence (saith he) why should Mountaines occupie any part of the Earth? why should there be any wyld beastes? why should there be any Sea? And of that little dry ground that is, why should two partes be vninhabitable, the one for ouer great heate, and the other for ouer great colde; and the third part be in daunger to be vnhabited also, were it not that men plucked vp the Briers and Thornes that would ouergrow it? Why falleth the Snowe vpon the Corne, & the Frost vpon the Vines? Why blowe the windes both on Sea & Land? To be short, why happen sicknesses and diseases according to the seasons of the yere, & finally death? And at a word, why is man borne in worse case than the least thing that creepeth on the earth, and hath néede of many things which all other wights may well forbeare?

Obiections against Gods Prouidence. Alphonse the tenth King of Spaine said that if he had bin with God at the creatiō of the world, it should haue beene much better ordered than it is: and God punished him for so saying. Roderick of Toledo in the sixth chap. of his 4. booke.

May, he should rather haue said, I sée a thousand mouings in the heauen, whereof euery one hath his peculiar end, and yet tend all neuertheleste to one selfesame general end. I sée them all caryed by one vniuersall mouing, notwithstanding that euery of them inforce themselues to the contrary by their own proper courses: & that this vniuersall motiō is moued by one Power, which mouer so ouerruling them, must néedes be

of sufficient power to rule them all, considering that euen with one twinckling of an eye, he ruleth euen the same Heauen that carrieth al the rest about. It followeth then that there is one principall mouer, which gouerneth the Heauen and all the diuersitie conteined therein. Againe, I see that the Globe of the Earth & of Sea togither, is in respect of the Heauen but a litle point, or (as Pythagoras said) but as one of ỳ least starres: that the Mone ruleth the Tydes of the Sea, & the Sunne the seasons of the Earth, & they both are disposed by the course of the heauen. Whereupon I conclude, that he which ruleth the heauen, ruleth both the Sunne & the Mone, and that he which ruleth them, doth also rule both the Sea & the earth. For how is it possible that he which ruleth the whole, should come short in ruling any part of the whole? Or how should the force of him be impeached by the Earth, which gouerneth those by whome the earth hath her force? Insomuch that if (to my seeming) his prouidence appeare more lightsomely in the Heauen than in the Earth, (which yet notwithstanding is not so,) and I cannot yeld a reason of all the things which I see: I will consider with my selfe that I haue seene many instruments made by men as I my selfe am, whereof I see plainly the effectes, but I conceiue not the causes of them: Also that in other some I perceiue well the vse of some partes of them, namely of the greatest and notablest parts, but as for the smaller parts, as the Vices, Nailes, pinnes, Riuets, Buttons & such like, I haue thought them to be but byworkes, and yet without them the residue could not hold together, nor performe that which they were made for: and although they were taken all asunder, and shewed me seuerally one by one; yet could I hardly conceiue them. Yea, and moreouer, that I my selfe haue made some, whereof my Seruants and Children haue not perceiued the reason at all, but would haue burned them in the fire as seruing to no vse. And therefore I will praise God in the things which I know, wonder at him in the things which I conceiue not, and rather thinke my selfe (who am as nothing) to want wit and vnderstanding, than misdeeme him that is the maker of all things to be faultie in his prouidence. But sith fooles must be answered to their follies, least they should thinke themselues wise: and that the wisedome of these folke consisteth all togither in putting forth questions, and in answering to nothing: let vs examine these goodly demaunds ouer from point to point. If there be a Prouidence (say they) whereto serue the Mountaines? May, say rather, if all were of one sort, where were then Prouidence? For what els is Prouidence, but a disposing of many sundrie things to some one ende? And how can any such disposing be, where there is but one selfesame thing euery where throughout? Brute beaste that thou art? So would an Ant speake of thee. It would aske whereto serued the rising of thy nose aboue thy face, or of thy

The obiection of Mountains

browes aboue thine eyes, or of thy ribbes aboue the rest of thy bodie: all which are higher aboue thy bodie, than the Mountaines are aboue the Plaines of the earth. Thou estæmest greatly of the beautie that is in thy face, and of the proportion that is in thy bodie; insomuch that thou fallest euen in loue with them in another; and yet thou wilt finde fault with it in the whole world, as a deformitie and want of order. But thou Lucrece, durst thou (I pray thée) be so bolde as to speake so of a Painter? Or would it not offend thée if another man should speak so grossely of thy bookes? If a man should finde fault with the shadowing of a picture in a table; it would be aunswered that the Shomaker ought not to presume aboue the Pantople. For without the blacke, the white could haue no grace: neither could the bright be set out, without a dimming: nor difference and proportion of parts appeare, without a medley of contrary resemblance: nor finally, the cunning of the Painter be perceiued without diuersitie of colours. Also he that should finde fault with the art of thy booke, hauing red but some peeces of it here and there, should by & by be answered by the Lawyer, That a man cannot iudge of the Lawe, without reading it wholly throughout. And if there happen any absurditie; by & by there starts me vp a whole world of Grammarians, which inforce their wittes to the vttermost to excuse it, and to finde some elegancie in thine vncongruities. Alledging that that which is vnsæmly in the part, beautifieth the whole worke, and the shadowes more than the perfect colour, and the dimme more than the bright, when they be fitly placed. All the commendation of these painted things, consisteth in their diuersities, Insomuch that if thou sée a Playne ouerhanged with a shadie Rocke, or a dankish denne at the head of a Riuer springing out of it: thou likest the better of the table for it, and praisest the Painter the more for his skill. Surely it is not possible that the Plaine should please thée more than the Hilles, or the Riuer more than the Rockes, but that neither without other could please thée at all. Now, if thou diddest consider the World as the worke of God, and the Mountaines & other partes which thou mislikest, not in thémselues but as they be small peeces of that worke: doubtlesse thou wouldest say as much thereof. And therefore sith thou canst not at one view behold all the whole world together, to iudge of the proportion of the whole masse and of the seuerall parts thereof at one instant: learne to commend the cunning of the workmaister in the things which thou thinkest thy selfe to vnderstande, rather than to call it into question, for the things which thou vnderstandest not.

But let vs sée further what reason thou hast to cõplaine. Thou wouldest shunne both Rayne, Hayle, & Frost. Behold, the Mountaines furnish thée with wood and Timber to house thée, to shelter thée, & to make thée warme. Thou followest the commoditie of traffick: & behold, they serue

thy

thy turne with Riuers from East, West, North, and South, making way from the middest of the Land to the Sea, and ioyning the Coastes of Sea and Land together. The ambition of thy neighbours is suspected of thée, and thine perchaunce is noysome vnto them: the high Mountaines are as bounds to separate Nations asunder, and to keepe them from incroching one vpon another. I omit the Wines & fruites which they yéeld forth, the cléere waters which they shed out, the flockes and heards of Cattel which they féede, and the pleasant dwellings which they conuey in them. If thou couldst finde as many things in thy bare plaine alone, I would giue thee leaue to complaine of the Mountaines. Nay, on the contrarie parte, if thou haddest felt the discommodities of the Playnes of Lybia; or but onely of the Playnes of Beawsse, or of the Desert of Champayne, thou wouldest by and by wish that all were Mountaines; and yet notwithstanding, if all were plaine, or all were hilground, thou couldest not tell how to commend or discommend either of them both. Now then, let this stand for an answere to all those Philosophers which take vpon them to controll the parts of a worke which they conceiue not whole. For, to blame the whole world for the Mountaines sake, or the Mountaine for the Woods that growe thereon, is all one as if ye should finde fault with the whole man for lesse than a Wert or a haire; when as yet notwithstanding, in an olde man thou honourest the same haire which the Barber cutteth off and casteth into the fire, yea & thou honourest the olde man for the verie same.

But let vs procéede with the rest of their arguments. Thou complainest of the wilde Beastes; And who hath made them wilde but thy selfe? Nay rather, thou shouldest wonder at the prouidence of God, who (as Appolonius hath wel marked) hath printed such an awe of man in them that they hurt him not vnlesse they be assaulted or pinched with extreme hunger. And therein what do they more than man would do in like extremitie? But thou hast yet further cause to wonder at his prouidence, in that the Beasts which might hurt thée, go single alone by themselues, and haunt the Couerts and Caues of the earth, and make but small increase; whereas the Beasts which are for thy benefite, how huge and strong soeuer they be, come home familiarly to thée, submitting themselues in whole flockes and heards to a Childe, and increasing into thousands within small time. Tell me in good earnest, is it a worke of fortune, that the Beasts which may annoy thy life do shunne thée, and that those with whose life thou maintainest thine owne life, should come and offer themselues vnto thée?

Wyld beastes.

But the Sea displeaseth thée for occupying so much of ỹ Earth. Wert thou a dweller in ỹ sea as thou art on the land, the Earth would displease thée for occupying so much of the Sea. And yet what a deale thereof

is

is still emptie, which were fit to be inhabited? Know thou, that thou art beholden to it for the great number of liuing wightes which it fostereth for thée, for the great number of Townes and Cities which it enricheth for thée: for the Nauigations whereby it shorteneth thy way and yeeldeth thée Trafficke: and for his vapors wherewith he maintaineth the ayre and maketh the earth fat. For put the case that the Sea were dryed vp at an instant: what a number of Cities thinkest thou should be séene desolate and Nations desert, when men should bee in case with the drought, as Fishes are that be left on drye ground at the going away of the tyde? Why shouldest thou not rather commende the beneficialnesse thereof the more, in that not thinking it enough to lend it selfe to thée to do thée seruice otherwise: it also teacheth thée the mightie prouidence & prouident might of him that made it, when thou seest it ouerdrépe the earth, and threaten it with drowning euerie minute of an houre, & yet is not able to passe his boundes: or when thou séest it seeke to inuyron a great Countrie round about as though it were to imbrace it; and yet to staye at a verie narrow balke, or els to winde it selfe into the bowels of the Land at a narrow chanell: whereas notwithstanding an infinite sort of little Iles are settled in the middest of the déepe, like a sort of smal motes in a Pond. For, séeing that thou séekest thy commoditie and profite thereby, thinkest thou not that he also seeketh his glorie? And though thou haddest none other profit by it, were it not verie much for thée to haue had it as a ground and matter wherefore to magnifie him?

The Sea. Aristotle concludeth that there is a Prouidence, because the earth is vncouered, which the Sea as the higher elemẽt would else ouerwhelme. In his booke of Wonders.

The Windes perchaunce do make thée to hate it: for thou must néeds haue a saying to them too: and yet on the other side, if it holde calme, thou art wearie of it. But couldest thou without them haue knowen the tenth part of the Earth? How couldest thou haue discouered the land of Perow and the Iles of Moluckes? Nay, how couldest thou haue come to the nearest Iles vnto thee, without them? Now, if thou like of the Winde when it is fauourable to thée; why should not another man that hath to do in a contrary Coast, like welof it when it is contrarie to thee? And if both of you finde fault with the stormines thereof: know ye that he which made it will be glorified thereby, in that he doeth thée to vnderstand, that he is able to meete with thee both on Sea and Land, & thou art taught to call vpon him, when the selfe same Winde which hath caryed thée at thy pleasure, is readie to dash thée against the Land.

The wynde.

But of that little of the drye ground which remaineth, two partes (sayest thou) be vnhabitable. Who tolde thée so? Nay rather, why doest thou not conclude therevpon, that there is a Creator? séeing that euen in thy time those parts were not inhabited? Surely the Winds whom thou blamest so much, haue taught vs that in those Clymates are goodly Countries, people of better health and greater strength than we, more beautifull.

The Earth vnhabitable.

beautifull Cities, and moze delicate fruites: and we finde them so temperate, that we forsake the temperatest Countries here, to goe thither. The dayes and yeares are measured otherwise in one Countrie than in another: but yet in this varietie there is a constancie: and the one selfesame Sunne which maketh so many diuersities, doth thée to vnderstand, that he which made the Sunne could well make the other things. To be short, there is so great cunning in all these things, that thou hast béene inforced to make an Arte for the learning of them. And what else is an Arte, but the setting of diuers Rules in order togither? And if Arte be so nédefull for the knowing of them; who wil not say that there is much more Arte in the thing it selfe?

Thou blamest the Thornes Briers and Bushes for couering the earth: but thou considerest not into how many mischiefes ydlenes plungeth thée. Thou blamest the Frost and Snowe for hindering thy Husbandrie, whereas in déed they twitch thée by the eare, to put thée in mind that the foyson of the earth commeth of God. Thou blamest the Rayne for wetting thée; whereas yet notwithstanding it moysteneth thy grounds & maketh them fat. At a worde, thou playest the babe, who thinkes his Nurce does him wrong when she kemes his head or puts on his clothes, or rather when sometimes shee plucks a firestick from him, or takes a knife out of his hand: that is to say, thou miscõstrewest al the good which the bountifull prouidence of God doth vnto thee.

The birth of Man.

But in the ende (saist thou) why be we not able to helpe our selues assone as we be borne? Why be we subiect to so many diseases, and in the end to death? I will not nowe presse thée with that which I will speake of hereafter: namely, that for all these things none is to blame but thy selfe: for euen in the same things which thou findest fault with, I will shewe thée still to thy face, the prouidence of God. The babe is borne without abilitie to help himselfe, and hath none other skill at all but to crye. Contrariwise the bruite Beast is no sooner come from his Damme, but he is able to goe. Be it so. Yet notwithstanding, of all these babes (which to thy séeming are but as foolishe things) none dyeth for want of nurce or nourishment, though there be nothing but paine & care in bringing them vp. Therefore it must néeds follow, that euen from the beginning, a certeine prouidence hath watched ouer them, which hath ingrauē this kindly affection and carefulnesse in the mothers breast; and the lesse that babes can do for themselues, the more manifestly doth Gods power shine forth in prouiding for them. As for the bruite beastes, it was not requisite for them to be brought into the world in that sort, forasmuch as being vnable to conceiue reason, they had no interest at all in the knowledge of those things.

Sicknesses & diseases.

As touching diseases, if thou blame the seasons of the yére for them; thou

thou maist as well blame the fire for burning thee, which yet notwithstanding thou canst not forbeare: For the fault is in thine owne vnmeetenesse, and not in their nature; and in thine owne vnrulinesse, and not in their distemperance. The selfesame heate wherewith thou findest fault, ripeneth the Corne, Wine, and Fruits wherewith the most part of the world are fed. And if thou thinke that any man be thereby cast into an Agewe; he might haue forborne to haue gone into the Sunne, but he could not haue forborne the shining of the Sunne vpon the earth. But if fathers of houholdes haue roddes at hand to correct their children withall, and that a parte of their gouernement consist therein: thinkest thou it strange that he that hath set vs in the world, should haue meanes to hold vs in awe, & to bring vs home to him? What wilt thou say to a number of diseases, which are as certein fruits of some vices & sinnes? as one of Drunkennesse, & another of Lecherie, and so forth? Or what wilt thou say to Hippocrates himselfe, who speaking of ordinarie sores & diseases, inioyneth the Physitian in any wise to consider well, whether there be any peculiar stroke of God in them or no? that is to saye, whether the sicknesse or disease be extraordinarie, so as the proper and nearest cause thereof, be the hand of God vpon the partie? Now furthermore, if there be nothing but disorder and wretchednesse in this World; why blamest thou death, which maketh thee to depart out of it? If it be because thou hast goods which thou art loth to forgoe: thou must consider that if thy parents had not giuen place to thee by order of Nature, those goods had now bene none of thine. If it be because Death maketh cleane riddance of most things: thinke also that in so doing it maketh place for other moe that are to spring vp in their place. But yet if thou wouldst consider how often men go to seeke Death where it seemeth to be doluen most deepe, & yet finde it not: how many meete with it at Bankets, at Feasts, at Mariages, at Triumphes, and where they would most fainest forget it: how many there be which dye yong and in good health: and how many liue sore diseased euen to the depth of olde age: how many returne safe from most cruell Battels, to dye in their beddes: and how many dye in battell or in some fray, which haue shunned strife and tumult all their life long: Thou shalt easily perceiue that our life and our death are not in our owne hand, ne yet depend vpon fortune, forasmuch as wee scape so many places where fortune seemeth to reigne: and that much lesse doeth our life & death depend vpō Nature, seeing it is not with vs as it is with Trees & other liuing things to whom there is set a certeine terme, which for the most part they fulfill and ouerpasse it not: but that our life & death depend vpon a higher cause, whose onely will disposeth & boundeth them, accordingly as is expedient for his own glorie, for the order of the whole, yea and for our selues too.

Had

Had it not bene better then (sayst thou) that man had ben made immortall rather than mortall? And had it not bene much better also (I say) that the earth had rather bene fire than earth, or that the eare had rather bene eye than eare, seeing that the one is more excellent than the other, and in the opinion of the Philosophers it is better to haue qualities actiue than passiue? Had the earth bene fire, where couldest thou haue rested? And if thine eares had bene eyes, what had become of thy speach, yea and of thy reason too? Nowe therefore my friend, giue this worlde leaue to be a worlde, that is to wit, a disposing of diuers things, & an order of many degrees. Euery kinde of thing hath his boundes & buttelles, accordingly as God hath listed to appoint thereto. The Plant is a Plant because it doth but liue and growe: if it had sence also, then should it be a Beast. A Beast is a Beast, because it liueth and hath sence: if it proceeded so farre as to haue reason also, then were it a Man. Man reasoneth and discourseth because he is Man: and were he thereto vnchangeable, he were a God. Ye therefore that demaundeth why the Plant hath no sence, and why Man is not immortall in this worlde; demaundeth why the Plant is a Plant, and why Man is Man. To be short, the cause why it is so, is that it hath pleased God to set as it were ỹ diuers strings of the World in tune to make one harmonie, insomuch that whosoeuer taketh away the diuersitie of things, taketh away the World it selfe.

Obiection of base & vyle things.

But this is a poynt whereon they greatly stand. Well say they, Admit that the diuine Prouidence haue stablished the world, yea, and that it haue an vniuersall care thereof: Yet to toyle it selfe in the carke & care of so many particular things, specially in this sincke here beneath, I meane in this elementall world which is subiect to so many changes; seemeth rather worthie of dispraise than of praise. Nay say I, but if it be a praise vnto God to haue created all things as well beneath as aboue; what discommendation can it be vnto him to preserue them all? And seeing he made them all of nothing, whence procedeth their worthinesse or vnworthinesse but of his will? Why should the cloth of Golde be of more account than the cloth of Hempe, or the Silke of more account than the Linnen, to the Paynter that painted them both? If God gouerne the Heauen, why should he not also gouerne the Earth, whereon do go so infinite sorts of liuing things, in euery of the which, yea euen in the Flye and the Ant, the greatnesse of the Creator shineth forth more than in the very Heauen: namely in their so liuely life, so readie vse of senses, so nimble and free mouing, yea and in the verie littlenes of them, which in so small roome conteineth so many great things togither? For we wonder more at the Clockmakers cunning in making a Clocke which a Flye may couer with her wings, than in making a Clocke of great com-

passe,

paſſe, where the very greatneſſe it ſelfe diminiſheth the eſtimation there of. If thou be afraide leaſt the ſpirit of God ſoile it ſelfe in theſe corruptible things: remember that loke with what minde Cincinnatus commaunded his men of Warre and ruled the commonweale, with the very ſame minde did he both til and dung his ground, and yet thou counteſt him neuer the more defiled or imbaſed thereby. The ſelfeſame Sun which giueth light in the Skye, pearceth through the darke Cloudes and foggie Miſtes, dryeth vp draughts and Sinks, and sheadeth forth his beames euen into the things which ſeeme moſt filthie and lothly, and yet he himſelfe is not blemiſhed or defiled therewith. Now then, art thou afraid leaſt God who careth for al things without care, moueth them without touching them, and atteineth to them without putting himſelf forth, is not able to weelde theſe lower thinges without defiling himſelfe by them? But it were more conuenient (ſaith Ariſtocle) that God ſhould deale with the great things himſelfe, as the King of Perſia doth in his priuie Chamber, and that he ſhould leaue the care of the ſmaller things to his Princes. As who would ſay, that the Gardiner which hath ſowed both the great Cabbage and the little turnippe, both the Gourde and the Melone, ſhould make more account of the one for the greatneſſe thereof, than of the other for ſmalnes thereof. Or as though thou wouldeſt not alſo the more wonder at the King, if without ſtirring out of his priuie Chamber, he could appoint al things to be done, or rather do al the things himſelf which other men doe. What is the thing (I pray thee) which thou commendeſt in Mithridates, but that he could call all his Souldiers euerie one by his owne name? Or in Phillip King of Macedonie but that he him ſelfe made the proviſion for all his whole Hoaſt, euen for their cariages and for fodder for their Beaſts? Or in the great Captaines of our time, but that they can ſkill, not onelie to make Warre and to order their Battelles, but alſo to ſet downe what the daily erpences of their armies will come vnto, euen to euery loafe of bread & euery bottle of Hay and welnere within one or two ſhot, how many ſhot of the Cannon will make a breach in ſuch a wall or ſuch a Bulwarke, and ſo forth? Or finally in this Captaine or that, ſauing that this Captaine could ſkill to ſet the Sunne vpon the face of his enemies, & another to caſt the winde, the duſt or the ſmoke in their eies, & another to ſerue his owne turne by a Parris, and ſome other to draw his enemy into the miry & dirty Country? And what viler or baſer things can there be than theſe afore rehearſed? Finally what is it that ye commend in the ſkilfulleſt warriours of them al, but that they could ſkill to ſerue their owne turne? Or in the moſt glorious Conquerours, but that they gat the victory in the end? And ſo thou muſt needs graunt that whereas the Counterparties failed to do the like, it was not for want of courage or goodwil, but for want of power or ſkil.

Now, whatsoeuer is in the whole World, is the Army or Host of God, an Armie or Host (I say) not which he hath gathered of his neighbours, but which he hath created with his owne hands: He knoweth al the Starres by name, for he made them. He hath prouided foode for all liuing things, and one of them is no greater to him than another: for they haue no being at all any longer than he listeth. If he make warre here beneath, all his Armies are readie to do him seruice and to wage battell vnder his Banner, yea euen the ambitiousnesse of Princes to punish themselues one by another. If Nations war proud; he armeth against them the Grashoppers, and the Locusts, the Horsetroopes, the Blastings, the winds and the Vapors of the Earth. In euery of vs he hath his inlokers to chastice vs, in our flesh, or corruptions, in our minde, our passions, and in our Soules, our sinnes and disorders. There is not so smal a thing, which serueth not him to very great purpose; nor thing so vile, which serueth not to his glorie, nor thing so enemy like, which fighteth not to get him the victorie, nor the thing so wrongfull, which executeth not his Justice, thing so much against him, which hitteth not the marke that he aimeth at. Therefore pleads not in his behalfe vnaduisedly for Gods Glory. For the more stirring, the more chaunge, the more disorder there is here beneath, the more doth he shew the vnmouable decree of his euerlasting Prouidence, which (will they or nill they) directeth all the vnconstancies of this world to one certeine end. And if perchaunce thou be afraid least God should be tired with the paine and trauell: (for he hath nede of thine vngodlines to releeue him) consider how thine owne Soule, without any toile to it selfe, and without thy priuitie, doth at one selfesame instant both prouide for the fashioning of thee, and make all thy parts to grow, euery of them according to his peculiar portion & proportion, giuing sence euen to thy nailes and the heares of thy head, which are but outgroings & not parts of thy bodie. And if thou wilt know how this Prouidence is occupied without toile; consider how that thy Soule (notwithstanding al the busines which thy Soule doth without thy thinking thereon) forbeareth not also in the meane while to mount vp euen vnto heauen, and by the discourses thereof to turmoile the whole Earth, to lay for the maintenance and defence of the innumerable houshold, and likewise for the decay and ouerthrow of as many others, and to search into the dealings of the enemie, to make them to serue his owne turne, to treate both of Warre and Peace together at one time, and with the selfesame persons both at once. And darest thou now thinke that God is toiled in y things which thou thy selfe doest without toile? Or that he is tired with the gouernments wherein thou wouldest take pleasure? Or that he being a free and infinite Spirit, doth not that in a limitted bodie, which thy Soule being finite in it selfe, doth in thy bodie where it is as in a prison? To be short,

short, seing thou presumest to do thy will with ỹ things wherof thou canst not make one heare, shall God be unable to do his will with the thinges which he of his owne onely will hath made and created? The vertue that is in a kernel or a Plant, cleadeth it selfe from the rote of the vttermost braunches, yelding nourishment severally to the stocke or stalke, to the pith, to the barke, to the flowers, to the leaues, and to the fruite, to every of them according to the proportion and nature thereof. The Sunne it selfe in keping his course, and without minding any such thing yeldeth heate to innumerable Plants, and to innumerable people, and yet heateth not it self one whit the more. Now, if a creature doe so: what shall we say of the Creator? What shall we say of him which is not the Soule of the Plant, or of the Beast, or of Man, but the maker of al things, yea which made them of nothing, who is not (as some Philosophers haue vpheld) the Soule of the World, but rather (if he may be so termed) the very life and Soule of all life and Soule in the World? But as we se daily, if the Counsell of a Realme cannot cease one weeke, without confusion of the Common weale; nor the Soule of a man or a beast, for beare working be it never so little, without the death of the partie, nor the life that is in Plants stay without withering of the Plant, nor the Sunne goe downe without procuring darkenesse, or suffer Eclips without some notable chaunge: much more reason haue we to beleeue, that if the World & al that is therein were not guided, vpheld, and cared for by the same power wisedome and goodnesse that created it and set in such order as it is: It would in one moment fall from order into confusion, and from confusion to nothing. For, to haue no care of it, is to mislike of it, and to mislike of it, is in God to vndoe it, for asmuch as Gods willing of it, was the very doing of it. Now, if Gods Prouidence extend it self throughout to al things, aswel in Heauen as in Earth: we cannot doubt but that it extendeth also vnto man. For what thing is there of so great excellencie, either on the Earth as mans bodie, or in Heauen as mans Soule? And in extending it selfe to man, it must nedes extend it selfe equally to al men. For who is either great or small, poore or rich, in respect of him which made both of nothing? Or what odds is there betwixt them, sauing that whereas both of them be but slaues to him that setteth forth the tragedy, he appareleth the one in Cloath of Gold to play the King, and the other in a course Pilche to play the Begger, making them to chaunge their apparrell when he listeth?

Behold, here commeth almost an vniuersall grudge. For if there be (say they) a Prouidence, how commeth it to passe that ill men haue so much prosperitie, and good men so much aduersitie? That some be so long vnpunished, and other some so long vnrewarded? And to be short, ỹ one for his wickednes commeth to the Gallowes, & another for the same

cause obteineth a Diademe or Crowne? This question hath combred not onely the most vertuous among the Heathen, but also euen the most Religious of all ages. But it were best to take heere a little breath, and put it ouer among diuers other things which remaine to be treated of in the next Chapter following.

The xij. Chapter.

That all the euill which is doone, or seemeth to be doone in the world, is subiect to the prouidence of God.

I Said heeretofore concerning God that all things teach vs that there is but one, and yet notwithstanding that all things together cannot sufficiently teach vs what he is. Also let vs say concerning Prouidence, that in all things we se a manifest Prouidence, but yet to seeke out the cause thereof in euery thing, is as much as to sounde a bottomlesse pit, if it be not much worse, seeing that the wil of God is the cause of al causes. Surely if a man will blame Gods prouidence, because it agreeth not with his owne opinio; he is a thousandfold to be more misliked, than he that should finde fault with the maister of an household for the order of his house, where he hath not lodged aboue one night, or control the Lawes & counsell of a strange countrie, whereof he hath had no further experience than by resorting to the Tauerns & common Innes: Or than the babe that should take vpon him to giue sentence of his fathers doings, or than the Marlet that should presume to iudge of the determination of a Court of Parliament, vnder pretence that he had held some mans Male at the Palace gate: or (I wil say more) than the brute beast that should vndertake to deeme of the dooings of men. For what are we to be admitted to the Counsel of God, which cannot so much as abide the brightnesse of his face? And what vnderstand we further of him, than he vouchsafeth to reueale vnto vs? What Princes Counseler is so wise that he can giue his Lord good aduice, vnlesse his Lord doe first

make him prinie to his purpose as wel present as past, and to al the other circumstances perteining therto? Or what Husbandman comming from a farre, will presume to vnderstand better what tilth, what seede, what compost, and what time of rest such or such a peece of ground requireth: than he that hath bene acquainted with it all the daies of his life? And how far greater thing is it to create, than to til? But forasmuch as God is reason it selfe, and we through his grace haue some sparke thereof: let vs see whether it be not so euident in all his doings, that in this point it inlighteneth euen the darkenesse of our reason. And if we perceiue it not so clerely in al things, let vs acknowledg our selues to be but men, betwéen whom & God there is no comparison, whereas in very déede there were no difference betwixt him & vs, if we could throughly conceiue al his deuices.

Now then whereas it is said, that if there be a prouidence, why haue good men so much euill, and euill men so much good, afore we deale with the matter, let vs agrée vpon the wordes. I aske of thée which men thou callest good, and which thou callest euill, and likewise what things thou meanest to be properly good or euill. If I should aske thée why healthy men haue so many diseases, and diseased men so much health, thou mightest with good reason laugh mée to skorne: for health maketh healthie, and sicknesse maketh sicke. But whereas thou askest me why good men haue so much euil, and euill men so much good, pardon me though I cause thée to expound thy meaning: for naturally I cannot conceiue, that eyther good men haue euill, or euill men haue good. For if by good men you meane rich men, men of honour, and men that are healthy, and that ye take riches, honour, and health to be the good things: then is your question absurd. For it is al one as if we should demaund, why bearded men haue beare on their chinnes, and beardlesse men haue none. But if (as I beare the say) thou estéemest Solons pouertie to be better than the gold of Crassus, and Platoes honestie better than Dennyss tiranny, and the Collick & the Stone of a wiseman with his wisedome, to be better than the healthy and soundnesse of body of the foole with his folly: then art thou deceiued with the faire name of good: for it is another thing than these goods, which causeth thée to preferre them and to estéeme them the better. Therefore let vs say that the good are those which séeke after the true good things, and that the true good things are godlinesse and vertue: and contrariwise that the euill folkes are those which are wedded to ỹ things that are euill in déede, that is to say, to sinne & vngodlinesse, and let vs not confound things together, the good with the bad & the bad with the good. For what goods soeuer a man can haue, or (to speake after thine owne maner) whatsoeuer euils he can méete with, he cannot be good though he haue al the goods in the world, so long as he himself is not good; neither can he be in euil case, as long as he himselfe is not euill. As for

the goods which goe about to beguile vs vnder that attire; let vs say they bee outward things, common to the one sort as well as to the other, for the which a man can no more be termed good or bad, blessful or wretched, than he can be called wise or learned for wearing a rich garment: And contrariwise that as all these false goods are instruments to the wicked to make them worse, (as riches to corrupt both themselues & other men, authoritie, to doe violence; health to make them the luskier and stouter to doe mischiefe, and so forth:) so the euilles, which thou termest euils, are helpes to good men to doe good, and furtherers of them in the exercise of vertue, as pouertie to bridle their lusts, baseneſſe to humble them, sickneſſe to meeken them, and all maner of comberances to driue them to fly vnto God, and to teach them to succour their neighbours in the like, when God shall haue drawne them out of them: euen after the same maner that a sickly bodie turneth all things that are ministred vnto it, into the vnsound humor which getteth the vpper hand, whereas on the other side the sound and healthy bodie turneth to his nourishment, euen the meats as are worst of digestion.

That the false goodes are common both to good and bad.

Now then, let vs come to the point. Wilt thou knowe why riches and honour are common both to good and bad? It is because that God (euen in spight of the wicked) cannot but be good, insomuch that he maketh the showers to raine and the light to shine vpon the one as well as on the other, notwithstanding that the one sort do curse him for wetting them or for making them to sweate, and the other sort doe bleſſe him for moistening and ripening the fruites of their labours. It is because God deemeth it not agreeable either to his owne honour, or to the greefes and trauelles of his seruaunts, to reward them with trifling things, least they should set their mindes vpon them; like as a father that keepeth his heritage for his sonne, thinketh it not to be for his behoſe, to apparrel him in the liuerie of his seruants and slaues. To be short, it is because he dealeth like a Prince, who maketh his pay commun to all his Souldiers: but as for the Garland of Oke, he giueth it onely to such as are the first that in scaling doe enter the breach, or get vp vpon the wall of a Towne that is assaulted. Likewise Kings doe cast their largeſſe at aduenture among the people; but as for their honors & dignities, they bestow them vpon those whom they especially fauour. It misliketh thee that this man tilleth the grounde with moe Ploughes than thou: but aduise thy selfe well, whether thou couldest find in thine hart to exchaunge the inward gifts of grace which God hath bestowed vpon thee, with his Oxen and his Ploughes. Another is in greater reputation and authoritie with the Prince than thou art. But consider thou therewithall the hartbitings, the enuie, the hartburnings, and such other things which he indureth: and se whether the meaneſt degree in Gods house where thou

seruest,

seruest, being free and exempted from all those things, be not much better than the best roome about any King. The King for his seruice done by him, rewardeth him with Lands, fees, and offices: but if thou be so baseminded and wrongful to thy selfe, as to foster thy bodie with the seruices and charges of thy Soule; consider that God being liberal and iust, intendeth to reward spirituall incounters with spirituall Garlonds, and to recompence thee according to his owne honor, and not according to the baseneste of thy heart; and that so much the more, because that in very deede, he rewardeth not thy workes, but his owne workes in thée. Moreouer, the reward is giuen, not according to thy desart, but according to the worthinesse of him that bestoweth it. The recompence of one selfsame seruice, is farre other at the hand of a King, than of a meane Lord. If thou say thou couldest be contented with a thousand French Crowns, Alexander would aunswere thee, that it might perchaunce be enough for thee to receiue, but not enough for Alexander to giue. And if thou wouldest haue God to giue thee no greater reward than plentie of Wine and Corne, if thou knewest him well, thou wouldest be ashamed of thy selfe: for it is the foode that is common to al men, and not peculiar to those y are his. Neuertheleste, if thou step not so farre, but art desirous to know what be the goods which good men haue in this world, (I speake of them that seeme not to haue them) Seneca telles thee, that they make their life allowable to God who knoweth them, in him they repose themselues, they haue peace in their Consciences, if he increase not their present state, they also doe abate their desires; their enemies commend their vertue, al the world bemoaneth their want, and those that haue the distributing of goods and honors, are blamed for leauing them vnconsidered. To be short the very asking of that Question (be thou a Christian or an Heathen man) is vnto them an inestimable reward; namely, that whereas concerning the most part of other men, it is wont to be demaunded wherefore they be aduaunced to riches, honor, and authoritie, and they themselues are oftentimes ashamed to tel how they came by them; euery man asketh how it happeneth that the good men are not rich, honorable, and in authoritie. Now, if thou haue the courage of a man, wouldest thou not chose as Cato did, that men should rather aske why thou haddest not an Image of thine set vp in the open place, and why thou wast not admitted to that honour, than other wise? Yes saist thou: But if God liked not to giue mée them; why haue I at least wise forgone those which I had? Why hath he taken them from mee? It may be (saith Seneca) that if thou haddest not forgone them, they would haue forgone thée. I tell thée that if he had not taken them from thée; they would haue taken thee from him. I pray thée howe often hast thou taken from thy Childe a puppet or some other toy that he plated withall, to se whether he would be

stubborne or no? How oft hast thou plucked the knife out of his hand, euen when he cried to haue it still? And what euill meanest thou towards him, when thou weanest him from his Dugge? Now then, thinkest thou it straunge that God should cast thy goodes into ỹ Sea, which els would haue holped to drowne the in destruction? O how greatly did Platoes shipwracke auantage him, to make him wise? Or that he should plucke the sword of authoritie out of thy hand whereof thou art so desirous, which els (peraduenture) had slaine thine owne Soule? Or that to prepare thée to another life better than this, he should serue thée with such st meanes, as might make thée to bée in loue with it? Thou wilt say ỹ thou wouldest haue vsed them well: but what a number of men haue bene séene, which vnder the chastisment of pouerty were good men, whom riches and honor did afterward marre and corrupt? Thou sufferest the Phisition to take from thée some kinds of meats which thou louest will, and to abridge the both of thy fare and of thine exercises, and of thy pleasures, because he hath séene thy water or felt sometimes thy pulse: and wilt thou not suffer God (who hauing created thée and shaped thée, feeleth euerlastingly the pulse of thy Soule) wilt thou not suffer him I say, to bereaue thée of some outward thing which he himself made, and which would worke thy destruction? Thou commendest the Captaine, who to make his iourney the spéedier against his enemie, dispatcheth away all bag and baggage from his Armie, that the Souldiers may go the lighter, and that the breaking of a Chariot may not stay him by the way: and canst thou not finde in thine heart that he which made thée and gouerneth thée, should dispose of thy baggages: that is to wit, of thy purchases or inheritances which thou hast gotten héere below, to make thée the nimbler against vice, and against the continuall temptations of this worlde?

But enuie pricketh thée. Why taketh he them not (saist thou) aswell from this man and that man, as from mée? And why loueth he thee perchaunce better than them? Tell me why the Phisition appointeth the a greater portion of Rhewbarbe, than him? Because such a one is more moued with one dramme, than another is with thrée. One is better purged with a single Glister, than another is with a very strong Purgation. One man is sooner warned of God by the losse of his crop of Grapes or Corne, thã another is by the burning of his house, the losse of al his goods, and the taking of his Children prisoners. So Iob saw the losse of his Cattell, the burning of his houses, and the death of all his Children, and yet for all that, he praised God still. That which was constancy in him, might haue séemed blockishnesse in another. But when God came once to the touching of his person, he could not then forbeare to dispute with him. Now then, séeing that the things which thou termest euilles & mischiefes,

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are in very deede both Medicines and Salues, wilt thou not haue them ministred according to the complexion of the patient? And thinkest thou thy selfe wiser in discerning the disposition of thy Soule, than he that created it, thou I say which darest not trust to thine owne knowledge in the curing of thy bodie? The same is to be said of diuers Nations, whereof some one may happen to be afflicted a longer time and more sharpely with the Plague or with Warre, than another, and oftentimes also euen for ỹ selfesame causes. For God knoweth both the cõmon nature of whole Nations, and the peculiar natures of euery seuerall person. Some nature, if it should not se the scurge alwaies at hand, would become twtw proud and presumptious: Another, if it should se it continually, would be quite out of heart and fall into dispaire. If some were not kept occupied with their owne aduersities, they could not refraine from working mischiefe to others. Another againe being more giuen to quietnesse, is contented to sweat in tilling his grounds, and in trimming his Gardines, without coueting other mens goods so he may keepe his owne. In like case it is with Plants: some require dunging, some rubbing to make them cleane, some proining, some new grafting againe with the same to take away hardnesse of their fruit, and some to haue their head cropped quite and cleane off. One selfesame Gardiner doth all these things, and a Childe of his that stands by and sees it wonders at it: but he that knoweth the natures of things will count him the skilfuller in his arte.

Yea saist thou, but though these euilles may be Medecines and Salues how may death be so? For what a number of Innocents do we se slaine in the world? What a number of good folke do we se put to the slaughter, not onely good in the iudgement of vs, but also euen in the iudgement of those that put them to death? May rather, what is death but the common passage which it behoueth vs all to passe? And what great matter makes it, whether thou passe it by Sea or Land? by the corruption of thine owne humors, or by the corruptnesse of thy Commonweale? Againe, how often haue Iudges condemned some man for a crime, whereof he hath beene giltlesse, and in the denial whereof he hath stoode euen vpon the Scaffolde, and yet hath there confessed himselfe faultie in some other crime, vnknowne both to the Iudges and to the standers by? a manifest reproofe either of the ignorance or of the vniustice of the Iudges, but a plaine acknowledgement of the wisedome & Iustice of the eternall God? And if God bring them to that point for one fault, and the Iudge for another, what vniustice is in God for suffering them to be condemned wrongfully by the Iudge, yea and to be punished with death or otherwise, for a crime whereof their own conscience cleareth them as guiltlesse, when as God and their owne conscience doe iustly condemne them for some other? As for example, The iudge condemneth them for conspi-

The murthering of Innocents and giltlesse persons.

racie

racie against the commonweale, whereas God condemneth them (perchaunce) for behauing themselues lowsely in defending the commonweale. The Iudge vnder colour of offence giuen to the Church, and God for not rebuking the Churchmen frely inough. For I speake as well concerning Heathen folke, as Christians in this behalfe. And what a number doe we see, which confesse of themselues, and witnesse of their familiar frends, that by thy punishing of them, wherwith thou being ỹ Iudge mentest to haue put them in feare and to haue restrained them, they haue taken warning to amend, and bene the more quickened vp and incouraged? And what els is this, but that as in one selfesame deede, God had one intent and thou another, so also he guided it to the end that he himselfe aimed at, yea and to a contrary end to that which thou diddest purpose? But what a thing were it if thou sawest the fruite that God draweth out of it? The Childe that beholds his Father treading of goodly Grapes, could find in his heart to blame him for so doing, for he thinketh that they should be kept still, and cannot conceiue to what vse the treading of them should serue: but the Father knowing the goodnes of the Fruite better than the Child, (for he planted them, tended them, and proined them) cõsidereth also ỹ within two monethes or little more, they would wither and drie away, & therefore to preserue the vertue of them, he maketh no account of the eating of them, but treadeth them in the Fatte to make Wine of them. And when the Childe comes afterward to discretion, he museth at his owne folly, and acknowledgeth that at that time he plaied the very Childe, notwithstanding that as then he thought himselfe wiser than his Father. And after the same maner doth he when he sees him make conserue of Roses, of Violets, or of other flowers. He is sory to see them mard (as hee thinketh) and is readie to weepe for it, and he cannot be quieted, because he would make Nosegaies of them, which anon after would wither, and he himselfe would cast them away by the next morrow. Now consider I pray thee, whether without any further inducement, thou finde not thy selfe to resemble this Child. God who made the good men that which they be, hath no lesse consideration and loue towards them, than those which bewaile them. He knoweth to what end their life serueth in this world, also he knoweth when it is time to gather them, and to put to his Yoke or Sickle, to cut them downe, that they rot not vpon the tree or vpon the ground, and how long they may be preserued in their kinde. And thinkest thou it strange that hee should take some when they be fresh & greene, to preserue them al the yeere long, or that he should make Conserues of their flowers to be kept a long time, or that he should of their Grapes make Wine? Thinkest thou it straunge say I; that he should after a sort make their sauour, their sweete sent, and their strength, that is to say their godlines,

their

their vprightnes, and their vertus to liue after them, which otherwise should be buried with them? And that they which for themselues could not haue liued past three or fower yéeres, should liue to the benefite of the Church and the commonweale, not yéeres but worlds of yéeres? If thou be a Christian take for mée example the Apostles and a great nomber of the Martyrs which haue suffered persecution: doest thou not euen yet still drinke of that liquor of theirs? doth not their constant confessiõ make thée also to confesse Christ, and their death helpe thée to the endlesse life? Could Ignatius and Policarpus haue liued aboue fiue or sixe yéeres more than they did? And yet what part of all their ages hath lasted so long or done so much good, as the last halfe howre wherein they died? Or if thou be a Heathen man, consider mée the death of Socrates or of Papinian? If Socrates had not dronke the iuyce of Hemlocke without gilt, hadest thou had those goodly discourses of his concerning the immortalitie of the Soule? Or wouldest thou haue beléeued it so easely? and thereupon haue béene contented to forgoe thy life so frèely for the defence of thy Countrey, or for the maintenance of the trueth? And if Papinian had not shewed how honorable a thing it is to die for doing right, and how farre the souereigne magistrate is to be obeyed, should we not be bereft of a singular goodly example of stoutnesse and rightful dealing? What thing did they in all their whole life, either so much to their owne honour, or so beneficiall to them that were to come after them, as their dying in such sort? Now therefore, let vs say we be but babes. And forasmuch as we perceiue the wisedome of our father to bée so great, whereas, we condemne him of want of skill, and forasmuch as our owne ignorance is so grosse, whereas we boasted of wisedome, let vs rather confesse our weaknesse in all cases, than presume to doubt of his sage prouidence in any thing.

But Caro of Vtica would néedes that God should yéeld him a reason, why Cæsar ouercame Pompey: as who would say, that the veriest rascall in the Realme, should commaunde the high Court of Parliament to yéelde him account, why his case was ouerthrowen. For all our great Quarels and Complaints are lesse before God, than the least case of a poore Villaine is before the greatest Monarke of the world. May, hée should rather haue considered that priuate States are punished by order of Lawe, and Commonweales and publicke States by ciuill warres: And that the Commonweale of Rome was (euen by his owne confession) so corrupted in maners, in gouernment, and in the very Lawes themselues; that he might haue had much iuster cause to haue doubted of Gods prouidence, if after her punishing of others for the like things, she her self had scaped vnpunished: that the great men, what part soeuer they maintained, were ỳ mẽbers most infected, in so much ỳ the wisest men of

The Goddes allowed that case which had the vpper hand: But Caro with the vanquished, against the Goddes did stand.

that

that age said, We se what part we ought to shun, but not what part we ought to take: And that as Cæsar made warre openly against his Country, so Pompey couertly and vnder hand made his partakers to fight for the maintenaunce of his owne ambition, which was peraduenture discõtenanced to the common people, but could not be counterfetted before God, who seeth the very bottome of our hearts. Now then shal we thinke it straunge, that to the intent to shewe the common people how greatly they be subiect to be deceiued vnder pretence of good faith and to teache great men how sore he misliketh that they should shrowde their lewde lustes vnder the Cloke of Iustice, God shoulde suffer Pompey to fall into the handes of his enemies? And that to punish the pride of the Senate and the whole state; he should cause their Army to be vanquished, and let them fall into the handes of their owne Countriman their naturall Subiect? Nay howe could GOD haue shewed his prouidence more manifestly, than by ouerthrowing that State by hir owne force, which thought there was not any Power in the worlde able to punish her? And by making her a bondslaue to her owne Seruant; which had brought so many Cities, Commonweales and Kinges in bondage vnto her? But it may be that Cæsar himself scapeth vnpunished. Nay: to shew vnto Tyrannes that the highest step of their greatnesse is tied to a halter and that they be but Gods scourges which he will cast into the fire when he hath done with them, within a while after, he was slaine miserably in the Senate when it was full. And by whome? Euen by those in whome he trusted, which had fought vnder his Standard against the Commonweale, and which presuming themselues to haue deserued more at his hand than they had indéede, meant to deserue also of the Commonweale in murthering him. Were we now as diligent in marking the procédings of things done in Histories, as we be in noting the maner of speeches, the order of inditing, or the antiquities which the writer reporteth: We should finde the like prouidence of God in the chaunge of al States. But I content my selfe with this one afore mentioned, as the which is best knowen to all men, except I were minded to take some example of our present age to inlighten the matter withall. Now then whereas Cato slew himselfe through impatience, thinke ye not that if he had liued still, he would haue ceased to contend with God, and haue commended his Iustice, and haue written bookes of his singular prouidence? Yes: But the mischiefe is, that whereas we would not iudge of a Song by one note, nor of a Comedie by one Scene, nor of an Oration by one full Sentence, we will presume to iudge of the Harmony and orderly direction of the whole world, and of all that is therein, by some one action alone. Againe, in Musicke we beare with chaunges & breathes, with pauses and discordes; In Comedies, with the vnmeasurable bar-

Seneca in his third booke of Anger.

Cæsar sawe Cimbrus Tullius, who had a litle afore beene verie hot in his defence, and others of his owne confederates in Armes stand now with their Swords drawen about his Chaire of Estate, and taking part with the Pompeies after Pompeies decease.

The cause why men find fault with Gods Prouidence.

barous

barous cruelties of an Atreus, the wicked presumptions of an Ixion, and the lamentable outcries of a Philoctetes: and all this is (if we will say the trueth) because we haue so good opinion of the Musician, that we thinke he will make all to fall into a good concord: and of the Comedie-maker, that all his disagrementes shall ende in some mariage: and of the Tragedie writer, that ere he leaue the Stage, he will tie the wicked Ixion to the Whéele, or make the fiends of Hell to torment the Atreus, or contrariwise cause God to heare the woefull voice and pitifull crie of the poore Philoctetes. And if God séeme erewhiles to hold his peace, and to suffer men to play their parts, ought we not to haue so good opinion of his wisedome as to thinke that he can tell when it is time to pay them their hire? And that although he let the wicked walke at large vpon the stage, and the godly to ly in prison: he can also prouide to end the bracueries of the one sort with iust punishment, and the woefull complaints of the other sort with ioyfull triumph? When a Tragedie is plaied afore thée, thou art not offended at any thing which thou beareſt. Why so? Because that in two howers space: thou hast shewed vnto thee the doing of a ten or twelue yeeres, as the rauishing of Helen, and the punishment of Paris, or the miserable end of Herod vpon his murdering of Iohn Baptist. Insomuch that although thou be not acquainted with the story, yet the arte which thou perceiueſt, and the end which thou expecteſt, make thée both to beare with the matter, and to commend the thing which otherwise thou wouldeſt thinke to be both vniuſt, and also cruel in the gouerner of the Stage. How much more oughteſt thou to refraine thy misliking, if thou conſidereſt that the world is a kinde of Stageplay, conueied to a certeine end by a moſt excellent maker? And what an excellent order wouldeſt thou see there, if thou mightest behold all the ages and alterations thereof as in a Comedy, al in one day? yea or but the ſucceſſe of some one onely Nation for an hundred yéeres, which were leſſe than the interuiew of two Seruants in one Comedie? Thou haſt séene Pompey ouercome. Loe here a diſcord that offendeth thine eares. Thou haſt séene Cæſar to bring home his Sword bathed in the bloud of the Senate. If thou be a Child, thou weepeſt at it: but if thou béeſt a man, thou pacifieſt the Childe and attendeſt for knitting vp of the matter, and for the iudgement of the Poet: Hereupon the Chorus ſingeth, and then maketh a pauſe. All this while the Poet ſéemeth to haue forgotten Iuſtice, and if thou depart out of the company at that point, thou canſt not tell what to make of it. But tarry a while and harken to the note that followeth. Cæſar is put to death by his owne men. See here how the diſcord is turned into a good concord. Thy Child ſeeth that this proud Peacocke which vaunted himſelfe aboue all the world, is in one day ſtabbed in with infinite wounds. Whereby, how little a one ſoeuer thy Child be, he hath

some

some perceiuerance of the forecast of the Poet. Doest thou not se then a-gaine, that we be like Children, which would controll the Song of all ages by one Note, or a long Oration by one Letter, whereas notwithstanding, our life as in respect of the whole world, is lesse then a short Minim in cõparison of a whole song? If thou be a Christian, thou readest the History of Ioseph. When thou readest how he was sold into Aegipt, thou canst not be angry inough with his brothers, and sufficiently bewaile his poore olde Father. Againe, when he is cast into the deepe Dungeon in recompence of his chastitie, thou couldest finde in thy heart to blame, not onely Pharao, but euen God himselfe. But when thou sest him taken out of Prison to read the Kings Dreames, and (within a fewe daies after) as a King in Aegipt, a succour to his father in his olde age, and the raiser vp againe of his whole house at their nede: then thou perswadest thy selfe that he which made him to reigne in Aegipt, did suffer him to be sold to the Aegiptians: that he which made him the deliuerer of his house, did also make him to be solde into bondage afore by his brethren: and to be short, that the discorde which offended thee and the harmonie which delighteth the againe, procede both from one selfesame Position. Howbeit, afore we conclude this matter, se once againe how much more vpright thou art towards thy Prince, than towards God. Thou sest a great number of his Armie come home wounded: if thou be a man, it must nedes greeue thee. Anon one brings thee home thine owne Son dead: if thou be a Father, thou canst not forbeare tears. A neigbour of thine assureth thee that he was slaine in doing his duety, in getting victorie to his Country. Though thou take not cõfort in it at the first brunt, yet at least wise thou wilt not be so mad as to lay the blame in thy Prince. Within a while after, when thou fallest to considering the fruit of the victory, then as it hath greeued thee to forgoe thy son, son wilt thou thanke God that he died in defence of his Country, and that he did his part in so noble a seruice. Shal not God then haue as great preheminence in setting forth his glory, as Kings for the obteining of their victories: God ouer his Creatures, as Kings ouer their Subiects: Or shal not we haue as much patience in the death of those whom we bring vp, when they die for his seruice, as when they die for the honour of our Prince: Or shal we haue lesse trust in him as touching his imploying of them to good purpose, than we haue in Kings Princes and Captaines, which know not the issue of their owne enterprises, or at least wise for the most part know it not, ne haue any care of the life or death of them that serue them: Let this suffice for the answere to such as ver themselues either for their owne afflictions, or for the sodaine death of those whome they loue and esteeme. And let vs now consequently se, if we can satisfie those which are greeued, at the prosperitie and slow punishment of the wicked.

Thou

Thou saist that the wicked haue welfare at will. King Cyrus was not of that opinion, when for a punishment to the people of the Citie of Sardis, he commaunded them to spend their time in gaming and feasting. Nay, thou shouldest rather say, that they haue miserie, for all the good things which thou termest good, and which we count neither good nor euill, doe in the hands of the wicked turne into euill. Well (saist thou) howsoeuer they be termed, they haue great commodities in this world. What wilt thou say then, if their owne wicked disposition, and their owne sinne, do worke them more mischiefe than all the harmes & euilles which thou bewailest in the good men? Sith there is not a greater mischiefe than to be wicked, and that all the commodities which thou enuiest them, haue as little force against the euill which they harber within them, as Veluet Pantoples haue against the Gowte, or Diademes against the Headach, or Purple Robes against the Collicke, Gesse (if thou canst) what feare, and what Agewits they sustaine in following their wicked lusts, as namely, this man in haunting of Harlots, that man in riding to commit a Robberie, one in poisoning his owne brother that he may succeede him in the kingdome, another in ridding good Commealemen out of the way, that he may mainteine himselfe still in his tyrannie. Consider what misery they indure, afore they can come to the performance of their euill, what they abide in the very doing thereof, and what a turmoile their owne Conscience maketh of it, after they haue performed it: and thou shalt se that it is a continuall Feuer, a straunge vnquietnesse, & a sharpe sorrow, so much alway the more daungerous, because the shamelessest of them all, dareth not bewray his disease to the Phisition. Alexander the Tyrant of Pherey, was wont euen in the chiefe of his prosperitie, to get himself within a Vote and to draw vp ẏ Bridge after him, when he went to lie with his Concubine. Dennis of Sicilie being afraid to put any Barber in trust with ẏ trimming of his Beard, made his owne Daughters to supply that office: & growing afterward in iealosie of them, he singed it off himselfe with a burning firebrand. Another, as oft as he went to bed with his wife, searched her whether she had not a knife hidden in hir bosome or about hir. Thinke you not that the happiest of al these Tyrants, was more miserable than ẏ person that was most oppressed vnder his tyranny? with what sauce thinke you did Dennis eate his daintes, when he imagined himselfe to haue a naked Sworde hanging continually by a heare with the point ouer the head, as he sat at his Table? And yet what a number were there at that time, which enuied the Purple Robes the Diademes and the daintie fare of those Tyrants, and which found fault with God for the ease and prosperity which he gaue them? Babes that we be; We would chaunge our state with a kaitife, that in playing the King in a Tragedie sweepeth the scaffold with

The flowe punishment of the wicked.

with a long gowne of cloath of Gold, which within a fewe howers after, he must be faine to deliuer home againe to the Vpholster with paiment for the hire of it: and in the meane time we consider not what ragged cloutes, what scabbes, what vermin, and what itch and skurfe lies hid vnder it, nor how that oftentimes in counterfetting the Maiesty of the King, he was faine to scrub, and in manacing others, to grinde his teeth in his head. But were we clothed but one howre with that which he beareth about him, and whereof he cannot rid himselfe, we would rather go naked than be so clothed. And whereas it spiteth thée to sée Tirantes reigne, and to strout it out, and to triumph, yea and that some of them come to their Crownes by doing the same things for which othersome come to the Gallowes: doth it not greatly skill (thinke you) whether a man be tormented in a coate of Veluet or in a coate of Canuas? Whether he be manacled and fettered in giues of Gold or of Iron: or whether in so short a showe, he play the great Lord or the poore Begger? Howe often hast thou séene the Cutpurse hanged with the purse about his necke and the théefe hanged in the same apparrell that he had stolne? Be thou of high or low degrée, be thou rich or poore, be thou Prince or Peazant, assone as thou hast giuen ouer thy selfe to vice and wickednesse, by and by thou art become their prisoner & slaue. And if it be so, what skilles it who thou be, if thou be not thine owne man? Or whereto serues thée all that thou art, but to be the more wicked, which is in déede to be the more wretched? But although vice be a punishment to it self, and that (as saith Hesiodus) it spring vp with the very misdéede it selfe: yet notwithstanding, many men cannot content themselues with Gods Iustice, vnlesse they se the offender led by and by to the Gibbet: that is to say, vnlesse the punishment be spedie, an open example and visible, as who would say, that the Gibbet were but the beginning of punishment and not rather the end of it; or that they which are cast in prison for stealing, had not the halter about their neckes alreadie, from the verie instant that they be taken, notwithstanding that sometimes forgetting their owne misery, they play together at Cardes and Dice.

Wickednes is a punishment to it selfe.

Seneca in his Thebais.

Feare not: for he shalbe punished, & that right sore. He shall reigne: That is a punishment.

And if thou doubt therof, beleeue his father and his grandfather

Nay contrariwise, whereas Epicurus doth ground his greatest argument thereupon; let vs learne thereby to haue Gods prouidence in the greater admiration. I demaund therefore what is the end of all Iudges in punishing, whether it be not the amendement of the transgreller, if he be not put to death, or els that he should be an example and warning to others by his death? If it be the amendment of the partie, why findest thou fault with it, for that he is not put to death? God is a Phisition and not an Executioner. He knoweth better than thou, what hope of recouery there is in the disease. The partie (saiest thou) was vnruly in his youth. The Wine that is now milde and good, was a twemoneths agoe

both

both hard and sharpe, and it will growe riper yet in time. Moreouer, let the offender flée as farre as he list, yet is he in safe prison and vnder sure garde. God stands in no such doubt as thou doest: The offender can neuer scape his hands. No: but thou wouldest that God should at leastwise bronde him with the broade arrow. Where? In the forehead. Why, art thou afraide that God could not knowe him againe, if he had once shifted his apparrell in some other priuie place? And doubtest thou that his bronding Iron cannot pearce euen to the heart, which thou séest not? Nay rather, the selfesame Land which for want of tillage and husbanding brought forth Briers and Thistles, that is to say, vices and enormities, may by good husbanding beare good Wine and good Corne, that is to say, Godlinesse and Vertue. And haddest thou once shamed him by the Pillory or by Carting; might it not gréeue thée to haue made him past grace? If the Athenians (saith Plutarke) had killed or defamed Themistocles for the outrage of his youth; or Miltiades for his rebelling in Chersonesus; where had the goodly Victories become, which they obteined in the Plaines of Marathon, on the coast of Artemisia, and at the Riuer Eurymedon? Or had Constantine also béene rigorously punished, for the cruelties wherewith his former yéeres were disteined, and that thou haddest then knowen aforehand, what things he was to doe afterward for the the aduauncement of Christianitie; thou wouldest haue bewailed him. And why sauest thou some from punishmēt for great crimes in respect that one is a good builder, another an excellent Musition, and a third a man of learning, whereas thou knowest not what they wil proue afterward, and yet thinkest not that in so doing thou doest any hurt, but rather good seruice to thy Commonweale? But as for God, he knoweth which ground is euill of it selfe, and which it is that beareth Brambles & Thistles for want of husbanding. He knoweth what is in euery of our mindes afore we our selues know it. The things which we are to doe in time to come, bée as present in his sight, as the things that we haue done already. Neither Nero with his fiue yéeres good behauiour, nor Constantine, with the wicked disorder of his yonger time, could beguile God, though thou which séest but the outward man, callest the one the Father of his Countrie, and the other an vnkindly Murtherer. He knoweth when the tamed Wolfe wil turne againe to his kinde, and when the churlish Dog will put off his churlishnes. He knoweth mens natures in the very séede, whereas we scarce know them in the flower. Whereas we play the blinde Barbers of the Country, in hauing recourse at euery instant to searing, cutting, launcing, and salwing of euery sore, he hath a thousand receits to heale vices withall, and a thousand kindes of scourges to correct offenders withal, according to euery of their complexions. And thinkest thou then that he neglecteth his cure, because thou séest not the

fearing iron in his hand? Or that his potentials (as the Surgions terme them) are not stronger than thine actuals? And when thou seest the sinful person cured after that maner without launcing, yea and without scarre, oughtest thou not to commend the curing thereof so much the more?

But there are which amende not a whit the more for the delay of their punishment. Admit it be so: Yet what a number also are there which do amend? Nay, consider yet further, whether they be not suffered to liue to punish thée, thée I say which haste béene scurged by them already, and yet art neuer a whit amended. Thou wouldest haue thy father to throw his rod into the fire, and thou hast stil a curst heart that cannot yéeld to like forgiuenesse. Blame thine own stubbornnes that he burneth not the rod. Consider also whether it be not a greater punishment to them to liue after they haue done amisse, than to haue died in the déed doing, forsomuch as they sée that their slaughters haue not succesle according to their wils but that all the mischiefe which they haue wrought is in vaine, so as they haue but prouoked God and the whole worlde against themselues to no purpose, and haue gotten nothing thereby but shame and reproach and torment of minde, and whether God doe not by that meane compel them to cry out, We haue wearied our selues in the way of wickednesse, vntill we can no more? If God (say I) by his séeming to be slowe, doe both amend thée and punish the other both at once, doest thou not perceiue a wonderfull worke of Prouidence? Moreouer, what is the whole continuance of all a mans life in respect of God, but one moment? shorter than the time betwéene the drinking of the Hemlocke, and the death of him that drinkes it? and much shorter than betwéene the killing of a man in the morning, and the being hanged for it in the afternoone? if thou haue an eie to the chiefe end of punishments, namely the example of them that liue stil, to the benefit of the commonweale. I aske of thée whether thou thinkest not, that they were better warned by Neroes killing of himselfe a good while after his committing of so many slaughters and his setting of Rome on fire, hauing neither Frends that could saue him, nor foe that would flea him, than if he had bene burned in the foresaid fire which he caused to be kindled? Nay, consider whether it ought not to bée yet a better warning for thée, when thou séest that the wicked man is euen then held fastest by the necke, when he thinketh himselfe to haue escaped the hand of God; séeing there cannot bée a plainer proofe, that no man can prescribe time for his wickednesse against Gods Iustice. Againe, when Maximian after the committing of so many cruelties, languisheth & pineth away by peecepeale in infinite miseries, I referre it to thine owne iudgement, whether he do not more apparantly preach Gods Iustice against Tyrants and wicked Courtiers, than if he had béene slaine when he was young, as Domitian and Commodus were? And whether he séeme not to

thée,

thée, to haue béene as a crier hired for the nonce, to make this Proclamation publikly with lamentable and languishing voice all his life long, Take warning by mee to doe Iustice, and not to dispise God? Or whether, when Dennis the Tyran of Scicilie became a Schoolemaister at Corinth, and fell to beating of Childrens Buttocks; it was not a better beating to him', than if ỳ people had caused his shoulders to haue béene rent frõ him vpon a Scaffold? and whether al the youth in the City were not better taught what the ende of Tyrannie is, by beholding him with his Rodds in his hand in the Schoole, than they should haue bene by séeing him put to death incontinently in the place?

And if thou thinke it not enough that Lyciscus doe rotte aboue the ground, yea and that he cry out that he rotteth for his treason, vnlesse the same Orchomenians whom he betraied, doe come to the beholding of it: Or if thou thinke it not enough that Nero make a miserable end, except Agrippina whom he vnnaturally murthered, do séede her eies with the sight of it: or that Herod become a forlorne creature, vnlesse the Innocents whom he slew, be called to loke vpon him: besides that thou requirest a thing against reason, thou must also vnderstand, that God punisheth not after the maner of worldly Iudges, namely to content them that haue suffered wrong, or to satisfie thy minde desirous of reuenge, or to purchase himselfe the report and estimation of a good Iudge at thy hand: but because he hateth the euill, which intendeth to correct, and wil also draw good out thereof. And like as a discréte Father, when his Childe complaineth to him of some wrong done vnto him by one of his Seruants, doth not by and by runne vpon his Seruant with a cudgell, (for so should he make his Child cockish, and cause him not onely to doe the like for euery trifle, but also to take the staffe in his owne hand and to lay about him, whereas he would haue him to bridle his passions, and to referre the reuenge of his wrongs to him being his father;) but rather taketh his seruant aside, and chastizeth him either before his fellowes, or before others of his Children which beare him not so much grudge or ill minde: euen so it is not to be thought straunge, if God doe oftentimes chastice the wicked farre from the view of the world, yea and sometimes also euen after the decease of them that made complaint against them. His intent is to punish their pastiõs, but not to gratifie thine. He wil teache his Iustice, but he wil not haue thée to thinke ỳ thou shalt haue him at thy commaundement, to strike whensoeuer thou wouldest haue him. If he should strike at thy appointment, then should he bee but the Executioner, & thou shouldest bée the Iudge. But know thou that he executeth his owne Iustice and not thine. Yea (saist thou) but what Iustice is it, ỳ children should be punished for their fathers? And (say I) what iniustice is it, if the Children be not considered for ỳ good seruice of their fathers? A

Prince giueth priuiledges to some Citie, for the faithfull seruice which it hath done vnto him: and who wil not blame his Successor which shal take them away againe a hundred yeeres after? Another Prince bereaueth a City of their Liberties and fraunchizes, for rebelling against him: who will thinke it any rigor, that their Children which come after them should be in the same state? The Prince doth it for feare least the Children hauing the same territorie, should rebell as their fathers did. God standeth not in feare of men, but he seeth what they bee: and his knowing of them is not as we know ỹ Aspworme by his stinging of vs, or the Viper be his biting of vs, but he knoweth them afore they be either Aspworme or Viper; and may he not then by that reason sometimes punish the Children, in the same respect that he punished their fathers? As for example, by taking away their authoritie if they committed tirannie, least they might abuse their authoritie still? Or by taking away their goods which they spent in riot & excesse, least they should set their mindes vpon these vices still? and so forth of other things? But why doo I terme it punishing? I should rather terme it curing. For what more is al this, than we see daily done by Phisitions, who in cases where the fathers were diseased with the Stone, the Gout, or the Dropsie, doe forbid the Children the same things which they forbad their fathers, although the Children be not yet troubled with the same diseases? And what els are sinnes and vices, but diseases and sicknesses of the Soule? And what straungenesse is there in Gods doing, sith that thou thy selfe doest the very same? Thou Disinheritest the Children of them that haue attempted treason against the Prince: and if the Prince may do it for the defence of his state: how much more commendable is the doing thereof, for the preseruation of the parties themselues? But yet in this appeareth the mercifulnesse of God, that if the Child of the wickedest man in the world, refuse to be heire of his fathers sinne, and wickednes, and follow godlines and vertue; God doth not onely release him the debt due to such succession, that is to wit, the paine & penalty which is an vnseperable appurtenance of sinne, but also adopt him into the nomber of his own Children, to make him partaker of his heauenly heritage. Now then, what cause haue we to complaine, either of the prosperitie of the wicked, or of the aduersitie of those whom we account to be good men, seeing that all these things tend, not onely to Gods glorie and the benefite of the Commonweale, but also to the welfare an soulehealth of those whom we bewaile? And if we did consider yet further, how many there be whose miseries we bewaile, which foster a festered sore in their bosom, how many there be whose prosperity we enuy, which haue much cleaner hearts than the other, and do spit out al their venome outwardly, howe many there be which haue their nailes whole, and yet do but little harme with

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scratching; how many there be which would teare all things in peces, if their nailes were not pared very short, who for want of powre (I meane) or for want of corage to execute their naughtines, seeme for the present time good men, and a thousand other such circumstances which are to be marked in euery particular person: surely they which do so lightly charge Gods prouidence, would chaunge their opinion; and where it seemeth to them most worthy of blame, there would they the more wonder thereat and commend it.

But this is yet the greatest point of all: That although God punish euill neuer so much; yet it can not bee denied, but that he leaueth euill still in the World, seeing we agree all in this, that sinne or vice is euill. Now if he be altogether good, how can he forbeare to hate it? And if he bee Almightie, how can he suffer it? And if he order and dispose al things, how doth he permit it? This Question shall be the clearelier discussed, where we prowe how euill came first into the World; namely by the fal of man. And then shall we haue wherefore to woonder at Gods prouidence, who hauing punished vs by our owne naughtines, could skill to turne the same both to his owne glorie, and to the welfare of mankinde. To glaunce at it in fewe woordes; by the way, It was requisite (and otherwise it could not bee) that there should be some difference betweene the Creator and the Creature, to the intent that the Creature should acknowledge it selfe to be a Creature, and yelde honor to the Creator who had made him of nothing. Nowe the Creator is the good that is infinite and vnchaungeable: and therefore the goodnesse that is in any Creature, could not but be finite and chaungeable, sauing so farre forth as it consented to depende vpon him alone. God therefore created man good, howbeit chaungeablie good; free from euill, howbeit so as he might chose the euill; and he Created him rightly minded, howbeit in such sorte as he might also go astray. And this man by turning away from the Welspring of goodnesse, did thereby fall away from his owne goodnes; and by following his owne will in steede of Gods Will, he left his fredome and became a bondseruant vnto euill. All they that are borne of this corrupted seede, reteine the faultines of that first fault, and cannot wit it vpon any other than the first man. Therefore if it be demaunded why God created man free, and not vnfree, seeing his fredome made him bond, it is all one as if it were demaunded, why hee created fire to be light and suttle, that is to say Fire, or why hee created water moist and colde, that is to say, Water, or the World full of so many varieties, that is to say, a World, and to be short, euery kinde of thing, to be of this or that nature. For to haue free mouing and capable of Reason, is to be a man, and if we had not had it so, we would haue complained. Against, to haue free mouing and such

How God suffereth euill in the World.

as cannot be but reasonable, is to be reason it selfe, that is to say, to be God. Now God ment not to create a God, but a man to serue him like as when he intendeth to create Beasts for the seruice of man, he created them Beasts and not men. But wherein wilt thou more wonder at the prouidence of the euerlasting GOD, than in that he not onely ordereth and disposeth the things that he hath created, but also the thing which he created not; insomuch that he draweth good out of the euill, yea and compelleth the euill (contrary to the nature thereof) to serue vnto good? If a Captaine were of such skill as to order all things in such wise in his Armie, that euery thing should serue to the attainement of his victory; thou wouldest commend him highly, and it were in deede one of the rarest feates of Warre. But if he could moreouer gaine some part of his enemies Hoast, and make them to take his owne part, thou couldest not wonder sufficiently at his pollicy. What wilt thou say then of him, which could make them to fight on his side vnwitting to themselues, and yeuen his enemies Hargwebusses should helpe to giue themselues the foile? Surely euen after that sort is it that God can skill to make both sinners and their sinnes to serue him. Cyrus (as appeareth by the Histories) was an ambitious Prince; and ambition (as ye know) cannot be wel liked of God. Now, to satisfy his ambition, Cyrus leuies a great Hoast against the Assyrians. If a man should haue told him it had beene to deliuer the Israelites, and to build vp Gods Temple againe, as Esay had foretold, what thinke you he would haue said vnto it? Yet notwithstanding the ende of his Warres and of his warfare, fell out to be so in deede. Thus ye see how an ambitious person and his ambition serued God, without meaning any such thing. The Emperour Titus ment to bring Iewry to due obedience: and it had beene foretolde, that of Hierusalem one stone should not be left standing vpon another. No doubt but that Titus his owne passion caried him; but yet see how God ouerruleth it. The same man which persecuted the Christians at Rome, goeth to reuenge Christes death at Hierusalem, and (as saith Iosephus) in that fact he toke not himselfe as an Emperour of the World, but as the executer of Gods Iustice against the Iewes. Iudas through Couetousnesse betraied the blode of the righteous to death. But God by the shedding of that blode (if thou be a Christian) redeemed thee; and yet the holy Scripture saith, that the Deuill being in Iudas, did put that purpose into his heart. Ye see then that not the Couetousnesse of Iudas only, but also the Deuil himselfe serued God. Besides that the Stories of the Bible be ful of such matter, we might mark the like examples in the bookes of the Heathen, if we were as diligent in obseruing them, as we bee in obseruing the arte of Rhetoricke or Logicke in the authors which we reade. For by reason of the great corruption which reigned at those daies in Rome, al men cried out that ther

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was not any Commonweale there, appealing to God for defence against the iniustice of the Senate, at the same time that GOD executed iust vengeance vpon for it, by the iniust couetousnesse of Cæsar. Likewise when Attila entered euen into the bowelles of Europe, all the Preachers of Christendome did nothing els but bewaile the wretchednesse of that time. Ye must thinke that when this great Robber cast lots in his Countrie of Scithia, whether he should leade the third part of that Land, he had another meaning than to reforme the world. Yet notwithstanding, all men acknowledged him to be a necessarie scurge of God, and to haue come in due season. Yea, and he himselfe considering that he had conquered much more of the Country, than euer he hoped at the first to haue seene, insomuch that he had ouercome euen those which were counted the strength of the World: as barbarous as he was, he fell to thinke of himselfe, that he was the Scurge whereby God chastised the World. Not that God is not able to chastice vs himselfe whensoeuer he listeth: (for his Storehouse is neuer vnfurnished of roddes to scurge vs withall, as of Plagues, Diseases, Famine, and such other things,) but that as a Maister of a household holdeth skorne to whippe his Slaues himselfe, causing either his chiefe Seruant or some other of their fellowes to doe it: yea and when his owne Children offend him grieuously, he vouchsafeth not to beate them with his owne hands, (for so should he do them too great an honour) but causeth (peraduenture) the groome of his stable to doe it, to the intent to shew them the iustnesse of his displeasure: Euen so doth God punish the wicked one by another, whom he coulde consume al at once in one howre; yea & his Children also by ỹ wicked, when not counting of them as of his Children, but being readie as it were to disherite them, he disdaineth to punish them with his owne hands. Thus therefore ye see, how GOD serueth his owne turne by the wicked and their wickednesse, to his owne glorie and to the welfare of those that are his.

Salnian in his viij. booke of Prouidence.

And as touching the offences whereinto he suffereth good folkes now and then to fall: what greater point of prouidence can there bee, than to turne them into instruments and furtherances of vertue? If GOD should hold vs alway by the hand, it is certeine that we could neuer trip. And it is not to be doubted also, but that we would thinke at the length, that it was of our owne steadinesse, and not of Gods vpholding of vs, not onely that we tripped not, but also that we tumbled not downe. For what made vs fall but pride? and what maner of pride, but that we thought we would be Gods without God, yea euen of our selues? Now, to make vs to knowe our infirmitie, wherein it is his pleasure to shewe his strength: sometimes he letteth vs goe alone by our selues for a while, and then stumble we at the next lob ỹ we mẽte with. Neuertheless, this

The very sinnes of good men are redressed to their benefite.

tripping and ſtumbling ſaueth vs from a greater fall: for it maketh vs to call for his hand to hold vs vp. After the ſame maner dealeth the Nurce with her Nurcechild that maketh haſt to go alone too ſone: She ſuffereth him to ſtagger & to reele til he cry; but yet in letting him go with the one hand, ſhe holdeth him vp with the other; and ſometimes he thinkes he goes all alone, when as ſhe guideth him both with her eie and with her hand. Sometimes alſo when we bee ouerluſtie, God ſuffereth vs to fall into ſome ſinne, both wittingly and willingly, and afterward maketh vs to feele ſuch gripes and hartbitings for it, that euen the vice it ſelfe ſerueth vs for a Schoolemaiſter, to driue vs to eſchewe it. So the father ſuffereth his Childe to burne his finger in a Candle, onely of purpoſe to make him afraid of fire, that ỳ little ſindging of his finger, may keepe him from the burning of his face. There are examples hereof in S. Peter, in Dauid and in others, which receiued good by their trippes and falles. And I haue no doubt but that a greate ſort euen of the Heathen haue felt in themſelues how greatly their experience of vice in themſelues hath profited them to the more earneſt loue of vertue. So then, let vs not grudge at the proſperitie of the wicked; for vnto them it is a bane: neither let vs complaine of the miſeries of the godly; for they be to their welfare. Let vs not reuerence the viſor of vertue in the wicked, for it is but an inſtrument of vice; neither let vs diſdaine the falles of the vertuous, for they be but quicknings vp vnto vertue. But rather let vs glorifie God which maketh the euill good whether it will or no, which cauſeth vice to doe ſeruice vnto vertue, and which guideth euen the moſt ſinfull deedes, to his glory, the moſt vniuſt, to the executing of his iuſtice, and the moſt vncerteine, to the hitting of his marke. And notwithſtanding that he do al this, yet can he not be blamed to haue wrecked any thing in the world, nor to haue mainteined euill in any maner of wiſe, no more ſurely than the Soule or abilitie of moouing that is matched with a lame legge, is to blame for that the lame man halteth, though it yelde foorth mouing into the legge, and guide the legge whither ſoeuer it will for all the lamenelle of the legge. What ſhall I ſay more? If any doe yet ſtill doubt of the things afore rehearſed, I will put him but to one proofe, for his anſwere whereto vpon leaſure, I will beleeue him vpon his oth. If he be a deſpiſer of God, let him call to minde if he can, howe much euill he hath ſuſteined in the hauing of his goods, and how much euill he hath endured to doe euill. Let him remember how greatly he hath tired himſelfe with his owne wiſhes, tormented him ſelfe with his good ſucceſſes, ſet himſelfe on fire when he thought but to warme him, and wandered quite away when he ment to haue brought others to the bent of his owne bow. Or if he be one that feareth God, let him conſider how much euil he hath left vndone, in forbearing to haue ſo great ſtore of thoſe falſe goods: how many

Euilles are in the world as things ſet one againſt another, after the maner as it is in the eloquence of wordes. The actions and mouings are of God: but the diſorders of them and the haltings are of our ſelues.

many things he hath wished which he would haue eschewed, if he had foreknowen the issue of them which he sawe afterward: how greatly he had beene dreaded and misliked of others, though he could not deuise to haue done better: howe often his falles and slidings haue serued to make him to take sure footing against sinne: how oft his wanderings out of the way haue made him to escape the lyings in wait & the theueries of the world: how oft his owne wiles haue serued to turne him from the right: and how often his owne ouersights haue serued to bring him to his intended ende: and I doubt not but the heedefull marking of these things, both in others and in himselfe, will make him to perceiue that a certeine euerlasting prouidence watcheth ouer our liues and all our doings. At leastwise vnlesse we will denie, that to leade the forecastes of others to another end than they purposed; to bring the vnaduised ouersights of others to better passe than they themselues could wish, and to make the wisedome of the wisest to doe seruice, not onely to his owne diuine wisedome, (if a man may so terme it) but also oftentimes euen to the vndiscretenesse of the meanest, is the worke of Prouidence.

The xiij. Chapter.

That mans wisedome hath acknowledged Gods Prouidence, and how the same wadeth betweene Destenie and Fortune.

OW, like as men of olde time haue acknowledged the maker of the world, some in expresse termes, and othersom by consequence: so haue they also easely perceiued the Prouidence, which they haue deemed to depend vpon the same as an appurtenance thereunto. Insomuch that euen they which haue flatly denied the Creation, haue neuerthelatter granted the Prouidence, by reason that they found it so clere and manifest a matter, howbeit that to deny the Prouidence & to deny the Creation is al one. Hermes espies it out euerywhere as well in the Creation of the whole & of the parts thereof, as in the order and maintenance of all things. And if it be demaunded of him what Prouidence it is, to haue brought foorth so many things which seme-

The men of olde time.

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nedeleſſe and vnprofitable; his anſwere is readie thapen, That GOD created all things to his owne glorye: and that it is a glorie, both to him to haue created all things, and vnto all things to haue kene created by his hand. And if it be asked againe, whence the euill commeth that is in things: Ye anſwereth, That GOD created them good, howbeit that (to ſpeake properly) there is nothing purely good but onely God. As for the euill, it is come in vpon the good, like as all generation is accompanied with corruption. The Iron rusteth, thou wilt not wite it vpon the Smith. The Wine sowreth, thou wilt not wite it vpon the Vintener. The things that are created do corrupt, as little also oughtest thou to wite it vpon the Creator. Why? Because that onely he is vnchaungeable, and it is meet that there should alway be some difference betweene the Creator, and the things created, betweene all, and nothing. Plato in that he teacheth the Creation, doth also sufficiently teach the Prouidence. For if Gods power, wisedome, and goodnesse be equall, or rather all one thing, loke where his power is, there is his wisedome, and thither also extendeth his goodnesse. But his power extendeth euen to the the least things, for els they could haue no being at all: therefore his wisedome also extendeth vnto them to guide and gouerne them, and likewise his goodnesse without the which nothing could be preserued. And so, Gods prouident goodnesse and gracious wisedome doe watch ouer all things. Againe, when as Plato setteth downe God to be the end of man, and man to bee the end of all things in the worlde and of the worlde it selfe: he sheweth sufficiently that as man tendeth to God, so doth the world also, but vnto that end it should not tend, vnlesse it were directed thither, and who directeth it thither, but he that first made it? To be short, the particular formes of all things present and to come in respect of vs, but eternally present with God, can haue no abiding without a perfect knowledge and a steadie direction of all things.

Hermes in his Asclepius, & Cyrillus in his second booke

But if any doubt hereof remaine yet still, let vs heare what the Platonistes say to that matter. Surely Plotin hath made two or three bookes thereof, wherein he teacheth prouidence by all things from the greatest to the smallest, comming downe euen to the little flowers which we see vnblowen in the morning and withered at night, as though he had ment to say the same thing that we reade in the Gospel: namely, Consider me the Lillies of the fielde, and so forth. Vnto the ordinarie complaint concerning the prosperitie of the wicked, and the aduersitie of the vertuous; he anſwereth that the prosperity of the wicked is but as a Stageplay, and the aduersitie of the godly is as a gaming of exercise, wherein they be tied to a streight diet, that they may winne the prize for which they contend. Vnto the Question concerning euill, he anſwereth that it is nothing els but a fayning of goodnesse, which goeth on still diminish-

If the man that suffereth be good, also Plotin. lib. 3. Ennead. 4

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ting it from degrée to degrée euen to the vttermost, and that it proceedeth not from God, but from the imperfection of the matter, which he termeth nothing: and the euill, (which consisteth altogether in degrées and in failing of good,) is so farre off from diminishing Gods Prouidence, that it is rather the thing wherein Gods Prouidence sheweth it self the more, as without the which there were no Prouidence at all to be seene: and yet that therewithall, God is the author of all abilities to be seene, and the disposer or ouerruler of all willes. Which things (to auoide long discourse) are more conueniently to be seene in his owne workes.

His Disciple Prophyrius departed not from the same opinion, howbeit that he was combered with the like perplexities, that they be which dispute against it. Seeing that God (saith he) doth by skill ouerrule all things, an order them by incomparable proprietie of vertue; and that on the contrarie part, mans Reason being very small, is ignorant of most things how skilful and curiouse so euer it seeme to be of the trueth: Surely we may then cal it wise, when it is not curiouse in serching such doubt full and hard matters, as are matched with daunger of blasphemie, but rather graunteth that the things which are done, are very well as they bee. For what can our small reason finde fault with or reprooue in the doings of that great Reason, to esteeme him either lawful or vnlawfull, seeing we vnderstand them not? And in another place, If we suffer a King (saith he) to dispose of his owne affaires as he listeth, shal we denie vnto God the ordering and disposing of the things heere beneath, which he himselfe created? And against such as founde fault with the gouerment of the world which they vnderstand not, these are the very words. Soothly (saith he) there is not a more vniust speech, thā that which presumeth to teach God Iustice, nor a more holy speech than that which yeeldeth to the trueth; and to thinke otherwise is a disease of minde and a great crime. For God not onely directeth all things at all times, to the behoofe & ful harmony of the whole vniuersally, but also is the cherisher preseruer & repairer of euery seuerall thing in particular. I pray you hath he not shewed to Phisicians, (who haue so much prouidence as he hath giuen to them skill;) the things that are to befall to the whole body of of man, how that some members are to be cut off, some to be feared, and othersome to be eaten away with Corrasiues, for the health of the whole body? And yet when the Nurces or Mothers see the Surgion about to do it, do they not weepe & cry out right strangely, notwithstāding that they know it to be for the welfare of the childes body? But what doth the Father thē who is wiser than they, but cōfort the patient, & hold the plaister redy to lay to the wound? God likewise for the curing of the whole hath ordeined that men should die, (That is the thing that Epicurus findeth fault with) & that they should be separated asunder, as a Toe is sometime

Porphirius to Nemertius.

Cyrillus in his second and fifth bookes against Iulian.

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cut off for the ſauing of the whole body, And could we enter into the minde of God, we ſhould vndoubtedly knowe why and to what good end he hath from the beginning barred ſome things from beeing, becauſe he forſawe they ſhould be too hurtfull, and vnto other ſome hath giuen death in recompence of their godlines. The ſumme of all is, that nothing is done but by the prouidence of God, howbeit that many things ſeeme repugnant to his wiſedome and gwone s, as the cutting off of a Leg, or the ſearing of a member ſeeme repugnant both to the healing of the whole bodie and to the purpoſe of the Surgion.

Syneſius the Platoniſt.

Alſo as touching the aduerſities of good men, hée héere what Syneſius the Platoniſt anſwereth. The aduerſities (ſaith he) which we thinke we indure without our deſerts, doe helpe vs to weede out our affections out of our ground, which is too much inclined to them, and by that meanes the inconueniences which make fooles to doubt of Gods Prouidence, doe confirme wiſe folke the more therein. For what man would bee contented to part hence, if he found no aduerſitie here? And therefore it is to be thought, that the Rulers of the lower Regions (he meaneth the Fiends) were the firſt founders of theſe proſperities which the common ſort maketh ſo great account of, of purpoſe to bewitch men with them, and to lul them a ſleepe here. Hierocles alſo hauing made a long diſcourſe, concludeth that if we fall into any aduerſitie whereof we cannot coniecture the cauſe, it behoueth to conſider that we be ignorant in all things, and yet we muſt not proceede ſo farre, as to ſay that God is the author of euill, or that he hath not a care of vs; for thoſe (ſaith he) were ouergreat blaſphemies.

Hierocles.

Ariſtotle in his Moralles to Nichomacus and Eudemus

Ariſtotle ſpeaketh not any otherwiſe either in his great Moralls or in his little Moralls, howbeit that he be more graueled in his Metaphyſiks. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtand, in his booke concerning the world he graunteth vnto God the care of al great things. And think you it beſéemeth man to ſet bounds to the wiſedome of God who hath limited the natures of al things, & to appoint what God ſhal eſteéme great or ſmal, before whom nothing can be great or ſmall? Neuertheleſſe whereas he ſaith that the world dependeth vpon God as the end thereof; the beſt of his Diſciples do by infallible conſequence gather thereof the prouidence of God. For ſeéing that the World dependeth vpon him and tendeth vnto him, the beginning of that direction cannot proceéde of any other, than of him, to whom it tendeth. Againe, ſeéing that (as he ſaith in other places) al kind of things tend to ſome one particular end euery one peculiar to it ſelfe, & all méete togither in one vniuerſal end, and yet al of them haue no reaſon or vnderſtanding to appoint that end to themſelues, or to holde themſelues within that bound. It followeth then that there is a certeine prouidence which hath that reaſon for al & euery of them, and ꝑ the ſame reaſon reſteth

resteth in God vpon whom all of them depend, as Aristotles best learned interpreters are constrained to confesse. To be short, the quicke sentence which is attributed vnto him, which is, That such as require a proofe of Gods prouidence are to be answered with the lashes of a Whippe: doth giue vs sufficient credit of his opinion.

Of the opinion of Theophrastus we cannot doubt. For he that granteth the creation of a thing, cannot doubt of prouidence, considering that power and goodnes are alike equall in both of them. But behold heere the expresse words of Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence. That God should haue no will (saith he) to care for the things heere beneath, is too farre disagreeing with his nature, for it is the propertie of an enuious person. And that he should be vnable, were too vnseemly for him, for he is able to doe more than he hath yet done. Therefore let vs not doubt of him, either the one or the other, but let vs rather conclude, that he both can and will haue care of all things that are done heere belowe. And in another place hee gathereth this very conclusion, That all our welfare lieth in the seruing of God, and that the feare of him is a gift of his, in that he vouchsafeth to extend his prouidence vnto vs.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence.

Of the opinions of Plutarke and Seneca, their owne bookes doe expressly testifie: namely Plutarks treatise concerning the slow punishment of euill doers, for him, and Senecaes bookes concerning benefits, and a treatise concerning Prouidence, for him. So likewise doth the wise Philosopher Epictetus vpon whom Simplicius hath written. For after many forespeeches concerning the greatnes and maiestie of God, and the weaknes of man, they assaid to yelde a reason of all things that offended the weaker sort in this case, yea euen to the very accidents and to the thunderclaps. I desire my readers to take the paines to reade them whole, that they may see how conformable the things which ỳ Christians teach, are to the wisedome of the best sorte among the Heathen. Whereunto they may for an income, adde this Oracle of Apollo himselfe reported by Porphirius.

Seneca concerning Benefits, lib. 2. Cap. 4. 5. 6. 21. 31.

No man to hide himselfe from God by cunning can deuice,
No man by sleights or suttle shifts can blind or dim his eies.
All places he fulfilleth, He is present euerie where,
And giueth life to euery thing that moues and life doth beare.

Porphyrius in his Collections of Philosophy. Oppianus Συὶ παλίσσυτος ἔτης.

And as concerning all other people of the Earth, in whose behalfe the Poets (which are full of such sayings euery where) may answere, as Orpheus, Homere, Hesiodus, Aratus, Sophocles, Phocylides and such others: surely in as much as we se that all Nations haue some Religion, it is a visible president, that Gods prouidence is beleeued and receiued of al with one accord. For in vaine doe men serue God, if he see it not, in vaine do men pray to him if he regard them not, in vaine complaine they.

they to him, if he iudge them not; and to be short, in vaine doe we cal vpon him both on Sea and Land, (where counsell and casualtie seeme most to take place) for the mainteining of our welfare, and the preseruing of vs from harme; vnlesse we be throughly perswaded that he beareth vs, and that he ruleth Heauen and Earth and all things in them from aboue, yea and euen the very hazard of warre as Cæsar termeth it, wherein fortune seemeth to beare greatest sway. But afore we giue our determinate Iudgement, we haue yet two Aduocates to heare, namely the Aduocate of Fortune, and the Aduocate of Destiny. For (saith the one) if al things passe vnder the guiding of prouidence, what becommeth of fortune which we see in so many things? And (saith the other) what freedome then hath man? must it not needs be confessed, that a certeine destinie compelleth euery man to doe whatsoeuer he doth?

Against Fortune.

If ye meane Fortune as she is painted by the Poets, blind, standing on a bowle, and turning with euery winde: it is as easie to wipe her away as to paint her. For who seeth not that there is an vniforme order, both in the whole world, and in all the parts thereof, and how then can one that is blind be the guider thereof? Also who vnderstandeth not, that to moue things belongeth to stedfastnesse and not vnto vnstedfastnesse? For how can that thing rule & weeld others, which is caried away it selfe? Or how can he hold the sterne who slotteth himselfe vpon the water? Seeing then that there is so certeine order in al things: it followeth that fortune beareth no sway in any thing, and therefore that there is no fortune at all. But if by the word Fortune they meane as Proclus doth, a certeine diuine power that gathereth causes farre distant one from another, al to one end: surely in that case we be more frends to fortune than they be. For we admit it, not onely in things vncertaine wandering & wauering, but also euen in the things that are most certeine, yea & in al things what soeuer, as the which is but God himself disguised vnder another name.

Proclus vpon Timeus.

Now then to speake properly, what is Fortune? It is a Substance? Euen by their owne confession, it hath no being but in the disorder of other things. Shal we terme it an Accident? How should the accident worke so diuers accidents? What is it then, if it be any thing at all? Surely it is a word that signifieth nothing but respectiuely, that is to say, as hauing respect of some things or persons that are spoken of, and it hath no ground or being but of and in our owne ignorance. That which is fortune to the Childe, is no fortune to the Father: that which is fortune to the Seruant, is none to the Maister: that which is fortune to the foole, is none to the wise man: that which is fortune to the wise man, is none vnto God. According to the measure of our knowledge or ignorance, so both fortune increase or abate. Take away ignorance from men, and fortune is banished from al their dealings. The father letteth a thing fal

Iuuenall. There wants no God at all, where wisdom doth aduise: we fooles haue fortune deifide, and plast aboue the Skyes.

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in his Garden, to sée whether his Child will bring it to him or steale it away. The Childe thinkes it to be saine by chaunce, and his father who knowes to what end he did let it fal, smiles at him. And so the thing that was chaunce or fortune to the Childe, was of set purpose in the father. A Maister sendeth forth diuers Seruants diuers waies, all to one place, to the intent that of many, some one at the least may escape to come home againe. They méete there al together. At the first sight the things which was forecast by good order, séemeth to them to happen by aduenture. A Captaine hauing deuised to take the Gate of some Citie, causeth a Cart or a Chariot to be broken vpon the Drawbridge as it were by some mischaunce, that his ambush may in the meane while breake forth and enter the Towne. The Warders fall to beating of the Wagoner for it, and othersome excuse him as ouertaken by misfortune. And so the thing which was a pollicy of Warre in the Captaine that deuised it, is a chaunce or fortune to the Towne that will not the ground of it. A wise man to giue a glike to another wise man, or a Captaine to beguile a Captaine, or an enemy to delude his enemy, ciphereth a letter grossely for the nonce, and sendeth it such a way as he imagineth that it shalbe surprised. He that lighteth vpon it is glad of so good aduenture, and thinking that he readeth ỹ secrets of his aduersaries heart, buildeth al his affaires in good earnest vpon things contriued to deceiue him. And so the thing which was a rare deuise in the one, is a rare aduenture to the other. Now if a mong men, which are al of one kinde, and haue welnére like portion of reason, there be such ods betwéene age & age, betwéene quality and quality, and betwéene wit and wit; that the same which in one is prouidince, is fortune in another: shal we thinke it strange, that ỹ thing which séemeth fortune to vs that are but blindnesse and ignorance, should be singular prouidẽce as in respect of God? Or that he which is the onely cause of al causes, should haue the skill to assemble them together to some one certeine effect, how farre distant soeuer they be? As for example, if he make thée to find a Treasure in digging of the pit, or to scape a fall from a plancher in going to walke vpon it, wouldst thou steale that benefite from the goodnesse of God, who brought thée to the one place, or saued thée from the other? I say from God who is thy maker, to father it vpon blind Fortune which knoweth thée not? And why should it be harder for him to match two causes together that are farre asunder, than to haue made them so farre at odds one from another? Or than it is for thy selfe to put woode to fire, and fire to water, and thy meate into the water, which are causes so farre distant, and yet notwithstanding thou ioynest them together to one certeine end, which is the nourishment of thy body? And what things are further distant in thy minde, than a Chariot, a Drawbridge, and an Hoast of men; which things notwithstanding thou

Cicero. Error, & Blindnes and the not knowing of things and causes, haue brought vp the names of Nature and Fortune.

couldest skil to bring fitly together for the taking of a Citie? Thus loke wherein thou doest chiefly place fortune there doth the rarest and most wonderfull point of Prouidence most euidently shew it selfe.

Against Destany.

But now comes me the other Aduocate; who to bring vs vnto Destinie, and to acertaine necessitie of al things and of all doings, maketh his hand of all the things which we haue alledged against Fortune. Therefore let vs sée how we may walke betwéene Fortune and Destiny, so as we may shunne chaunce without falling into necessitie, and perceiue whether the same be Prouidence or no. If all things (say they) be guided by God to some one certeine end, yea euen those also which seme casuall; then can they not be turned any further way. I willingly graunt them that. And if they cannot be turned, then are not mens doings frée, but of necessitie. Nay, this consequent is vtterly false, because the things which haue frée will to endeuer themselues contrary to Gods will, haue not frée power to restreine his will from ouerruling them. But let vs lay forth this matter more at large, that it may be the better vnderstood. We sée in the Sky the great number of Starres that are fixed, and many also (as the Planets) which haue euery of them their peculiar mouings turnes and courses seuerally to themselues. Now, the highest Heauen, by his vniuersall mouing carieth al the Starres about, as well the mouable as the vnmouable, without any stopping or interrupting of their particular mouings, whereby bée made innumerable figures aspects and respects, which I leaue to the Astrologers to declare. The Sunne maketh the day and the yéere, the Mone maketh the moneths and the quarters, the Pleiads & Hiads make the Seasons, the Dogstarre maketh the heat of the Sommer, and so forth. Let vs put the case that the highest Heauen stood still, & that the lower Heauens kept on their peculiar mouings: or let vs put the case that he went on, and that all the rest stood still, and then shoulde there be none of the said figurings and aspects to be séene. But let them all alone as they bee: let the highest Heauen by his mouing carry all the Starres about, and let euery of them continue the hauing and executing of his owne peculiar nature, the moueable, as mouable, and the vnmoueable as vnmoueable, and euery of them indeuer accordingly against the Vniuersall, and then shall we sée the wonderfulnesse of the Heauen, which by an vniforme kinde of mooning that leaueth to euery Starre his proper and peculiar mooning, yéeldeth euery day diuers formes in the Sky, which cause alterations in the ayre, which thing neither his owne sole mooning could doe if the residue of ỳ Starres stoode still, neither could the courses and moonings of the Starres bring it to passe, if they were not caried about by the mooning of him. Now let vs sée how this example agréeth with our matter. God by his wil and power hath created all powers, and disposed all willes. That his power

ouerruleth

ouerruleth all powers, all men confesse. For who is he that maketh a clocke and cannot rule it? But that his will should direct all willes to such end as he listeth, without forcing them from their nature which is to be free; there is the doubt. God forbid that he which created nature to do him seruice, should be vnable to vse ẏ seruice thereof without marring it. God then (say I) guideth all things to the performance of his will, the mouable by their mouings, and the vnmouable by their stedfastnes: the things indewed with sence, by their appetites, & the reasonable things, by their willes: the naturall things by their thraldome, and the things that haue will, by their freedom: And the freer that they be, the greater is his glorie, as in déede it is a more commendable thing to cause libertie to yéeld fréely to obedience by gentle handling, than to hale it by force and compulsion as it were tyed in a chaine. If the willes of all men were carried by Gods will without hauing their owne peculiar mouings: the power of God could not shine forth in them so much as it doth now, when all willes inforce themselues seuerally against his will, and yet neuertheless euen in following their own sway, do finde themselues led (they wote not how) whether soeuer it pleaseth him. Neither should wée see the said diuersities of figures in the Heauen, which breede so diuers effects, of Warres, of Peace, of decayes, of prosperitie, of aduersitie, and such other; which serue all to the Prouidence of the euerlasting God: but we should see euery where one vniforme will holding all other willes fast fettered, and carrying them whither soeuer it listed: and the more streightly that they were tyed vp, the lesse should we esteeme of his power, as who would say he stode in feare to let them lose. Againe, if we imagine all those willes to haue frée scope, to followe their owne lykings without any gouernment of higher power to ouerrule them, and restraine them when they intend to breake out: wée should vndoubtedly see diuers endes in things, whereas now they tend all to one: And libertie would turne into lasciuiousnesse, lasciuiousnesse into disorder, and disorder into destruction; whereas the world doth necessarily require order, and order requireth all things to be referred to some one certeine ende. God therefore to shewe his power in our frédome and libertie, hath left our willes to vs; and to restraine them from lasciuiousnesse, he hath so ordered them by his wisedome, that he worketh his owne will no lesse by them, than if we had no will at all. Let vs enforce our selues as much as we list against his will, and yet euen our disobedience shall turne to the fulfilling of his will. Let vs goe Eastward when his wil goes Westward, and yet doth his mouing conduct vs still. But albeit that God do lead forth & guyde the one will as well as the other: yet notwithstanding right happie is that will which indeuoureth to follow, and vnhappie is that which must be haled and dragged. Likewise in a kenell of Hounds, euery of them

will, than thy nature is subiect to the power that created it: neither is ȳ frēdome of thy will (such as it is now after thy fall) any more compelled in taking deliberation, than thy nature is cōpelled in growing or shunning. When I speake here of frēwill, I meane not to deale with this Question whether it lye in vs to chose the way of Saluation or no. For as it is a thing ȳ surmounteth the whole nature of mankind, & excēdeth the proportion of our weake vnderstandings: so must it of necessitie ensue that we must bē drawen by some hygher cause from aboue, as in a case that concerneth the forsaking of our selues and of our owne desires, and not the following of them. Againe, I intend not to take away the extraordinarie motions which God worketh in vs, when he vseth vs somtimes beyond the inclination of our nature, by brēding that in vs by a secrete operation, which was not in vs of our selues, But I speake peculiarly of these inferiour doings, which are proportionable to our wit & to the capacitie of our reason; in which things our Frēwill (as maymed as it is) hath abilitie to exercise it selfe, notwithstanding that it be vtterly lame and vnable to mount vp any higher. After that maner therefore may we wade betwēne the Fortune of Epicurus & the destinie of Chrysippus, by Prouidence; & betwēne casualitie and necessitie by the will of God; and betwēne Looseneſſe and Bondage by leauing their mouings frē, which yet neuertheleſſe shall come to the end which God hath liked to appoint vnto them, whatsoeuer windings & wreathings they sēme to themselues to make in the meane tyme. And as touching the destinie of the Astrologers, who make all things subiect to the whēlings about of the Skye, and make all things to be as much of necessitie as the mouings thereof: we will leaue them to plead their case against that great Learned man the Countie of Mirandula, praying them to consider at least wyse whether ȳ great studye & paynes which those great Clarkes haue taken to disprowne this destinie, can by any meanes be fathered vpon destinie.

Nowe then, for a small conclusion of this whole discourse, let vs say that God is a souereine Beeing, & a soueraine mynd, and that Beeing and Mynding are al one in him; and therefore that as in creating things the might and power of his Beeing extended euen to the least things or els they had not bin at all: so the Prouidence, forecast and direction of his mynd extend to all things, or els they could not continue. Let not the confusion of things which wee sē here below trouble vs, for the greater the same is, the greater doth Gods prouidence shew it self therein, as the skill of a Phisition doth in the intricateneſſe of a disease. But who is he that can limit the sight of the Euerlasting God? Suerly not the prosperities of the wicked, for they be but visors: nor the aduersities of the godly, for they be but exercises, nor the Deathes of the giltleſſe, for it is but a powdering of their vertues to preserue them to the

vse of posteritie. Nay, let not euen sinne it selfe, which is the verie euill in deede, cause any grudge of minde in vs: for God created Nature good, but euill is sprong thereof. He created frédome, and it is degenerated into Loseneſſe. But let vs praise God for giuing vs powers, and let vs condemne our selues for abusing them. Let vs glorifie him for chastising vs by our owne Loseneſſe, for executing his Iustice by our vniust dealings, and for perfourming the ordinance of his rightfull will by our inordinate passions. If wée sée a thing whereof we know not the cause: let vs acknowledge our ignorance, and not name it fortune. The causes that are furthest asunder, are nére at hand vnto him, to performe whatsoeuer he listeth. If we do any vnreasonable thing, let vs not alledge necessitie. He can skill to vse all things without marring them: the mouable, according to their mouings: the things indewed with will, according to their passions: and the things indewed with reason, according to their reasonings. In thinking to do our owne will, wee bring his to passe. We be frée to follow our owne Nature: and our Nature is become euill through sinne. O wretched frédome, which bringeth vs vnder such bondage. And as for this nature of ours, we can neither shun it nor driue it from vs: for wee be bondslaues to it, and it to sinne, and there behoueth a stronger than our selues to rid vs thereof. Therefore let vs pray God to bring the frédome of our willes in bondage to his wil, and to frée our soules from this hard and damnable kind of frédome, and to graunt vs by his grace, not as to the wicked, to do his will in béeing vnwilling to do it: but as to his Children, at least wise to be willing to doe it euen in not doing it.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That the Soule of Man is immortall, or dyeth not.

Man is both Soule & body

HItherto I haue treated of the worlde that is to be conceiued in vnderstanding, and of the sensible Worlde (as the Platonistes terme them) that is to saye, of God and of this World. Now followeth the examining of the Little World (as they terme it) that is to say, of man. Concerning God, we haue acknowledged him to be a Spirite: and as touching the World, we haue found it to be a bodie. In man we haue an abridgement of both, namely of God in respect of Spirit, & of the World in composition of body, as though the Creator of purpose

to

to set forth a mirror of his workes, intended to bring into one little compasse both the infiniteneſſe of his owne nature, and also the hugeneſſe of the whole world together. We see in mans body a Wonderfull mixture of the fower Elements, the veynes spreading forth like Riuers to the vttermost members; as many instruments of sence, as there be sensible natures in the world; a great nomber of sinewes Flechstrings, and knitters; a Head by speciall priuiledge Directed vp to Heauenward; and Hands seruing to all maner of seruices. Whatsoeuer he is that shal consider no more, but onely this instrument, without life, without sence, and without moning, cannot but thinke verily that it is made to very greate purpose; & he must nedes crie out as Hermes or as the Sarzin Abdala doth, that man is a miracle which farre surmounteth, not onely these Lower Elements, but also the very Heauen and all the ornaments thereof. But if he could (as it were out of himselfe) behold this body receiuing life, & entering into the vse of al his motions with such forwardneſſe, hands bestirring themselues so nimbly & after so sundrie fashions, and the Sences vttering their force so farre off, without stirring out of their place: thinke you not that he would be wonderfully rauished and so much more wonder at the said life, moning & sence, than at the body, as he wondered afore at the body, to behold the excellencie of the proportion thereof a boue the masse of some stone? For what comparison is there betwéne a Lute & a Luteplayer, or betwéne a dumb instrument and him that maketh it to sound? What would he say then if he could afterward sée how y same man being now quickned atteineth in one moment from the one side of the earth to the other without shifting of place, descending downe to the cẽtre of the world, & mounting vp aboue the outtermost circle of it both at once, present in a thousand places at one instant, imbracing the whole without touching it, créeping vpon the earth, and yet conteining it, beholding the Heauens from beneath, and beeing aboue the Heauens of Heauens both at once? Should he not be compelled to say, that in this filie body there dwelleth a greater thing than the body, greater than the earth, yea greater than the whole world togither? Then let vs say with Plato, that man is double, outward, and inward. The outward man is that which we sée with our eyes, which forgoeth not his shape when it is dead, no more than a Lute forgoeth his shape when the Luteplayer ceaseth from making it to sound, howbeit that both life, moning, sence, and reason be out of it. The inward man is the Soule, and that is properly the very man, which vseth the bodie as an instrument, whereunto though it be vnited by the power of God, yet doth it not remoue when the body runneth. It séeth when the eyes be shut, and somtimes séeth not when the eyes be wyde open: It trauelleth, while the body resteth, & resteth when the body trauleth that is to say, it is able of it selfe to performe

his owne actions, without the helpe of the outward man, whereas on the contrary part, the outward without the helpe of the inward, that is to wit the body without the presence of the soule, hath neither sence, moouing life, no nor continuance of beeing. In the outward man we haue a Counterfeit of the whole world, and if ye rip them both vp by parcelmeale ye shall find a wonderfull a greement betwixt them. But my purpose in this booke is not to treat of the things that perteine peculiarly to ỳ body.

In the inward man wee haue a summe of whatsoeuer life, sence, and mouing is in all creatures, and moreouer an Image or rather a shadowe (for the Image is defaced by our sinne) of the Godhead it selfe. And that is the thing which we haue to examine in this Chapter. In Plants, we perceiue that besides their bodies which we see, there is also an inward vertue which wee see not, wherby they liue, grow, bud, and beare fruite: which vertue wee call the quickening soule, and it maketh them to differ from stones & Pettales, which haue it not. In sensitiue liuing things wee find the selfsame vertue, which worketh while they sleepe & are after a sort as the Plants: and therewithal we finde another certeine vertue or power which seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth, and feeleth; which also in many of them doth hold vp the things brought in by the sences; which maner of power the Plants are voyd of. This doe we terme the sensitiue soule, because the effectes thereof are discerned and executed by the sences. In man we haue both the quickning and the Sensitiue, the former vttering it selfe in the nouri shing and increasing of him, and the later in the subtiltie of sence and imagination, wherethrough he is both Plant and Beast together. But yet moreouer we see also a Minde which considereth and beholdeth, which reapeth profite of the things that are brought in by the sences, which by his seeing conceiueth that which it seeth not; which of that which is not, gathereth that which is; and finally which pulleth a man away both from the earth & from all sensible things, yea and (after a sorte) from himselfe too. This doe we call the reasonable soule, and it is the thing that maketh man to be man, (& not a Plant or a brute Beast as the other two doe,) and also to bee the Image or rather a shadowe of the Godhead, in that (as we shall say hereafter) it is a spirit that may haue continuance of being alone by it selfe without the body. And by the way, whereas I say that the inward man hath a quickening power as a Plant hath, a sensitiue power as a Beast hath, and a power of vnderstanding whereby he is a man: my meaning is not that he hath three soules but onely one soule, that is to wit, that like as in the brutes Beast the sensitiue Soule comprehendeth the quickening Soule; so in man the reasonable Soule comprehendeth both the sensitiue and the quickening, and executeth the offices of them all three, so as it both liueth, feeleth, and reasoneth euen as wel and after the same maner, as the

In Man are three Abilities of Soule.

minde

mynd of a man may intend to his owne householdmatters, to the affaires of the Commonweale, and to heauenly things all at once. Or to speake more fitly, these three degrées of Soules are three degrées of life, whereof the second exceedeth and conteineth the first, and the third exceedeth and conteyneth both the other two. The one, without the which the body cannot liue, is the soule or life of the Plant, and is so tied to the body, that it sheweth not it selfe in any wise out of it. The second, which cannot liue without the body, is the soule or life of the Beast, which doth well vtter forth his power & force abroad, but yet not otherwise than by the members and instruments of the body wherevnto it is tyed. The third, which can of it selfe liue and continue without the body, but not the body without it, is the Soule of man, which giueth life inwardly to all his parts, sheweth forth his life abroad in the perceyuing of all things subiect to Sence, and reteineth still his force (as shall be said hereafter) yea and increaseth it, euen when the strength of the body and the very liuelinesse of the sences faile. And in very deede, ye shall see a man forgoe all his sences one after another as the instruments of them decay, and yet haue still both life and reason vnappayred. The cause whereof is, that some of the instruments of life and sence doe fayle, but the life it selfe which quickeneth them, fayleth not. And therefore the Beast forgoeth not life in losing sence, but hee vtterly forgoeth sence in forgoing life. And that is because life is the ground of the abilities of sence, and the sensitiue life is a more excellent life than the quickening life, as wherein those powers and abilities are as in their roote. To bée short, he that bereaueth man or beast of the vse of sences, or man of the right vse of reason, doth not thereby bereaue him of life, but he that bereaueth the beast or the outward man of their life, doth therewithall bereaue them of sence and reason. Therefore it is a most sure argument ỹ the soule which causeth a beast to liue, and the Soule that causeth it to haue sence, are both one that is to wit, one certeyne kinde of life more liuely and more excellent than the life that is in Plants. And likewise that the Soule which causeth man to liue, to haue sence, and to reason, is but one, that is to wit, one certeyne kynde of life more excellent, more liuely, and of further reach, than the life of the Beast. But like as sence is as it were the forme or Selfebeeing (if I may so terme it) of the life of a beast; so is reason or vnderstanding the very forme and Selfebeeing of the Soule of man; and (to speake properly) it is the Soule or life of the Soule, like as the apple of our eyes is the very eye of our eye. And in very deede, when the mynd is earnestly occupyed, the sences are at a stay, and when the sences are ouerbusied, the nourishment & digestion is hindered, and contrarywise which thing could not come to passe if the soules were any more than one substance, which by reason that it is but one, cannot vtter

his force alike in al places at once, but yeldeth the lesse care one where, so long as it is earnestly occupyed another where. In this Soule of man (which yet notwithstanding is but one) the diuersitie of the powers & abilities is very apparant. The quickning power doth nourish, increase and mainteyne vs, and Reason and Sence meddle not therewith, neyther haue they power to impeach the working thereof. The trueth whereof appeareth in this, that those thinges are best done when our mynd is at rest, and our sences are a sleepe, insomuch that oftentymes we forgo the sence and mouing of some parts by some Rheume or some Palsey, & yet the same parts ceasse not to bee nourished still. Also, the sensitiue life seeth and perceiueth a farre off, yea oftentymes without setting of the mynd therevpon, or without considering what the Sence conceiueth. Some men which haue but weake Sences, haue very quicke vnderstanding, and likewise on the contrarie part. Againe, some fal into a consumption, which want not the perfect vse of their Sences. Somtyme the reasonble parte is so earnestly bent and occupied about the things that it liketh of, that by the increasing of it self, it burteth and diminisheth the part that quickneth. Also it standeth in argument against the Sences, and reproueth them of falshood, and concludeth contrary to their information. And it may bee that the man which hath his digestion perfect and his Sences sound, hath not his wit or reason sound in like case. Now, were ẏ Soule but onely one abilitie, it could not be so. But now is ẏ same deuided manifestly into wit or vnderstanding, and will, the one seruing to deuise, & the other to execute. For we vnderstand diuers things which we will not, and wee will diuers things which we vnderstand not: which contrary operations cannot be attributed both to one power. Neuertheless, the vniting of all these powers together is with such distinctnesse, and the distinguishing of them is with such vnion, that ordinarily they meete altogether in one selfsame action, the one of them as readily (by all likelyhode) as the other, howbeit that euery of them doth his owne worke seuerally by himselfe, and one afore another as in respect of their obiects.

Thus haue we three sorts of men, according to the three powers or abilities of the inward man. Namely the earthly man, which like the Plant myndeth nothing but sleeping and feeding, making all his sences and all his reason to serue to that purpose, as in whom the care of this present life onely, hath deuoured & swallowed vp his sences and vnderstanding. The sensual man (as S. Paule himself termeth him, (who is giuen wholly to these sensible things imbasing & casting downe his reason so farre, as to make it a bondslaue to his sences and the pleasures and delights thereof: And the reasonable man, who liueth properly in spirit and mynd, who entereth into himselfe to know himselfe, and goeth out of himselfe to behold God, making this life to serue to the attaynment of a better, and be-

sing his Sences but as instruments and seruants of his reason. After as any of these three powers doe reigne and beare sway in man, that is to wit, after as man yeldeth himselfe more to one than to another of them, so becometh he like vnto the Spirites, the bruite Beastes, or Plants, yea, & the very Blockes and Stones. But it is our disposition euen by kynd, to be caryed away by our corrupt nature, & by the obiects which hemme vs in on all sides, but as for against our nature yea or beyond our nature, our nature is not able to doe any thing at all.

Now, it is not enough for vs to know that wee haue a Soule whereby wee liue, feele, and vnderstand, and which being but one hath in it selfe alone so many sundrie powers or abilities: for it will be demaunded of vs by and by what this Soule properly is. And sothly if I should say, I cannot tell what it is, I should not belye my selfe a whit, for I should but confesse myne owne ignorance, as many great learned men haue done afore me. And I should doe no wrong at all to the Soule it selfe, for sith we cannot denye the effects thereof, the lesse, that wee be able to declare the nature and being thereof, the more doth the excellencie thereof shine forth. Againe, it is a plaine case, that nothing can comprehend the thing that is greater than it selfe. Now, our Soule is after a sort lesse than it self, inasmuch as it is wrapped vp in this body, in like wise as the man that hath gyues and fetteres on his feete, is after a sort weaker than himselfe. Neuertheless, let vs assay to satisfye such demaunds as well as wee can. And forasmuch as it is the Image of God, not onely in respect of the gouernment and maintenance of the whole world, but also euen in the very nature thereof: as we sayd heretofore when we spake of the nature of GOD, if we cannot expresse or conceiue what it is, let vs at least wise be certifyed what it is not. First of all, that the Soule and the Body be not both one thing, but two very farre differing things, & also that the Soule is no part of the body, it appeareth of it selfe without further proofe. For if the soule were that body or a part of the body, it should grow with the body as the other parts of the body doe, and the greater ỹ the body were, the greater also should the soule be. Nay contrariwyse, the body increaseth to a certeyne age and then stayeth, after which age is commonly the tyme that the soule doth most grow, and those that are strongest of mynd are commonly weakest of body, & the soule is seene to be full of liuelynesse in a languishing body, & to grow the more in force, by the decay of the body. The soule then groweth not with the body, and therefore it is not ỹ body, nor any part of the body. And whereas I speake of growing in the soule, by growing I meane the profiting thereof in power and vertue, as the body groweth in greatnesse by further inlarging. Againe, if the soule were the body, it should lose her strength and soundnesse with the body, so as the maimed in body should therewith sick

The Body and the Soule be not one selfe-same thing.

feele also a mayme in his vnderstanding as well as in his members: whosoeuer were sicke of any disease, should also bee sicke in his reason: he that limpeth or halteth, should therewith halt in Soule also: the blinde mans Soule should bee blinde, and the lame mans Soule should be lame. But we see contrariwise, that the maimed and the sicke, the Cripples and the blinde, haue their Soule whole and sound, and their vnderstanding perfect an cleere sighted in it selfe. To be short, many a man dieth whose body is sonnd, & differeth not a whit in any part from that it was when it was aliue, and yet notwithstanding, both life, moning, sence, and vnderstanding are out of it. Let vs say then that in the body there was a thing which was not of the body, but was a farre other thing than the body.

Some wilfull person will obiect here, that the force and strength of the Soule groweth with the body, as appeareth in this that a man growen wil remoue that which a child cannot, and that a child of two yeares old will goe, which thing a babe of two moneths olde cannot doe. But hee should consider also, that if the selfesame man or the selfesame child should haue a mischance in his legge or in his arme, he should thereby forgoe the strength and mouing thereof, whereas yet notwithstanding his Soule should haue her former force and power still to moue the other as shee did afore. Therefore it is to bee said, not that the childes Soule is growen or strengthened by time, but rather that his sinewes are dried and hardened which the soule vseth as strings and instruments to moue withall and therfore when age hath loosened and weakened them, a man hath neede of a staffe to helpe them with, although he haue as good a will to runne as he had when he was yoong. The soule then which moueth them all at one becke, hath the selfesame power in infancie which it hath in age, and the same in age which it hath in the prime of Youth: and the fault is onely in the instrument, which is vnable to execute the operations thereof: like as the cunning of a Luteplaier is not diminished by the moystnesse or slacknesse of his Lute-strings, nor increased by the ouer high straining and tytght standing of them; but in deede in the one hee cannot shewe his cunning at all, and in the other he may shewe it more or lesse. Likewyse the speech of Children commeth with their teeth, howbeit that the speech doe manifestly vtter it selfe first, in that they prattle many things which they cannot pronounce; and in old men it goeth away againe with their teeth, & yet their eloquence is not abused thereby. Affor Demosthenes, although he surmounted al the Orators of his time, yet were there some letters which he could not pronounce. Giue vnto old age or vnto infancie the same sinewes & teeth, and as able and lusty limmes and members as youth hath, and the actions which the soule doeth with the body and by the body, I meane so farre forth as concerne the abilities

of

of sence and liuelynesse, shalbe perfo͛med as well in one age as in another. But haddest thou as great indifferencie in iudging of the force and power of thine owne soule, as of the cunning of a Luteplayer, (I say not by the nimblenes of his fingers which are perchance knotted with the gout, but by the plaine and sweete Harmonie of his Tabulatorie as they terme it, which maketh thee to deeme him to haue cunning in his head, although hee can no more vtter it with his hands) so as thou wouldest consider how thou hast in thy selfe a desire to go, though thy fæte be not able to beare thee, a discretion to iudge of things that are spoken, though thine eyes cannot conuey it vnto thee; a sound eloquence, though for want of thy teeth thou cannot well expresse it, and which is aboue all the rest, a substantiall quicke and heauenly reason, euen when thy body is most earthly and droping. Thou wouldest some conclude that the force and power of quickening, mouing, and perceiuing, is whole and sound in thy Soule, and that the default is altogether in thy body. Insomuch that if she had a newe body and newe instruments giuen vnto her, she would bee as lustie and chærely as euer she was, and that the more she perceiueth the body to decay, the more shee laboureth to retyre into her selfe, which is a plaine proofe of that she is not the body nor any part of the body, but the very life and inwarker of the body.

That the Soule is a substance.

And sith it is so, there needeth no long skanning whether the Soule be a substance or a qualitie. For, seeing that qualities haue no being but in another thing than themselues; the life which causeth another thing to be, cannot be a qualitie. Forasmuch then as the Soule maketh a man to be a man, who otherwise should be but a Carkesse or Carrion: doubtlesse (vnlesse we will say that the onely differente which is betwixt a man and a dead Carkesse, is but in accidents) we must needes graunt that the soule is a forming substance and a substantiall forme, yea and a most excellent substance infinitly passing the outward man; as which by the power and vertue thereof causeth another thing to haue being, and perfecteth the bodily substance which seemeth outwardly to haue so many perfections.

But herevpon insueth another controuersie, whether this substance bee a bodily or an vnbodily substance: which case requireth somewhat longer examination. Sothly, if wee consider the nature of a body, it hath certeine measuring, & comprehendeth not any thing which is not proportioned according to the greatnesse and capacitie thereof. For, like as it selfe must bee faine to haue a place in another thing, so must other things occupye some certeine place in it, by reason whereof it cõmeth to passe, that things can haue no place therein if they be greater than it, without anoying the one the other. To be short, if the thing be lesse than the body that conteyneth it, the whole body shall not conteyne it, but onely

only some part thereof: And if it be greater, then must some part thereof nedes be out of it: for there is no measuring of bodies but by quantitie. Bodylesse.

Now we see how our Soule comprehendeth heauen and earth, without anoying eyther other, and likwise tyme past, present, & to come, without troubling one another, and finally innumerable places, persons, and Townes, without combering of our vnderstanding. The great things are there in their full greatnesse, and the small things in their vttermost smalnesse, both of them whole and sound, in the Soule whole and sound, and not by parcelmeale or onely but in part of it. Moreouer, the fuller it is, the more it is able to receyue, the moe things that are couched in it, the moe it still coueteth, and the greater the things bee, the fitter is shee to receyue them euen when they be at the greatest. It followeth therefore that ỳ Soule (which after a sort is infinite) cannot be a body. And so much the lesse can it so bee, for that whereas it harboreth so many and so great things in it, it selfe is lodged in so small a body. Againe, as a thousand diuers places are in the Soule or Mynd without occupying any place, so is the Mynd in a thousand places without changing of place, and that erewhiles not by succession of tyme, nor by turnes, but oftentymes altogether at one instant. Bid thy Soul or Mynd goe to Constantinople, and forthwith to turne backe againe to Rome, and straight way to be at Paris or Lyons: Bid it passe thorowe America, or to go about Affrike, and it dispatcheth all these iourneyes at a trice: loke whither soeuer thou directest it, there it is, and ere euer thou callest it backe, it is at home again. Now, is there a body that can bee in diuers places at once, or that can passe without remouing, or that can moue otherwise than in tyme, yea and in such tyme as (within a little vnder or ouer) is proportioned both to his pace, and to the length of the way which it hath to goe? Then is it certeine that our Soule is not a bodily substance, which thing appeareth so much the more plainely, in that being lodged in this body which is so mouable, it remoueth not with the body. Also it is a sure ground that two bodies cannot mutually enter eyther into other, nor conteyne, eyther other: but the greater must alway nedes cõteyne, & the lesser must nedes be conteyned But by our Soules, we enter, not onely either into others bodyes, but also eyther into others myndes, so as we comprehend eyther other by mutual vnderstanding, & imbrace eyther other by mutuall louing. It followeth then that this substance which is able to receiue a bodylesse thing, can bee no bodie, and that so much the rather, for that ỳ body which seemeth to hold it, conteyneth it not. May verely, this Soule of ours is so farre off from beeing a bodyly substance, and is so manifestly a Spirit, that to lodge all thinges in it selfe, it maketh them all after a sort spirituall, and bereaueth them of their bodyes, if there were any bodylinesse in it, it were vnable to enter into the knowledg of a body.

So

So in a Glasse a thousand shapes are séene: but if the cléere of the Glasse had any peculiar shape of it owne, the Glasse could yéelde none of those shapes at all. Also all visible things are imprinted in the eye; but if the sight of the eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it would be a blemish to the sight, so as it should either not sée at all, or els all things shoulde séeme like to that blemish. Likewise, whereas the Tongue is the discerner of all tastes: if it be not cléere but cumbered with humors, all things are of tast like to the humor, so as if it be bitter, they also be bitter: and if it be watrish, they be watrish too: yea, and if it be bitter, it cannot iudge of bitternesse it selfe. That a thing may receiue all shapes, all colours, and all tastes; it behoueth the same to be cléere from all shapes, from all colour, and from all sauour of it owne. And that a thing may in vnderstanding knowe and conceiue all bodies, as our Soule doth, it behoueth the same to be altogether bodylesse it selfe: for had it any bodylinesse at all, it could not receiue any bodie into it. If wée loke yet more néerely into the nature of a body, we shal finde that no body receiueth into it the substantiall forme of another body, without losing or altering his own, ne passeth from one forme into another, without the marring of the first: as is to be séene in wood when it receiueth fire, in sédes when they spring forth into bud, & so in other things. What is to be said then of mans soule, which receiueth & conceiueth the formes and shapes of all things without corrupting his owne, & moreouer becõmeth the perfecter by the more receiuing? For the more it receiueth, the more it vnderstandeth: and the more it vnderstandeth, the more perfect is it.

If it be a bodily substance, from whence is it and of what mixture? If it be of the foure Elements, how can they giue life, hauing no life of themselues? Or how can they giue vnderstanding, hauing no sence? If it be of the mixture of them, how may it be said that of diuers things which haue no being of themselues, should be made a thing that hath béing? Or that of diuers outsides should be made one body? or of diuers bodies, one Soule? or of diuers deaths, one life? or of diuers darknesses, one light? Nay rather, why say wee not that he which beyond nature hath made the mixture of these bodies, hath for the perfecting of our bodie, breathed a Soule also into the body? To be short, the propertie of a body is to suffer, and the propertie of our Soule is to do. And if the body be not put forth by some other thing than it selfe, it is a verie blocke; whereas the minde that is in our Soule ceaseth not to stirre vp & down in it self, though it haue nothing to moue it from without. Therefore it is to be concluded by these reasons & by the like, that our Soule is a bodilesse substance, notwithstanding that it is vnited to our body.

And hereupon it followeth also, that our Soule is not any materiall thing, forasmuch as matter receiueth not any forme or shape but accor- Vnmateriall.

ding

ding to his owne quantitie, and but onely one forme at once, whereas our Soule receyueth all formes without quantitie, come there neuer so many at once or so great. Againe, no matter admitteth two contraries at once, but our Soule contrarywise comprehendeth and receyueth them together, as fire and water, heat and cold, white and blacke, and not onely together, but also the better by the maching and laing of them together. To bee short, seeing that the more wee depart from matter, the more wee vnderstand: surely nothing is more contrarie to the substaunce of our Soule, than is the nature of matter. Furthermore, if this reasonable Soule of ours is neither a bodily nor a materiall thing, nor depending vppon matter in the best actions thereof: then must it nedes be of it selfe, and not procede eyther from body or from matter. For what doth a bodie bring forth but a bodie, and matter but matter, & materiall but materialles? And therefore it is an vnmateriall substance, which hath being of it selfe. But let vs see whether the same be corruptible and mortall or no. Sothly, if Plutarke bee to be beleeued, it is in vaine to dispute thereof. For he teacheth, that the doctrine of Gods prouidence, and the immortalitie of our Soules are so linked together, that the one is as arruppendant to the other. And in very dede, to what purpose were the World created, if there were no body to behold it? Or to what end behold wee the Creator in the world, but to serue him? And why should wee serue him vppon no hope? And to what purpose hath he indewed vs with these rare giftes of his, which for the most part doe but put vs to paine and trouble in this life: if we perish like the brute Beast or the Hearbes, which knowe him not? Howbeit, for the better satisfying of the sillie Soules which go on still like witlesse Beasts, without taking so much leysure in all their life, as once to enter into themselues, let vs indeuour heere by liuely reasons to paynt out vnto them againe their true shape, which they labour to deface with so much filthinesse. The Soule of man (as I haue said afore) is not a bodie, neyther doth it increase or decrease with the body: but contrariwise the more the body decayeth, the more doth the vnderstanding increase; and the nerer that the body draweth vnto death, the more freely doth the mynd vnderstand, and the more that the body abateth in flesh, the more woorkefull is the mynd. And why then should wee thinke, that the thing which becometh the stronger by the weakenesse of the body, and which is aduanced by the decay of the body, should returne to dust with the body? A mans Sences faile because his eyes faile, and his eyes faile because the Spirites of them fayle: but the blynde mans vnderstanding increaseth, because his eyes are not busied: And the olde mans reason becommeth the more perfect by the losse of his sight. Therefore why say wee not that the bodie layleth the Soule, and not the Soule the body,

The Soule hath beeing of it selfe.

Plutark in his treatyse why God defereth the punishment of the wicked.

Vncorruptible

and

and that the Glasses are out of the Spectacles but the eyslght is still good? Why should we deeme the Soule to be forgone with the Sences? If the eye be the thing that seeth, and the eare the thing that heareth, why doe wee not see things double, and heare sounds double, seeing we haue two eyes and two eares? It is the Soule then that seeth and heareth, & these which wee take to be our sences, are but the instrumentes of our sences And if when our eyes bee shut or pickt out, wee then behold a thousand things in our mynd, yea and that our vnderstanding is then most quicke-sighted, when the quickest of our eyslght is as good as quenched or starke dead: how is it possible that the resonable Soule should be tyed & bound to the sences? What a reason is it to say that the Soule dyeth with the sences, seeing that the true sences doe then grow and increase, when the instruments of sence doe dye? And what a thing were, it to say that a Beast is dead, because he hath lost his eyes, when wee our selues see that it liueth after it hath forgone the eyes? Also I haue prooued that the Soule is neither the bodie, nor an appertenance of the body. Sith it is so, why measure wee that thing by the body, which measureth all bodies, or make that to dye with the bodye, whereby the bodyes that dyed yea many hundred yeares agoe, doe after a certeine maner liue still? Or what can hurt that thing, whom nothing hurteth or hindereth in the body? Though a man lose an arme, yet doth his Soule abide whole still. Let him forgoe the one halfe of his body, yet is his Soule as sound as afore: for it is whole in it self and whole in euery part of it selfe, vnited in it selfe and in the owne substance, and by the force and power thereof it sheadeth it selfe into all parts of the body. Though the body rot away by peecemeale, yet abideth the Soule all one and vndiminished. Let the blood dreyne out, the mouing way weake, the sences faile, and the strength perish, and yet abideth the mynde neuertheless sound and liuely euen to the ende. Her house must be pearced through one all sides, ere shee be discouraged, her walles must be battered downe ere she fall to fleeting, and shee neuer forsaketh her lodging, till no rome be left her to lodge in. True it is that the Bruit Beasts forgo both life and action with their bloud. But as for our Soule (if we consider the matter well) it is then gathered home into it selfe, and when our sences are quenched, then doth it most of al labour to surmount it selfe: working as godly actions at ỹ time that ỹ body is at a point to faile it, yea & oftentimes far godlier also, than euer it did during ỹ whole lifetime thereof. As for example, it taketh order for it self, for our household, for the Commonweale, & for a whole Kingdome, & that with more vprightnes, godlines, wisdome, & moderation, than euer it did afore, yea & perchance in a body so forspent, so bare, so consumed, so withered without & so purified within, ỹ whosoeuer lokes vpō him sees nothing

but

but earth, & yet to heare him speake would rauish a man vp to heeauen, yea & aboue heauen. Now, when a man sées so liuely a Soule in so weak & wretched a body, may he not say as is said of the hatching of Chickens, that the shell is broken, but there commeth forth a Chicken?

Also let vs sée what is the ordinarie cause that things perish. Fire doth either go out for want of nourishment, or is quenched by his contrarie which is water. Water is resolued into ayre by fire, which is his contrarie. The cause why the Plant dyeth, is extremitie of cold or drought, or vnseasonable cutting, or violent plucking vp. Also the liuing wight dyeth through contrarietie of humors, or for want of foode, or by féeding vpon some thing that is against the nature of it, or by outward violence. Of all these causes, which can wee chose to haue any power against our Soule? I say against the Soule of man, which (notwithstanding that it be vnited to matter & to a bodie) is it selfe a substance vnbodily, vnmateriall, & onely conceiuable in vnderstanding? The contrarietie of things? Nay, what can be contrarie to that which lodgeth the contraries alike equally in himselfe? which vnderstandeth the one of them by the other? which coucheth them all vnder one skill? and (to be short) in whome the contrarieties themselues abandon their contrarietie, so as they do not any more pursue but insue one another? Fire is hote, and water colde. Our bodies mislike these contraries, and are grieued by them; but our minde linketh them together without either burning or cooling it selfe: & it setteth the one of them against the other to know them the better. The things which destroy one another through the whole world, do maintain one another in our mindes. Againe, nothing is more contrarie to peace than warre is: & yet mans minde can skill to make or maintaine peace in preparing for warre, & to lay earnestly for warre in séeking or inioying of peace. Euen death it selfe (which dispatcheth our life) cannot be contrarie to the life of our Soule: for it séeketh life by death, and death by life. And what can that thing méete withall in the whole world, that may be able to ouerthrow it, which can inioyne obedience to things most contrary? What then? Want of foode? How can that want foode in the world, which can skill to féede on the whole world? Or how should that forsake foode, which the fuller it is, so much the hungrier it is: & the more it hath digested, the better able it is to digest? The bodily wight féedeth vpon some certaine things, but our minde féedeth vpon all thinges. Take from it the sensible things, and the things of vnderstanding abyde with it still: bereaue it of earthly things, and the heauenly remaine abundantly. To be short, abridge it of all worldly things, yea, & of the world it selfe, and euen then doth it féede at greatest ease, and maketh best chéere agréeable to his owne nature. Also the bodily wight filleth it selfe to a certeine measure, and delighteth in some certeine things.

But

But what can fill our minde? Fil it as ful as ye can with the knowledge of things, and it is still eager and sharpe set to receiue more. The more it taketh in, the more it still craueth: and yet for all that, it neuer feeleth any rawnesse or lacke of digestion. What shal I say more? discharge our vnderstanding from the minding of it selfe, and then doth it liue in him and of him in whom al things doe liue. Againe, fil it with the knowledge of it selfe, and then doth it fele it selfe most emptie, and sharpest set vpon desire of the other. Now then, can that die or decay for want of foode, which cannot be glutted with any thing, which is nourished and maintained with all things, & which liueth in very deede vpon him by whom all the things which we wonder at here beneath are vpheld?

And what els is violence, but a iustling of two bodies togither? and how can there be any such betweene a bodie and a spirituall substance? yea or of two spirits one against another, seeing that oftentimes when they would destroy one another, they vphold one another? And if the Soule cannot be pushed at, neither inwardly nor outwardly: is there any thing in nature that can naturally hurt it? No: but it may perchaunce be weakened by the very force of his encounter, as we se it doth befal to our sences. For the more excellent and the more sensible the thing is in his kinde which the sence receiueth, so much the more also is the sence it selfe offended or greeued therewith. As for example, the seeing, by fire, the taste, by harshnesse, the smelling, by sauours, the hearing, by the hideousnesse of noise, whether it be of Thunderclappe or of the falling of a Riuer, and the sight, by looking vpon the Sunne, vpon Fire, and vpon all things that haue a glittering brightnesse. I omit, that in the most of these things, it is not properly the sence it selfe, but the outward instrument of sence only that is offended or hurt. But let vs se if there be the like in our reasonable Soule. Nay, contrariwise the more of vnderstanding and excellencie that the thing is, the more doth it refreshe and comfort our minde. If it bee darke so as we vnderstand it but by halues, it hurteth vs not, but yet doth it not delight vs. Nay, as we increase in vnderstanding it, so doth it like vs the better, and the higher it is, the more doth it stirre vp the power of our vnderstanding, and (as ye would say) reach vs the hande to drawe vs to the attainement there of. As for them that are dimsighted, we forbid them to beholde the thinges that are ouerbright. But as for them that are of rawest capacitie, we offer them the things that are most vnderstandable. When the sence beginneth to perceiue most sharpely, then it is faine to giue ouer, as if it felt the very death of it selfe. Contrariwise, when the minde beginneth to vnderstand, then is it most desirous to hold on still. And whereof commeth that, but that our sences worke by bodily instruments, but our minde worketh by a bodilesse substance which needeth

not the helpe of the body. And seing that the nature, the nourishment, & the actions of our Soule are so far differing, both from the nature, nourishment, and actions of the body, & from al that euer is done or wrought by the body: can there be any thing more childish than to deeme our soule to be mortal by the abating & decaying of our sences, or by the mortalitie of our bodies? Nay contrariwise it may be most soundly and substantially concluded thereupon, that mans Soule is of it owne nature immortall, seeing that al death as well violent, as naturall commeth of the body and by the body.

What is death.

Let vs see further what death or corruption is. It is (say they) a separating of the matter from his forme. And forasmuch as in man the soule is considered to be the forme, and the body to be as the matter: the separation of the Soule from the bodie is commonly called Death. Now then, what death can there bee of the Soule, sith it is vnmaterial as I haue said afore, and a forme that abideth of it selfe? For (as one saith) a man may take away the roundnesse or squarenesse from a table of Copper, because they haue no abiding but in the matter: but had they such a rounde or square forme, as might haue an abiding without matter or stuffe wherein to be, out of doubt such forme or shape should continue for euer. Nay (which more is) how can that be the corrupter of a thing, which is the perfection thereof? The lesse corsnesse a man hath, the more hath he of reason & vnderstanding. The lesse our mindes be tied to these bodily things, the more liuely & chearefull be they. At a word, the ful and perfect life thereof, is the full and vtter withdrawing thereof from the body, and whatsoeuer the body is made off. Al these things are so cleare as they need no proofe. Now, we know that euery thing worketh according to the proper being thereof, and that the same which perfecteth the operations of a thing, perfecteth the being thereof also. It followeth therfore, that sith the separation of the body from the Soule, & of the forme from the matter, perfecteth the operation or working of the Soule (as I haue said afore) it doth also make perfect & strengthen the very being thereof, and therefore cannot in any wise corrupt it. And what els is dying but to be corrupted? And what els is corrupting, but suffering? And what els is suffering, but receiuing? And how can ỹ which receiueth al things without suffering, receiue corruption by any thing? Fire corrupteth or marreth our bodies, and we suffer in receiuing it. So doth also extreme cold: but if we suffered nothing by it, it could not greeue vs. Our senses likewise are marred by the exceeding force of ỹ things which they light vpon. And that is because they receiue and perceiue the thing that greeueth them, and for ỹ the maner of their behauing of themselues towards their obiects, is subiect to suffering. But as for the reasonable Soule, which receiueth all things after ane maner, that is to wit, by the way of vnderstanding, whereby ough it

alway

alway worketh and is neuer wrought into; how is it possible for it to corrupt or marre it selfe?

For what is the thing whereat our Soule suffereth ought in the substance thereof, I meane wherby the substance of our Soule is any whit impaired or hurt by minding or conceiuing the same in vnderstanding? As little doth the fire hurt it as the aire, and the aire as the fire. As little hurt receiueth it by the frozen Ice of Norway, as by the scorching sands of Affricke. As little also doth vice anoy it as vertue. For vice & vertue are so farre of from incombering the substance of the Soule, that our minde doth neuer conceiue or vnderstand them better, than by setting them together one against another. That thing therefore which doth no whit appaire it selfe, but taketh the ground of perfecting it selfe by all things, can not be marred or hurt by any thing.

Againe, what is death? The vttermost point of mouing, & the vttermost bound of this life. For euen in liuing we die, and in dying we liue, and there is not that step which we set downe in this life, which doth not continually step forward vnto death, after ỳ maner of a Dial or a Clocke which mounting vp by certeine degrees forgoeth his mouing in mouing from minute to minute. Take away mouing from a body, and it doth no more liue. Now let vs sæ if the soule also be caried with the same mouing. If it be caried wt the same mouing, then doth it vndoubtedly moue therewithal. Nay, contrariwise, whether the minde rest, or whether it be busied about ỳ proper operations therof, it is not perceiued either by any panting of hart, or by any beating of pulses, or by any breathing of lũgs. It is then as a Ship that carieth vs away with it, whether we walke or sit stil, ỳ sticking fast wherof or the tying thereof to the post, hindereth not our going vp & downe in it stil. Againe, if the Soule be subiect to the final corruption of the body, then is it subiect to the alterations therof also; & if it be subiect to ỳ alterations, it is subiect to time also. For alterations or chaunges, are spices, or rather cõsequents of moũing, & mouings are not made but in time. Now man in respect of ỳ body hath certeine ful points or stops, at the which he receiueth manifest chaunges, & thereafter groweth or decaieth. But cõmonly where the decay of the body beginneth there beginneth the chief strength of the minde! Howbeit ỳ in some men, not only their chinnes are couered with downe, but also their beards become gray, whose mindes for want of exercise, shew no signe at all either of ripenes or growing. Moreouer, time (as in respect of ỳ body) cannot be called againe, but in respect of the minde it is alwaies present. Yea & time perfecteth, accomplisheth, & increaseth our mind, & after a sort reneweth & refresheth it from day to day, whereas contrariwise it forwearieth, washeth away & quite consumeth, both it selfe & the body with the life thereof. It followeth then ỳ the reasonable Soule is not subiect to time, nor consequently

sequently to any of the chaunges and corruptions that accompany time. Nay we may say thus much more; That nothing in the whole World is nurrished with things better than it selfe, neither doth any of them conteine greater things than it selfe; But the things that are corruptible do liue of corruptible things, & cannot liue without corrupting them: as for example, beasts liue by herbes, men by beasts, & so forth. And therfore things which liue by uncorruptible things, and can so receiue and digest them, as to turne them into the nurrishment of their nature, and yet not corrupt them, are incorruptible themselues to. Now the Soule of Iman the reasonable soule or mind, conceiueth reason and trueth, and man, is fed and strengthened with them. And reason & trueth are things unchangeable, not subiect to time, place or alteratiō, but stedy, unchaungable, and euerlasting. For that twice two be fower, and that there is the same reason in the proportion of eight unto six that is of fower unto three, or that in a Tryangle, the three inner angles are equal with the two right angles, and such like, are truthes which neither yeres nor thousands of yeres can chaunge; as true at this day, as they were when Euclide first spake them. And so forth of other things. It followeth then that the Soule comprehending reason and trueth, which are things free from corruption, cannot in any wise be subiect to corruption.

Againe, who is he of all men that desireth not to be immortall? And how could any man desire it, if he understode not what it is? Or howe could he be able to understand it, unlesse it were possible for him to attain unto it? Surely none of us coueteth to be beginninglesse, for none of us is so; neither can any of us be so. And as we cannot so be, so also can we not comprehend what it is. For who is he that is not at his wits end, but onely to thinke upon eternitie without beginning? On the contrary part there is not so base a minde which coueteth not to liue for euer, insomuch that whereas we looke not for it by nature, we seeke to obteine it by skill and politie, some by bookes, some by Images, and some by other deuises, and euen the grossest sort can well Imagine in themselues what immortalitie is, and are able both to conceiue it & to beleeue it. Whence comes this, but that our soules being created cannot conceiue an euerlastingnesse without beginning, and yet neuertheless, that forasmuch they be created immortall, they doe well conceiue an immortalitie or euerlastingnes without end? And whereto serues this uniuersall desire, if it be not naturall? Or how is it naturall if it be in vaine? and not only in vaine, but also to bring us to Hell and to Torment? Let us wade yet deeper. Who can dispute or once so much as doubt whether the Soule bee immortall or no, but he that is capable of immortalitie? And who can understande what difference is betwixt mortall and immortall, but he that is immortall? Man is able to discerne the difference be-

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chuseme that which is reason, and that which is not, and thereupon we terme him reasonable. Whosoeuer would holde opinion that a man is not reasonable, should make none other disproofe than his owne disputing thereof; for he would go about to proue it by reason. Man can skil to discerne the mortall natures from the immortall: And therefore we may wel say he is immortall. For he that should dispute to the contrary, shal be driuen to bring such reasons, as shal of themselues make him to proue himselfe immortall. Thou sayest the Soule can not be immortall: and why? Because (saist thou) that to be so, it would behoue it to worke seuerally by it selfe from the body. When thou thinkest that in thy minde, consider what thy body doth at the same time. Nay yet further, who hath taught thée so much of the immortall nature, if thou thy selfe be not immortall? Or what worldly wight can say what the inworking of a reasonable wight is, but the wight which in it selfe hath the vse of reason.

Yet saist thou still, if the Soule be immortall, it is free from such and such passions. How enterest thou so farre into the Nature that is so farre aboue thée, if thou thy selfe beest mortall? All the reasons which thou alledgest against the immortalitie of the soule, doe feight directly to the proofe of it. For if thy reason mounted no higher than to the things that are mortall, thou shouldest know neither mortall nor immortall. Now it is not some one couetous man aboue al other, that desireth immortality, nor some one man excelling al others in wisedome, that comprehendeth it, but all mankinde without exception. It is not then some one seuerall skill or some one naturall propertie, that maketh such difference betweéne man & man as we sée to be betweéne many, but rather one selfesame nature common to all men, whereby they be all made to differ from other liuing wights, which by no déede do shew any desire to ouerliue thēselues, ne know how to liue, & therefore their Liues do vanish away with their bloud, and is extinguished with their bodies. If euer thou hast loked to die, consider what discourse thou madest then in thy minde: thou couldest neuer perswade thy conscience nor make thy reason to conceiue, that thy Soule should die with the Body; but euen in the selfesame time when it disputeth against it selfe, it shifteth it selfe I wote not how from all thy conclusions, and falleth to consider in what state it shal bee, and where it shall become when it is out of the body. The Epicure that hath disputed of it all his life long, when he commeth to death, bequeatheth a yéerely pension for the keeping of a yéerely feast on the day of his birth. I pray you to what purpose serue ỹ feastings for birth of a Swine, seing he estéemeth himselfe to be no better than so? Nay what els is this, than a crying out of his Nature against him, which with one word confuteth al his vaine arguments? Another labareth by al meanes possible, to blot out in himselfe

the opinion of immortalitie; and bicause he hath liued wickedly in this world, he will néedes beare himselfe on hand, that there is no Iustice in the worlde to come. But then is the time that his owne nature waketh, and starteth vp as it were out of the bottome of a water, and at that instant painteth againe before his eies, the selfesame thing which he toke so much paines to deface. And in good soth, what a number haue we séene, which hauing bene despisers of all Religion, haue at the hower of death béene glad to vow their Soules to any Saint for reléefe; so clére was then the présence of the life to come before their eies. I had leuer (saide Zeno) to see an Indian burne himselfe chéerefully, than to heare all the Philosophers of the world discoursing of the immortalitie of the Soule, & Cleui.lib.1. in very déede it is much a stronger and better concluded argument. Nay then, let vs rather say, I had leuer sée a Athiest or Epicure witnessing the immortalitie of the Soule, and willingly taking an honorable farewel of nature vpon a Scaffold, than to heare al the Doctors of the world discoursing of it in their Pulpits. For whatsoeuer the Epicures say there they speake it aduisedly and (as ye would say) fresh and fasting; whereas all that euer they haue spoken all their life afore, is to bée accounted but as the wordes of Drunkards, that is to wit, of men besotted and saine aslépe in the delights and pleasures of this world, where the Wine and the excesse of meate, and the vapors that fumed vp of them did speake, and not the men themselues. What shall I say more? I haue tolde you alreadie that in the inward man there are (as ye would say) thrée men, the liuing, the sensitiue, and the reasonable. Let vs say therefore that in the same person there are thrée liues continued from one to another: namely the life of the Plant, the life of the Beast, and the life of the Man or of the Soule. So long as a man is in his mothers womb, he doth but onely liue and growe; his Spirit séemeth to slépe, and his sences séeme to bee in a slumber, so that he séemeth to bée no thing els than a Plant. Neuertheless, if ye consider his eies, his eares, his tongue, his senees, and his mouings, you wil easely iudge that he is not made to be for euer in that prison, where he neither seeth nor heareth, nor hath any roome to walke in, but rather that he is made to come forth into an opener place, where he may haue what to sée and behold, and where with to occupy al the powers which we sée to be in him. As soone as he is come out, he beginneth to sée, to féele, and to mooue, and by little and little falleth to the perfect vsing of his limbes, and findeth in this world a peculiar obiect for euery of them, as visible things for the eie, sounds for his hearing, bodily things for his féeling, and so forth. But besides all this, we finde there a minde; which by the eares as by windowes beholdeth the world, and yet in al the world finding not any one thing worthy to rest wholly vpon, mounteth vp to him that made it; which minde like an Empresse lodgeth in the whole

Three liues in Man.

woꝛlde, and not alonely in this body; which by the sences (& oftentimes also without the sences) mounteth aboue the sences, and streineth it self to goe out of it selfe, as a childe doth to get out of his mothers wombe. And therefoꝛe we ought surely to say, that this Minde oꝛ Reason ought not to bee euer in pꝛison. That one day it shal sée clárely, and not by these dimme and clowdie spectacles: That it shall come in place where it shall haue the true obiect of vnderstanding: and that he shall haue his life frée from these fetters and from all the affections of the body. To be shoꝛt, that as man is pꝛepared in his mothers wombe to be bꝛought foꝛth into the woꝛld; so is he also after a soꝛt pꝛepared in this body & in this woꝛld, to liue in another woꝛld. We then vnderstand it, when by nature it behoueth vs to depart out of the woꝛld. And what childe is there which (if nature did not by her cunning dꝛiue him out,) would of himselfe come out of his Couert, oꝛ that commeth not out as good as soꝛloꝛne and halfe dead; oꝛ that if he had at that time knowledge and spæch, would not call that death, which we cal birth, and that a departure out of life, which we call the enterance into it? As long as we be there, we sée nothing though our eies be open. Many also doe not so much as stirre, except it bée at some sodaine scareing oꝛ some other like chaunce, and as foꝛ those that stirre, they know not that they haue either sence oꝛ mouing. Why then should we thinke it straunge, that in this life our vnderstanding sæth so little, that many men do neuer minde the immoꝛtall nature, vntil they be at the last cast, yea and some thinke not themselues to haue any such thing, howbeit that euen by so thinking they shew themselues to haue part ther of? And imagine we that the vnboꝛne babe hath not as much adoe by nature to leaue the pooꝛe skinne that he is wꝛapt in, as we haue hinderance in our sences & in our impꝛisoned reason, when we be at the point to leaue the goods & pꝛeasures of this woꝛld, and the very flesh it selfe which holdeth vs as in a graue? Oꝛ had the babe some little knowledge, would he not say that no life were comparable to the life where he then is, as we say there is no life to the life of this woꝛld wherein we be? Oꝛ would he not account the stage of our sences foꝛ a fable, as a great soꝛt of vs account the stage that is pꝛepared foꝛ our soules? Yes surely: and therefoꝛe let vs conclude where we began, namely ỹ man is both inward & outward. In the outward man, which is the body, he resembleth the bæing & the pꝛoꝑtion of al the parts of the woꝛld. And in the inner man he resembleth whatsoeuer kinde of life is in all things oꝛ in any thing that beareth life in the woꝛlde: In his his mothers wombe he liueth the life of a Plant, howbeit with this further, ỹ he hath a certeine commencement of sence & mouing which excéd the Plant, & do put him in a readinesse to be indued with sences as a Beast is. In this life he hath sence & mouing in their perfection, which is ỹ pꝛopertie of a sensitiue wight, but yet beldes these;

he hath also a beginning to reason and vnderstand, which are a beginning of another life such as the sensitiue wight hath not, and this life is to be perfected in another place. In the life to come he hath his actions free and full perfected, a large ground to worke vpon able to suffice him to the full, and a light to his vnderstanding in steade of a light to the eye. And like as in comming into this world, he came as it were out of another world; so in going yet into another world he must also go out of this worlde. He cõmeth out of the first world into the second, as it were failing in nourishment, but growing in strength vnto mouing and sence: and he goeth out of ỹ second into the third, failing in sences and mouing, but growing in reason and vnderstanding. Now, seeing we call the passage out of the first world into the second a birth, what reason is it that we should cal the passage out of the second into the third, a death? To be short, he that considereth how al the actions of mans minde tend to the time to come without possibilitie of staying vpon the present time, how pleasant and delightfull soeuer it be: we may well discerne by them all, that his being (which in euery thing (as saith Aristotle) followeth the working thereof) is also wholly bent towards the time to come; as who would say this present life were vnto it but a narrow grindle, on the further side whereof (as it were on the banke of some streame or running water,) he were to finde his true dwelling place and very home in deede.

An obiection.

But now it is time to see what is said to the contrarie: wherein we haue to consider eftsoones that which we spake of afore; namely that if al that euer is in vs were transitorie and mortall, we should not be so witty to examine the Immortalitie as we be: for of Contraries the skil is al one. If a man were not mortall, that is to say, if he had no life, he could not dispute of the mortall life; neither could he speake of the Immortall, if he himselfe also were not Immortall. Therefore let vs goe backe retrive. Some man will say, that the Soule dieth with the body, because the Soule and the body are but one thing, and he beleeueth that they be both but one, because he seeth no more but the body. This argument is all one with theirs, which denied that there is any God, because they saw him not. But yet by his doings thou maist perceiue that there is a God: discerne likewise by the doings of thy soule, that thou hast a Soule. For in a dead body thou seest the same partes remaine, but thou seest not the same doings that were in it afore. When a man is dead, his eie seeth nothing at all, and yet is there nothing chaunged of his eie: but while he is aliue it seeth infinite things that are diuers. The power then which seeth is not of the body. Yet notwithstanding how liuely & quicke sighted so euer the eie bee; it seeth not it selfe. Wonder not therefore though thou haue a soule, and that the same soule see not it selfe. For if thine eie sight sawe it selfe: it were not a power or abilitie of seeing, but a visible

thing:

thing: likewise if thy Soule saw it selfe, it were no more a Soule that is to say the worker and quickener of the body, but a very body, vnable to do any thing of it selfe, and a masse substance subiect to suffering. For we see nothing but the body and bodily substances. But in this thou perceiuest somewhat els than a body, (as I haue said afore) that if thine eie had any peculiar colour of it owne, it could not discerne any other colour than that. Seeing then that thou conceiuest so many diuers bodies at once in imagination: néeds must thou haue a power in thée which is not a body. Be it (say they) that we haue a power of sence; yet haue we not a power of reason; for that which we call the power of reason or vnderstanding, is nothing but an excellencie or rather a consequence of sence, insomuch that when sence dieth, the residue dieth therewith also. Soothly in this which thou hast said thou hast surmounted sence; which thing thou haddest not done, if thou haddest nothing in thée beyond sence. For whereas thou saist, if the sence die, the rest dieth also; it is a reason that procéedeth from on terme to another, and it is a gathering of reasons which conclude one thing by another. Now the senses do in déede perceiue their obiects, but yet how liuely so euer they bée, they reason not. We séa Smoake: so farre extendeth the sence. But if we inferre, therefore there must needes be fire, and thereupon séeke who was the kindler thereof: that surmounteth the abilitie of sence. We heare a péece of Musicke; that may any beast doe as well as we. But his hearing of it is but as of a bare sounde; whereas our hearing thereof is as of an harmony, and we discerne the cause of the concordes and discordes, which either delight or offend our sence. The thing that heareth the sound is the sence; but the thing that iudgeth of that which the sence conceiueth, is another thing than the sence. The like is to be said of smelling, tasting, and féeling. Our smelling of sents, our tasting of sauours, and our féeling of substances, is in déede the worke of our sences. But as for our iudging of the inward vertue of the thing by the outward sent thereof, or of the wholsomnes or vnwholsomnes of food by the taste thereof, or of the hotnesse or vehemencie of a feuer by féeling the pulse, yea and our procéeding euen into the very bowels of a man, whither the eie being the quickest of all sences is not able to atteine, surely it is the worke of a more mighty power than the sence is. And in very déede there are beasts which do heere, sée, smel, taste, and féele much better & quicklier than man doth. Yet notwithstanding none of them conferreth the contraries of colors, sounds, sents and sauours; none inferreth them but to the seruing one of another, or to the seruing of themselues. Whereby it appeareth, that man excelleth the Beasts by another power than the Sences, and that whereas a man is a Painter, a Musician, or a Phisition, he hath it from elsewhere thã from his sences. Nay, I say further, that oftentimes we conclude cleane

contrarie:

contrarie to the report of our sences. Our eie perchaunce telleth vs that a Tower which we see a farre off is round, whereas our reason deemeth it to be square: or that a thing is small, which our reason telleth vs is great: or that the ends of lines in a long walke do meet in a point, whereas reason certifieth vs that they runne rightforth with equall distance one from another. For want of this discretion, certeine Elephants (saith Vetellio) which were passing ouer a long bridge, turned backe being deceiued; and yet they wanted not sight no more than we do. But they that led them were not deceiued. Their Leaders then besides their eie sight, had in them another vertue or power which corrected their sight, and therefore ought to be of higher estimation. In like case is it with the rest of the other sences. For our hearing telleth vs that the thunderclap is after ỹ lightening, but skil assureth vs that they be both together. For there is a certeine power in vs, which can skill to discerne what proportion is betweene hearing and seeing. Also the tongue of him that hath an Ague, beareth him on hand that euen suger is bitter, which thing he knoweth by his reason to be vntrue. To be short, those which haue their senses most quicke and liuely, be not of the greatest wisedome & vnderstanding. A man therefore differeth from a beast, and excelleth men by some other power than sence. For whereas it is commonly said, that such as haue seene most are commonly of greatest skill: we see that many haue traueled farre both by sea and land, which haue come home as wise as they went forth. A horse hath as good eies as he that rides vpon him, and yet for all his traueling, neither he nor peraduenture his Rider whome he beareth become any whit the wiser by that which they haue seene: whereby it appeareth that it is not enough to see things vnlesse a man do also minde them to his benifit.

Nowe there is great difference betweene the liuelines of the Sence, and the power that gouerneth the Sence, like as the report of a Spie is one thing, and the Spie himselfe is another, and the wisedome of the Captaine that receiueth the report of the Spie is a third. Nay, who can deny, but Sence and Reason are diuers things, or rather who will not graunt, that in many things they be cleane contrarie? Sence biddeth vs shunne and eschew greef, where as Reason willeth vs to proffer our leg sometime to the Surgion to be cut off. Sence plucketh our hand out of the fire, and yet we our selues put fire to our bare skinne. He that should see a Sceuola burne off his owne hand, without so much as once gnashing his teeth at it, would thinke he were vtterly senseless, so mightily doth Reason ouerrule sence. To be short, Sence hath his peculiar inclination, which is appetite, and Reason likewise hath his, which is will. And like as Reason doth oftentimes ouerrule sence and is contrary to it, so will correcteth the sensuall appetite or lust that is in vs, and warreth against it. For

in an Ague we couet to drinke, and in an Apoplexie we couet to sleepe, and in hungre we couet to eate: and yet from all those things doth our will restreine vs. The more a man followeth his lust, the lesse is he led by wil; and the more he standeth vpon the pleasing of his Sences, the lesse reason vseth he ordinarily.

Againe, let vs consider the brute Beasts which haue this sensitiue part as well as we. If we haue no more than that, how commeth it to passe that a little childe driueth whole flockes and heards of them whither he listeth, and sometimes whither they would not? Whereof commeth it that euery of them in their kind, doe al liue, nestle, and sing after one sort, whereas men haue their lawes, Common weales, maners of building, and formes of reasoning, not onely diuers, but also commonly contrarie? Now, what can harber these contrarieties together, but onely that which hath not any thing contrary vnto it, and wherein all contrary things do lay away their contrarietie? Surely it is not the Sence that can doe it, whose proper or peculier obiect is most contrary to the sence. Besides this (as I haue said afore) whereas we conceiue wisedome, skill, vertue, and such other things which are al bodilesse, our sences haue none other thing to worke vpon, than the qualities of bodily substances: And whereas we make vniuersall rules of particular things, the Sences atteine no further than to the particular things themselues: And whereas we conclude of the causes by their effects, our Sences perceiue no more but the bare effects: And whereas concerning the things that belong to vnderstanding, the more vnderstandable they bee, the more they refresh vs, Contrariwise, the strōger that the sensible things are, the more do they offend the Sence: To be short, the selfesame thing which we speake in behalfe of the Sences, proceedeth from elsewhere than from the Sences. And we wilt easely discerne, that he which denieth that besides the common sence there is in a man a reason or vnderstanding distinct and seuered from the Sence, is void both of vnderstanding and of Sence.

But lo here a grosse reason of theirs. This reason or power of vnderstanding (say they) which is in man, is corruptible as well as the power of perceiuing by the Sences. I thinke I haue proued the contrary already, neuertheless, let vs examine their reasons yet further. The forme or shap of euery thing (say they) doth perish w̄ the matter. Now, the soule is as ye would say the forme or shape of the body: therefore it corrupteth with the body. This argument were rightly concluded, if it were ment of the materiall forme. But I haue proued that the Soule is vnmaterall, and hath a continuance of it selfe. And in deede the more it is discharged of matter the more it retaineth his owne peculiar forme. Therefore the corrupting of the matter toucheth not the Soule at all. Againe, if mens Soules liue (say they) after their bodies, then are they infinite,

finite, for the worlde is without beginning and without ending, and (as we know) nature can away with no infinite thing: therefore they liue not after their bodies. Yes say I, for I haue proued that the worlde had a beginning, and that with so substantiall reasons, as thou art not able to disproue. Therefore it followeth that the inconuenience which thou allegest can haue no place. Another saith, If dead mens Soules liue stil, why come they not to tell vs so? And he thinketh he hath stumbled vpon a woonderfull subtile deuise. But how doth this follow in reason? There hath not come any man vnto vs from the indies of a long time: ergo there be no Indies. May not the same argument serue as well to proue that we our selues are not, because we neuer went thither? Againe, what intercourse is there betweene things that haue bodies, and things that haue no bodies, or betweene heauen and earth, considering that there is so small intercourse euen betweene men, which liue al vnder one selfsame Sunne? He that is made a Magistrate in his owne Countrey, doth not willingly returne to the place of his banishment. Likewise the Soule that is lodged in the lappe of his God, & come home into his native soyle, forgoeth the desire of these lower things, which to the sight beholding them from aboue, are lesse than the point of a Needle. On the other side, he that is put in close prison, (how desirous soeuer he bee) cannot goe out, so the Soule which is in the Jaile of his souereine Lord God, hath no respit or sporting time to come tell vs what is done there. Vnto the one, the beholding of the Euerlasting God is as a Paradize wherein he is willing to remaine, and vnto the other, his owne condemnation is an imprisonment of his will. But we would haue God to send both the one and the other vnto vs to make vs to beleeue. As who would say, it stood him greatly on hande to haue vs to beleeue, and not rather vs that we should beleeue. And in effect what els is all this, but a desiring that some man might returne into his mothers wombe againe, to incourage yong babes against the pinches & paines which they abide in the birth, whereof they would be as nie as we bee of death, if they had the like knowledge of the. But let vs let such vanities passe, and come to the ground.

We beare vs on hande (say they) that the Soule of man is but one, though it haue diuers powers. Whereof we see the sensitiue & the growing powers to be corrupted and to perish: therefore it should seeme that the vnderstanding or reasonable power also shoulde doe the like. At a word this is all one as if a man shoulde say you tell me that this man is both a good man, a good Swoordplaier, & a good Luteplaier altogether, and that bicause his swoord fals out of his hande, or his hand it selfe becommeth lame, therefore he cannot be a good or honest man stil as you reported him to bee. May though he lose those instruments, yet ceaseth he not therefore to bee an honest man, yea and both a Swoordplaier & a Lute-

plaier

player he, as in respect of skill. Likewise when our Soules haue forgone these exercises, yet cease they not to be the same they were afore. To inlighten this point yet more; of the powers of our Soule, some are exercised by the instruments of the bodie, and othersome without any helpe or furtherance of the body at al. Those which are exercised by the bodie, are the senses and the powers of the Senses and the powers of the growing, which may carry the same likenesse that is betweene a Luter and a Lute. Breake the Luters Lute, and his cunning remaineth still, but his putting of it in practise faileth. Giue him another Lute, and he falles to playing new againe. Put out a mans eies, and yet the abilitie of seeing abideth still with him, though the very act of seeing bee disappointed. But giue vnto the oldest Bag that is the same eies that he had when he was young, and he shall see as well as euer he did. After the same maner is it with the growing or thriuing power. Restore vnto it a good stomake, a sound Liuer, and a perfect heate; and it shall execute his functions as well as euer it did afore. The power that worketh of it selfe and without the bodie, is the power of reason or vnderstanding, which if we will we may call the minde. And if thou yet still doubt thereof, consider when thou mindest a thing earnestly what thy body furthereth thy minde therin; and thou shalt perceiue that the more fixedly thou thinkest vpon it, the lesse thou seest the things before thee; and the more thy minde wandreth, the more thy bodie resteth: as who would say that the workings of the body, are the greatest hinderance and impediment that can bee to the peculiar doings of the minde. And this abilitie of vnderstanding may bee likened to a man, which though he haue lost both his hand and his Lute, ceaseth not therefore to be a man still, and to doe the true deedes of a man, that is to wit, to discourse of things, to minde them, to vse reason & such like; yea and to be both a Luter and a man as he was afore, notwithstanding that he cannot put his Luteplaying in exercise for want of instruments. Nay, (which is more) this vnderstanding part groweth so much the stronger and greater, as it is lesse occupied and busied about these base and corruptible things; and is altogether drawen home wholly to it selfe, as is to be seene in those which want their eies, whose mindes are commonly most apt to vnderstand, and most firme to remember. Doe we debate of a thing in our selues? Neither our body nor our Senses are busied about it. Doe we will the same? As little doe they stirre for that too. To vnderstand and to will (which are the operations of the minde,) the Soule hath no néede of the body; and as for working and being, they accompany one another saith Aristotle. Therfore to continue still in being, the Soule hath not to doe with the body, nor any néede of the body: but rather, to worke wel and to be wel, the Soule ought either to be without the body, or at leastwise to be vtterly vnsubiect to the body.

Yea

Yea (say they) but yet we sée men forgoe their reason, as fooles and melancholike persons: and seeing it is forgone, it may also bée corrupted: and if corrupted, it may also die: for what is death but an vtter and ful corruptnesse? Nay, thou shouldest say rather, I haue séene diuers which hauing séemed to haue lost their right wittes, haue recouered them againe by good diet and medicinable drinkes. But had they bene vtterly lost and forgone, no Phisicke could haue restored them againe: and had they bëene vtterly perished, the parties themselues should haue had neither sence nor life remaining. Therefore of necessitie the soule of them was as soande as afore. But our Soules we sée not otherwise than by the body and by the instruments of the body as it were by Spectacles; and our minde which beholdeth and séeth through his imaginations as it were through a Cloude, is after a sort troubled by the dimming of the Spectacles and by the smoakinesse of the imaginations. After that maner the Sunne séemeth to be dimmed and eclipsed; and that is but by the comming of the Moone or of some Cloudes betweene him and vs; for in his light there is no abatement at all. Likewise our eiesight conceiueth things according to the Spectacles wherethrough it looketh, or according to the colour that ouerthwarteth the things which it looketh vpon. Take away the impediments, and our eies shall sée clére: purge away the humors, and our imagination shall be pure: and so our vnderstanding shal sée as bright as it did afore, euen as the Sunne shineth after the putting away of the Cloudes. And it fareth not with our Soules as it doth with our bodies, which after a long sicknesse reteine still either a hardnesse of the Splene, or a shortnesse of breath, or a falling of the Rhewme vpon the Lungs, or a skarre of some great wound that cannot be worne out because of the breake that was made in the whole. For neither in their vnderstanding, neither in their wils do our Soules séele any abatement, sauing that there abideth some maime or blemish in the instruments, to wit (as I will declare hereafter) so farre forth as it pleaseth God for a iust punishment, to put the Soule in subiection to the body whose souereine it was created to haue bene, because it hath neglected the will of the Creator to follow the lustes and likings of the bodie. This appeareth in Lunaticke folkes and such others, which haue their wits troubled at times and by fittes. For they be not vexed but at the stirring of their humours, béeing at other times sober and wel enough stayed in their wittes. The like is séene in them that haue the falling sicknesse. For their vnderstanding séemeth to be eclipsed, and as it were striken with a Thundercap, during the time of their fittes; but afterward they be as discréete as though they ayled nothing. To be short, the body is subiect to a thousand diseases, wherewith we sée the vnderstanding to be no whit altered, because they touch not the instruments of the Sences and of the Imaginations,

ginations, which moue the vnderstanding. Troubled it is in deede by those fewe things onely, which infect the Sence and the Imagination, which by that meanes report the things vnfaithfully whereon the minde debateth. Therefore ye shall neuer see any body out of his wits, or out of his right minde, in whom the Phisitions may not manifestly perceiue, either some default of the instruments, as a mishapen and misproportioned head; or els an ouerbounding of some melancholike humour, that troubled & marred his body afore it troubled or impaired his minde. And like as the wisest men being deceiued by false Spies, do make wrong deliberations, howbeit yet grounded vpon good reason, which things they could not doe vnlesse they were wise in deede: So the reason that is in our minde maketh false discourses, and gathereth wrong conclusions, vpon the false reports of the imaginations; which it could not doe, if it were either diminished or impaired, or done away. Whereunto accordeth this auncient saying, That there be certeine follies which none but wise men can commit, and certeine Errors which none but learned men can fall into: because that in some cases, discretion and wisedome are requisite in the partie that is to be deceiued, euen to the intent he may be deceiued, and learning is required in a man that he may conceiue and hold a wrong opinion. As for example, to be beguiled by a dubble dealing Spy or by the surprising of a softening letter, belonged to none but to a wise man. For a grosheaded fole neuer breaketh his braine about such matters as might bring him to the making of false conclusions by mistaking likelihoods in stead of trueth. Likewise to fall into Heresie by misconceiuing some high and deepe point, befalleth not to an ignorant person, for he is not of capacitie, neither doth his vnderstanding mount so high. To be short, whosoeuer saith that mans Soule perisheth with the body, because it is troubled by the distemperature or misproportionatenesse of the body, may as well vphold that the Childe in the mothers wombe dieth with his mother, because he mooueth with her, and is partaker with her of her harmes and throwes, by reason of the streit coniunction that is betweene them, howbeit that many children haue liued safe and sound, notwithstanding that their mothers haue died, yea and some haue come into the world euen by the death of their mothers.

And whereas some say, that because our minde conceiueth not anything here, but by helpe of Imagination, therefore when the Imagination is gone with the instruments whereunto it is tied, the Soule cannot worke alone by it selfe, nor consequently be alone by it selfe: surely it is al one as if they should say, y because the Child being in his mothers wombe taketh nourishment of her blood by his nauil, therfore he cannot liue whē he is come out of her womb, if his nauil strings be cut off. May cōtrariwise thē is the time y the mouth, the tongue, & the other parts of the Child are

their

their duety, which serued erst to no purpose, sauing that they were prepared for the time to come. After the same maner also doe we cherish our minde by Imagination in this second life, which in the third life being (as ye would say) scaped out of prison, shall begin to vtter his operations by himselfe, and that so much the more certeinly, for that it shal not be subiect to false reports, nor to the sences either inward or outward, but to the very things themselues which it shal haue seene and learned. To be short, it shall liue, but not in prison; it shall see, but not through Spectacles; it shall vnderstand, but not by reports, it shall lift, but not by way of lusking; the infirmitie which the body casteth vpon it as now, shall then be away: the force which it bringeth now to the body, shal then be more fresh and liuely than afore. Now then, notwithstanding these vaine reasons of theirs, let vs conclude, That our soule is an vnderstanding or reasonable power, ouer the which neither death nor corruption haue naturally any power, although it be fitted to the body to gouerne it. And if any man doubt thereof, let him but examine himself; for euen his owne doubts wil proue it vnto him. Or if he wil stand in contention stil, let him fall to reasoning with himselfe: for by concluding his arguments to proue his Soule mortall, he shal giue iudgement himselfe that it is immortall. And if I haue left any thing vnalledged which might make to this purpose, (for why may I not, seeing that euen the selfesame things which I haue bene able to alledge on the behalfe of mine aduersaries, to driue them thereunto) let vs thinke also that he which feeleth himselfe conuicted in himselfe, and for whose behoofe and benefit it were greatly, both to beleeue it and to confesse it, needeth no more diligent proofe than hath bene made already. But if any will yet of spight stand wilfully still against himselfe, let him try how he can make answere to my foresaid argumentp: and in the meane while let vs see what the said opinion of the wisest men, yea and of the whole world hath bene vpon this matter.

The xv. Chapter.

That the immortality of the Soule hath bene taught by the Philosophers of olde time, and beleeued by all people and Nations.

SOothly it had bene a very hard case if this minde of ours which searcheth so many things in nature, had not taken some leasure to search it selfe and the nature thereof, and by searching atteined to some point in that behalfe. And therefore as there haue at all times bene men, so shall we see also that men haue at all times beleeued and admitted the immortalitie

immortalitie of the Soule: I say not some one man or some one Nation, but the whole world with generall consent, because all men vniuersally and particularly haue learned it in one Schoole, and at the mouth of one Teacher, namely euen their owne knowledge in themselues. The holy Scripture which teacheth vs our saluation, vseth no schoolearguments to make vs beléeue that there is a God: and that is because we cannot step out of our selues neuer so little, but we must néedes finde him present to all our Senses. And it séemeth to speake vnto vs the lesse expressly of the immortalitie of our soules, specially in the first bookes thereof, because we cannot enter into our selues be it neuer so little, but we must néedes perceiue it. But inasmuch as from the one ende thereof to the other, it declareth vnto vs the will of God: in so doing it doth vs to vnderstand, that it is a thing whereof it is not lawfull for vs to doubt. And whereas it setteth forth so precisely from age to age, the great and manifold troubles and paines which good and godly men haue sustained in indeuering to follow that wil; it sheweth infallibly that their so doing was in another respect than for this present wretched life. For who is he that would depart with any péece of his owne liking in this life, but in hope of better things? and what were it for him to lose his life, if there were not another life after this? This serueth to answere in one word to such as demaund expresse texts of Scripture, and are loth to finde that thing in the Bible, which is conteined there, not onely in euery leafe but almost in euery line. For whereas God created man after the world was fully finished and perfected: it was as much as if he had brought him into a Theatre prepared for him, howbeit after another sort than al the other liuing things which were to doe him seruice. As for Beastes, Birds, Plants, and such other things, the Elements brought them forth: but Man receiued his Soule by inspiration from God. Also the brute Beasts are put in subiection to man, but man is in subiection onely vnto God. And the conueying of that good man Henoche out of this life for his godlinesse, was to none other end, but to set him in another life void of all euill & full of all good. But when we reade the persecutions of Noe, the ouerthwartings of Abraham, the banishment and waifarings of Iacob, and the distresses of Ioseph, Moyses, and all the residue of the Fathers; they be all of them demonstrations that they did certeinly trust & beléeue that the Soule is immortall, that there is another life after this, and that there is a iudgement to come. For had they béene of opinion that there is none other life after this; the flesh would haue perswaded them to haue held themselues in quiet here, and they would haue liked nothing better than to haue followed swétly the common trade of the world, Noe among his frends, Abraham among the Chaldees, Moyses in Pharaos Court, & so forth. So then, although the Scripture séeme to conceale it, yet doth

The opinion of the Men of old time.

The beleefe of the Patriarks. &c.

doth it speake very lowde thereof in deede, considering that all the cries of the good and godly, and all the despaires of the wicked which it describeth vnto vs, doe sounde none other thing vnto vs, if we haue eares to heare it. And it may bee, that in the same respect, this article of the Immortalitie of the Soule was not put into the auncient Crede of the Iewes, nor also peculiarly into the Crede of vs Christians, because we beléeue beyond reason, and this is within the bounds of reason; and whosoeuer treateth of Religion must néedes presuppose God eternall and man immortall, without the which two, all Religion were in vaine. Also, when we sée that Godlinesse, Iustice, and vertue were commended among the Heathen of all ages: it is all one as if we shoulde heare them preach in expresse wordes the Immortalitie of the Soule. For their soe doing is builded euery whit vpon that, as vpon a foundation without the which those things could not stand. I will spend my goods or my life for the maintenance of Iustice. What is this Iustice but a vaine name, or to what end haue I so many respects, if I looke for nothing out of this present world here? I will (said a man of olde time) rather lose euen the reputation of an honest man, than behaue my selfe otherwise than honestly. But why should I doe so, if I looke for no good in another world, séeing I haue nothing but euill here? Surely if there be none other thing than this life, then is vertue to be vsed no further, than profit and commoditie may grow vpon it; and so should it become a Chaffer and Merchandise, and not vertue in deede. Yet notwithstanding, those are the ordinary spéeches, euen of such as speake doubtfully of the Immortalitie of the Soule. Therefore they do but deny the ground and yet graunt the consequence; which is all one as if a man hauing first béene burned, should fall do disputing whether fire be hot or no. But now (which is better for vs) I will here gather together their owne spéeches one after another.

The wise men of Egipt.

Hermes declareth in his Pœmander, how at the voice of the euerlasting, the Elements yéeldeth forth all reasonlesse liuing wights as it had béene out of their bosomes. But when he commeth to man, he saith, He made him like vnto himselfe, he linked himselfe to him as to his Sonne, (for he was beautifull and made after his owne Image) and gaue him all his works to vse at his pleasure. Againe, he exhorteth him to forsake his body, (notwithstanding that he wonder greatly at the cunning workemanship thereof) as the very cause of his death, and to manure his soule which is capable of immortalitie, and to consider the originall roote from whence it sprang, which is not earthly but heauenly, and to withdraw he himselfe euen from his sences and from their traiterous allurements to gather himselfe wholly into that minde of his which he hath from God, & by the which he following Gods word, may become as God. Discharge thy selfe (saith he) of his body which thou beareſt about thee, for he is but

Hermes in his Pœmander.

ἀνάπαυσον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἔδωκε αὐτῷ λόγον ἵνα ἔχῃ ὁδὸν εἰς ἀθανάτους τόπους.

but a cloke of ignorance, a foundation of infection, a place of corruption, a liuing death, a sensible carrion, a portable graue, and a houshold theefe. It flattereth thee because it hateth thee, and it hateth thee because it enuieth thee. As long as that liueth, it bereaueth thee of life, and thou hast not a greater enemy than that. Now, to what purpose were it for him to forsake this light, this dwelling place and this life, if he were not sure of a better in another world (as he himself saith more largely afterward:) On the other side, what is the Soule? The Soule (saith he) is the garment of the minde, & the garment of the Soule is a certein Spirit whereby it is vnited to the bodie. And this Minde is the thing which we call properly the Man, that is to say a heauenly wight which is not to be compared with Beasts, but rather with the Gods of Heauen, if he be not yet more than they. The Heauenly cannot come downe to the earth without leauing the Heauen, but Man measureth the Heauen without remouing frō the earth. The earthly man then is as a mortal God, & the heauenly God is as an immortal man. To be short, his conclusion is, that man is double, mortall as touching his body, & immortall as touching his Soule, which Soule is the substanciall man and the very man created immediatlie of God (saith he) as the light is bred immediatly of the Sunne. And Chalcidius saith that at his death he spake these words. I go home againe into mine owne Country where my better forefathers and kinsfolke be.

Hermes in his Pœmander. cap. 10.

Of Zoroastres who is yet of more antiquitie than Hermes, we haue nothing but fragments. Neuertheless, many report this article to be one of his, That mens soules are immortall, and that one day there shal be a generall rising againe of their bodies; and the answers of the Wise men of Chaldie (who are the heires of his Doctrine) doe answere sufficiently for him. There is one that exhorteth men to returne with speede to their heauenly father, who hath sent them from aboue a Soule indued with much vnderstanding; and another that exhorteth them to seeke Paradise as the Peculiar dwelling place of the Soule. A third saith that the Soule of man hath God as it were shut vp in it, and that it hath not any mortalitie therein. For (saith he) the soule is as it were dronken with God, and sheweth forth his wonders in the harmonie of this mortall body. And againe another saith, It is a cleere fire proceeding from the power of the heauenly father, an vncorruptible substance, and the maintener of life, containing almost all the whole world with the full plentie thereof in his bosome. But one of them proceedeth yet further, affirming that he which setteth his minde vpon Godlinesse, shall saue his bodie, fraile though it bee. And by those words he acknowledgeth the very glorifying of the bodie.

Hermes in his Esculapius. Æneas Gaz. concerning the immortalitie of the Soule. Chaldeans.

The Greekes.

Now, all these sayings are reported by the Platonists, and namely by Psellus; and they refuse not to be acknowne that Pythagoras and Plato

learned them of the Chaldees; insomuch that some thinke, that the foresaid Hermes and Zoroastres and the residue afore mentioned, are the same of whom Plato speaketh in his second Epistle, and in the eleuenth booke of Lawes, when he saith that the auncient and holy Oracles are to be beléeued, which affirme mens Soules to bée immortall, and that in another life they must come before a Iudge that will require an account of al their doings. The effect whereof commeth to this, that the Soule of man procéedeth immediatly from God, that is to say, that the father of the bodie is one, and the father of the Soule is another: That the Soule is not a bodilie substance, but a Spirit and a light: That at the departure thereof from hence, it is to goe into a Paradise, and therefore ought to make haste vnto death: And that it is so farre from mortalitie, that it maketh euen the body immortall. What can we say more at this day euen in the time of light wherein we bée? Pherecydes the Syrian, the first that was knowne among the Greekes to haue written in prose, taught the same. And that which Virgil saith in his second Eglog concerning the Drug or Spice of Assyria, and the growing thereof every where, is interpreted of some men to bée ment of the Immortalitie of the Soule, the doctrine whereof Pherecides brought thence into Greece; namely, that it should be vnderstood euerywhere throughout the whole world. Also Phocylides who was at the same time, speaketh thereof in these words.

Pherecydes.

Assyrium vulgo nascetur Amomum.

Procylides.

ψυχὴ δ' ἀθάνατος ἠδ' ἀγήρως ζῇ διὰ παντός. That is to say:

The Soule of man immortall is, and neuer weares away
With any age or length of time, but liueth fresh for aye.

And againe,

ἀσπάσια δ' ἀνθρώπων ἐνθάδε θνητὰ λέλοιπεν·
ψυχαὶ γὰρ μίμνουσιν ἀείμνηστοι ἐν ἀθανάτοις.

The Remnants which remaine of men vnburied in the graue,
Become as Gods, and in the Heauens a life most blessed haue:
For through their bodies turne to dust, as daily we do see,
Their Soules liue still for euermore from all corruption free.

And in another place he saies againe:

Καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀίδεω γαίης ἀναδύσεσθαι ἐς φάος ἠελίου.

We hope that we shall come againe
Out of the earth to light more plaine.

And if ye aske him the cause of all this: he will answere you in another verse thus.

Πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοῦ χρῆμα θνητὸν ἠδ' εἶδος.

Because the Soule, Gods instrument and Image also is.

Which saying he séemeth to haue taken out of this verse of Sibils.

Sybill.

Εἶναι ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐμὸν λόγον ἐνθρόνον ἰσχύον.

In very reason Man should bee.
The Image and the shape of mee.

Of the same opinion also are Orpheus, Theognis, Homer, Hesiodus, Pindar, and al the Poets of old time; which may answere both for themselues and their owne Countries, and for the residue of their ages. Likewise Pythagoras a disciple of Pherecides, held opinion that the Soule is a bodilesse and immortall substance, put into this body as into a Prison for sinning. And whereas the flæting of soules out of one body into another, is fathered vpon him; although the opinion be not directly against the immortalitie of the Soule, yet doe many men thinke that hee hath wrong done vnto him. And his disciple Timæus of Locres reporteth otherwise of him. For what punishmet were it to a voluptuous man, to haue his Soule put into a beast, that he might become the more voluptuous without remorse of sinne? Soothly it is al one as if in punishment of Murder or theft, ye would make the Murderer to cut the throtes of his owne Father and Mother, or the Theefe to commit trechery against God. Howsoeuer the case stand, he teacheth in his verses, that man is of heauenly race, and that (as Iamblicus reporteth) he is set in this world to behold God. And his disciple Architas saith, that God breathed reason and vnderstanding into him. Likewise Philolaus affirmath that the Diuins and Prophets of old time bare record, that the Soule was cupled with the bodie for hir sinnes, and buried in the same as in a Graue. Of Epicharmus we haue this saying. If thou beest a good man in thy heart, Death can doe thee no harme, for thy Soule shall liue happily in heauen, &c. Also of Heraclides we haue this saying, We liue the death of them (that is to say of the blessed) his meaning is, that we be not buried with our bodies; and we die their Life, that is to say, we bee still after this body of ours is dead. Of the like opinion are Thales, Anaxagoras, and Diogenes concerning this point; yea and so is Zeno to, howbeit that he thought the Soule to bee begotten of Man, wherein he was contrary to himselfe. To be short, scarcly were there any to be found among the men of olde time, saue onely Democritus and Epicurus, that helde the contrarie waie; whome the Poet Lucre immitated afterwarde in his verses. Yet notwithstanding when Epicurus shoulde die, hee commaunded an Anniuersarie or Peereminde to be kept in remembrance of him by his Disciples: so greatly delighted he in a vaine shadowe of Immortalitie, hauing shaken off the very thing it selfe. And Lucrece (as it is written of him) made his booke beeing mad, at such times as the fittes of his madnesse were off him, surely more mad when he thought himselfe wisest, than when the fittes of his phrensie were strongest vpon him. Whosoeuer readeth the goodly discourses of Socrates vpon his drinking of poison, as they be reported by Plato and Xenophon himselfe, can not doubt of his opinion in this case. For he not onely beleeued it himselfe, but also perswaded many men to it with liuely reasons, yea & by his own death

Pindar in the second song of his Olimpiads. Homer in the Funeralles of his Iliads.

Pythagoras. Heraclitus as he is reported by Philo. Epicharmvs as he is reported by Clement of Alexandria.

Thales, Anaxagoras, Diogenes and Zeno.

Epicurus.

Lucretius.

Socrates, Plato and Xenophon.

death much more than by all his life. And so ye see we be come vnto Plato and Aristotle, with consent of all the wise men of olde time, vngainesaid of any, sauing of a two or three malapart wretches, whom the vngratiousest of our daies would estéeme but as dronken sotts and dizards. Certelie Plato (who might peraduenture haue heard speake of the bookes of Moyses) doth in his Timæus bring in God giuing commaundement to the vndergods whom he created, that they should make man both of mortall and of immortall substances. Wherein it may be that he alluded to this saying in Genesis, Let vs make man after our owne Image and likenesse. In which case the Iewes say that GOD directed his speeche to his Angels; but our Diuines say, hée spake to himselfe. But anone after, both in the same booke and in many other places, Plato (as it were comming to himselfe againe,) teacheth that God created Man by himself, yea and euen his Liuer and his Braine and all his senses, that is to say, the Soule of him, not onely indued with reason and vnderstanding, but also with sence and abilitie of growing and increasing; and also the instruments whereby the same doe worke. Moreouer he maketh such a manifest difference betwéene the Soule and body; as that hee matcheth them not together as matter and forme, as Aristotle doth: But as a Pilot and a Shippe, a Commonweale and a Magistrate, an Image and him that beareth it vpon him. What greater thing can there be than to be like God? Now (saith Plato in his Phœdon) The Soule of Man is verie like the Godhead, immortall, Reasonable, Vniforme, Vndissoluble, and euermore of one sorte, which are conditions (saith he) is his matters of state that cannot agree but to things most diuine. And therefore at his departing out of the worlde, he willed his Soule to returne home to her kindred and to her first originall, that is to wit, (as he himselfe saith there) to the wise and immortall Godhead, the Fountaine of al goodnesse, as called home from banishment into her owne natiue countre. He termeth it ordinarily συγγενὲς τῷ θεῷ, that is to say, of kinne vnto God, and consequently ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀϊδίου ἀθανάτοις, that is to say, Euerlasting, and of one selfesame name with the immortall ones, a Heauenly Plant and not a Earthly, rooted in Heauen and not in Earth, begotten from aboue and not héere beneath, and finally such as cannot die héere, forasmuch as it liueth still in another place. To be short, séeing (saith he) that it comprehendeth the things that are Diuine and immortall, that is to wit, the Godhead, and the things that are vnchaungeable and vncorruptble, as trueth is: it cannot be accounted to be of any other nature than they. The same opinion doth Plutarche also attribute vnto him, which appeareth almost in euery leafe of his writings. As touching the auncienter sorte of Platonists, they agrée all with one accord in the immortalitie of the Soule, sauing that some of them deriue it from God, and some from the

Plato is his Timæus.

Plato in his Timæus, and in the third booke of a Cómonweale

Plato in his Phœdon, in his matter of state, in his Alcibiades, & in the tenth booke of his Cómonweale

Plato in his fifth booke of Lawes.

the Soule of the World, some make but the Reason or minde only to be immortall, and some the whole Soule: which disagreement may well be salued, if we say that the soule all whole together is immortal in power or abilitie, though the execution & performance of the actions which are to be donne by the body, be forgone with the instruments or members of the body.

The disagrément concerning this point among such as a man may vouchsafe to call by the name of Philosophers, séemeth to haue begonne at Aristotle, howbeit that his Disciples count it a commendation to him, that he hath giuen occasion to doubt of his opinion in that behalfe. For it is certeine that his newfound doctrine of the Eternitie or euerlastingnesse of the World, hath distroubled his braine in many other thinges, as commonly it falleth out, that one erro'r brédeth many other. Because nature (saith he) could not make euery man particularly to continue for euer by himselfe, therefore she continueth him in the kinde by matching Male and Female together. This is spoken either grossely or doubtfully. But whereas he saith that if the Minde haue any inwo'rking of it owne without any helpe of the Sences or of the body, it may also continue of it selfe, concluding thereupon that then it may be separated from the body, as an immortall thing from a thing that is transitorie and mortall: It followeth consequently also, that the Soule may haue continuance of it selfe, as whereof he vttereth these wo'rds, namely, That the Soule commeth from without, and not of the séede of Man as the body doth, and that the Soule is the onely part in vs that is Diuine. Now, to be Diuine and be to Humane, to be of séede & to be from without, that is to say, from God, are things flat contrary, whereof the one so'rt is subiect to co'rruption, and the other not. In the tenth booke of his Mo'ralles he acknowledgeth two so'rts of life in man, the one as in respect that he is composed of Body and Soule, the other as in respect of Minde onely, the one occupied in the powers which are called humane and bodily, which is also accompanied with the felicitie in this life, and the other occupied in the vertues of the minde, which is accompanied also with a felicitie in another life. This which consisteth in contemplation, is better than the other, and the felicitie thereto belonging, is peculiarly described by him in his bookes of Heauen aboue Time, as which consisteth in the franke and fre wo'rking of the Minde, and in beholding the souereine God. And in good soth, full well doth Michael of Ephesus vpon this saying of his conclude, that the Soule is immortall, and so must all his Mo'ralls nédes doe, considering that to liue well, whether it be to a mans self or towards other men, were els a vaine thing and to no purpose but to vexe our mindes in this life. In his bookes of the Soule, hé not onely separateth the Body from the Soule, but also putteth a difference betwixt the Soule it self & the Minde,

Aristotle in his second booke of liuing things.

Aristotle in the third book of the Soule.

Aristtle in his tenth booke of moralles.

Michaell of Ephesus vpon Aristotles Moralles.

terming the Soule the inwoꝛking of the body and of the bodily instruments; and the minde that reasonable substance which is in vs, whereof the doings haue no felowship with the doings of the body, an whereof the Soule is (as Plato saith) but the Garment. This minde (saith he) may be seuered from the body, it is not in any wise mingled with it, it is of such substance as cannot be hurt or wrought vpon, it hath being and continuance actually and of it selfe, and euen when it is seperated from the body, then is it immoꝛtall and euerlasting. To be shoꝛt, it hath not any thing like vnto the body. For it is not any of all those thinges which haue beeing afore it vnderstand them. And therefore which of all bodily things can it be? And in another place he saith thus: As concerning the Minde, and the contemplatiue powre, it is not yet sufficientlie apparant what it is. Neuertheleſſe it seemeth to be another kinde of Soule, and it is that onely which can be seperated from the corruptible, as the which is aye euerlasting. To be shoꝛt, when as he putteth this question, whether a Natural Philosopher is to dispute of al maner of soules, oꝛ but onely of that Soule which is immaterial: it followeth that he granteth that there is such a one. And againe, when as he maketh this Argument, Looke what GOD is euerlastinglie, that are we in possibilitie according to our measure. But he is euerlastinglie seperated from bodilie things, therefore the time will come that we shall be so too. He taketh it that there is an Image of GOD in vs, yea euen of the Diuine nature which hath continuance of it selfe. Very well and rightly therefoꝛe doth Simplicius gather thereof, the immoꝛtalitie of the Soule. Foꝛ it dependeth vpon this seperation and vpon continuance of being of it selfe. Besides this he saith also, that hunting of beastes is graunted to man by the lawe of Nature, because that thereby man chalengeth nothing but that which naturally is his owne. By what right I pꝛay you, if there be no moꝛe in himselfe than in them? And what is there moꝛe in him then in them, if they haue a Soule equall vnto his? Hereunto make all his commendations of Godlines, of Religion, of blessednesse, and of contemplation. Foꝛ to what ende serue all these, which doe but camber vs here belowe? Therefoꝛe surely it is to be concluded, that as he spake doubtfully in some one place, so he both termed and also taught to speake better in many other places, as appeareth by his Disciple Theophrastus, who speaketh yet moꝛe euidently thereof than hee.

ἀρετὴ, διοῖκ συγχαίρεται, διαφέρεται, χαρὶς, ἀμιγὴς, ἀπαθὴς, τὸ ἀθάνατον παγκαλὸν

In his second booke of the Soule.

In the last booke of the parts of beasts

In the tenth of his Supernaturalles.

In his first booke of matters of state.

The opinion of the Latin writers.

The Latins (as I haue said afoꝛe) fell to Philosophie somewhat later then the Greekes. And as touching their common opinion, the exercises of superstition that were among them, the maner of speeches which we marke in their Hiſtoꝛies, the contempt of death, and their hope of another life; can giue vs sufficient warrant thereof. Cicero speaketh

vnto

vnto vs in these wordes. The originall of our Soules and Mindes cannot be found in this lowe earth: for there is not any mixture in them, or any compounding that may seeme to be bred or made of the earth. Neither is there any moisture, any windinesse, or any firie matter in them. For no such thing could haue in it the powre of memory, Vnderstanding and conceit, to beare in minde things past, to foresee things to com, and to consider things present, which are matters altogether Diuine. And his conclusion is, that therefore they be deriued from the Minde of GOD, that is to say, not bred or begotten of Man, but created of God: not bodilie, but vnbodilie; whereupon it followeth that the Soule cannot be corrupted by these transitorie things. The same Cicero in another place saith that betweene God and Man there is a kinred of reason, as there is betweene man and man a kinred of blode. That the fellowship betweene man and man commeth of the mortall body, but the fellowship betweene God and Man commeth of God himselfe who created the Soule in vs. By reason whereof (saith he) we may say we haue Aliance with the heauenly sort, as folke that are descended of the same race and roote, whereof that we may euermore be mindfull, we must looke vp to heauen as to the place of our birth, whither we must one daie returne. And therefore yet once againe he concludeth thus of himselfe. Thinke not (saith he) that thou thy selfe art mortall, it is but thy bodie that is so. For thou art not that which this outward shape pretendeth to be, the Minde of Man is the man in deede, and not this lumpe which may be pointed at with ones Finger. Assure thy selfe therefore that thou art a GOD For needes must that be a God, which liueth, perceiueth, remembereth, foreseeth, and finally reigneth in the bodie as the great God the maker of all things doth in the vniuersall world. For as the eternall God ruleth & mooueth this transitory world, so doth the immortal Spirit of our soule moue & rule our fraile bodie. Vnto which consent al the writers of his time, as Ouid, Virgil & others, whose verses are in euery mans remembrance.

Cicero in his first booke of his Tusculane Questions, & in his booke of Comfort.

Cicero in his second booke of the Nature of the Gods: and in his first booke of Lawes.

In Scipioes dreame.

Ouid in his first booke of Metemorphosis.

There wanted yet the wight that should all other wights exceede
In loftie reach of stately Minde, who like a Lord in deede
Should ouer all the residue reigne, Then shortly came forth Man,
Whome either he that made the worlde and all things else began,
Created out of seede diuine, or els the earth yet yoong
And lately parted from the Skie, the seede thereof vncloong
Reteined still in fruitfull wombe: which Iapets sonne did take,
And tempering it with water pure, a wight thereof did make,
Which should resemble euen the Gods which souereine state doe hold.
And where all other things the ground with groueling eie behold,
He gaue to man a stately looke and full of Maiestie,
Commaunding him with stedfast looke to face the starrie Skie.

Here

Here a man might bring in almost all Senecaes writings; but I will content my selfe with a fewe sayings of his. Our Soules (saith he) are a part of Gods Spirit, and sparkes of holy things shining vpon the earth, They come from another place than this lowe one. Whereas they seeme to bee conuersant in the bodie, yet is the better part of them in Heauen, alway neere vnto him which sent them hither. And how is it possible that they should be from beneath, or from aniwhere els than from aboue, seeing they ouerpasse all these lower things as nothing, and hold skorne of all that euer we can hope or feare? Thus ye see how he teacheth that our Soules come into our bodies from aboue. But whither go they againe, when they depart hence? Let vs here him what he saies of the Lady Martiaes sonne that was dead. He is now euerlasting (saith he) and in the best state, bereft of this earthly baggage which was none of his, and set free to himselfe. For these bones, these sinewes, this coate or skinne, this face, and these seruiceable hands, are but fetters and prisons of the Soule. By them the soule is ouerwhelmed, beaten downe, and chased away. It hath not a greater battell, than with that masse of flesh. For feare of beeing torne in peeces, it laboreth to returne from whence it came, where it hath readie for it an happie and euerlasting rest. And againe: This Soule cannot be made an Outlawe: for it is a kin to the Gods, equall to the whole world, and to al time, and the thought or conceit therof goeth about the whole Heauen, extending it selfe from the beginning of all time to the vttermost point of that which is to come. The wretched corps being the Iayle and fetters of the Soule, is tossed to and froe. Vpon that are tormentes, murthers, and diseases executed. As for the Soule, it is holy and euerlasting, and cannot be laide hand on. When it is out of this bodie, it is at libertie and set free from all bondage, and is conuersant in that beautifull place (whersoeuer it be) which receiueth mens Soules into the blessed rest thereof as soone as they be deliuered from hence. To be short, he seemeth to pricke very neere to the rising againe of the dead. For in a certeine Epistle to Lucillus, his wordes are these. Death, whereof we be so much afraide, doth not bereaue vs of life, but onely discontinue it for a time, and a day will com that shall bring vs to light againe. This may suffice to giue vs knowledge of the opinion of that great personage, in whome we see that the more he grew in age, the neerer he came still to the true birth. For in his latest bookes he treateth alwaies both more assuredly & more suidentlytherof.

Seneca writing to Gallio and to Lucillius.

Seneca concerning the Lady Martiaes Sonne and the shortnesse of this life in his Questions and in his booke of Comfort.

Fauorinus.

And the saying of Phauorinus is notable. There is nothing great on earth, (saith he) but Man, and nothing greate in Man, but his Soule. If thou mount vp thither, thou mountest aboue Heauen. And if thou stoope downe againe to the bodie, and compare it with the Heauen, it is lesse than a Flie, or rather a thing of nothing. At one worde, this is

as

as much to say, as that in this clod of clay, there dwelleth a diuine & incorruptible nature: for how could it els be greater than the whole world?

As touching the Nations of olde time, we reade of them all, that they had certeine Religions and diuine Seruices, so as they beléeued that there is a Hell, and certeine fieldes which they call the Elysian fieldes, as we sée in the Poets Pindarus, Diphilius, Sophocles, Euripides and others. The more superstitious that they were, the more sufficiently doe they witnesse vnto vs what was in their Conscience. For true Religion and Superstition haue both one ground, namely the Soule of man; and there could be no Religion at all, if the Soule liued not when it is gone hence. We reade of the Indians, that they burned themselues afore the came to extréme old age, terming it the letting of men lose, and the fréeing of the Soule from the body: and the sooner that a man did it, the wiser was he estéemed. Which custome is obserued still at this day among the people that dwell by the Riuer Niger otherwise called the people of Senega in Affricke, who offer themselues willingly to be buried quicke with their Maisters. All the demonstrations of Logike and Mathematicke (saith Zeno) haue not so much force to proue the immortalitie of the soule, as this onely doing of theirs hath. Also great Alexander hauing taken prisoners ten of their Philosophers, (whom they call Gimnosophists) asked of one of them to trie their wisedome, whether there were mo men aliue or dead. The philosopher answered, that there were moe aliue: Because (said he) there are none dead. We may well thinke they gaue a drie mocke to all the arguments of Aristotle and Callisthenes, which with all their Philosophie had taught their Scholler Alexander so euill. Of the Thracians, we reade that they sorrowed at the birth of men and reioiced at the death of them, yea euen of their owne Children. And that was because they thought that which we call death, not to be a death in déede, but rather a very happie birth. And these bee the people whome Herodotus reporteth to haue béene called the Neuerdying Getes, and whome the Greekes called the Neuerdying Getes or Thracians. Who were of opinion that at their departing out of this world, they went to Zamolxis or Gebeleizie, that is to say (after the interpretation of the Getish or Gotish tongue) to him that gaue them health, saluation or welfare, and gathered them together. The like is said of the Galles, chiefly of the inhabiters about Marsilles and of their Druiges; of the Hetruscians and their Bishops; and of the Scythians and their Sages of whom all the learning and wisedome was grounded vpon this point. For like how men did spread abroad, so also did this doctrine, which is so déepely printed in man, that he cannot but carie it continually with him. Which thing is to be séene yet more in that which we reade concerning the hearers of Hegesias the Cyrenian,

The common opinion of all nations.

Porphyrius in his 4. booke of Abstinence.

Which with their owne hands made the fire to burne their bodies in: and sawe aliue the kindled flame that should consume their Skinne.

Gebeleize, that is to say a Register or Giuer of ease and rest.

who

who died willingly after they had hard him discourse of the state of mens Soules after this life; and likewise concerning Cleombrotus the Ambraciote, who slewe himselfe when he had read a certeine treatise of the immortalitie of the Soule. For had it not bene a doctrine most euident to mans wit, they would neuer haue bene caried so farre by it, as to the hurting of their bodies. And if among so many people, there be perchaunce some fewe wretched caytifes, that haue borne themselues on hand the contrary, which thing neuertheless they could neuer yet fully perswade themselues to be out of al doubt or question: surely we may beleeue that they had very much adoe and were vtterly besotted like Drunkards, afore they could come to that point: so as we may well say of them as Hierocles the Pythagorist said: namely, That the wicked would not haue their Soules to be immortall, to the intent they might not be punished for their faults: But yet that they preuent the sentence of their Iudge, by condemning themselues vnto death afore hand. But if they will neither beate GOD, nor the whole worlde, nor themselues: let them at least wise hearken to the Deuil as wel as they do in other things, who (as saith Plutarke) made this answer to Corax of Naxus and others in these verses.

Herocles in his x Chapter

Plutark in his treatice of the slow punishing of the wicked.

It were a great wickednesse for thee to say
The Soule to be mortall or for to decay.

And vnto Pylytes he answered thus.

As long as the Soule to the body is tyde,
Though loth, yet all sorrowes it needes must abide.
But when fro the body Death doth it remoone,
To heauen by and by then it flies vp aboue.
And there euer youthfull in blisse it doth rest,
As God by his wisedome hath set for the best.

Not that any saying of the Deuilles owne is to be alledged in witnesse of the trueth; further forth than to shewe that he speakes it by compulsion of Gods mightie power, as wicked men diuers times do when they be vpon the Racke. Now we bee come to the time or neere to the time that the heauenlie doctrine of Iesus Christ was spred ouer the whole world, vnto which time I haue proued the continuall succession of that doctrine, which could not but be vnseperably ioyned with the succession of men. But from this time forth it came so to light among al nations and all persons; that Saint Austin after a sort triumphing ouer vngodlinesse, crieth out in diuers places, saying: Who is now so very a foole or so wicked, as to doubt stil of the immortality of the soule? Epictetus a Stoik philosopher, who was had in very great reputation among al men of his time, is ful of godly sayings to the same purpose. May we not be ashamed (saith he) to leade an vnhonest life, and to suffer our

The opinion of the later Philosophers.

selues

selues to be vanquished by aduersitie? we be alied vnto God, we came from thence, and we haue leaue to returne thither from whence we came. One while, as in respect of the Soule, he termeth man the offspring of GOD, or as it were a braunch of the Godhead; and another while he calleth him a diuine Impe or a sparke of God: by all which words (howbeit that they be somewhat vnproper) (for what words can a man find to fit that matter?) he sheweth the vncorruptiblenesse of the substance of mans Soule. And whereas the Philosopher Simplicius hath so diligently commented vpon his bookes, it doth sufficiently answere for his opinion in that case, without expressing his wordes here. Plotinus the excellentest of all the Platonists, hath made nine treatises expressely concerning the nature of the Soule, besides the things which he hath written dispersedly here and there in other places. His chiefe conclusions are these. That mens Soules proceede not of their bodies, nor of the seede of the Parents, but come from aboue, and are as ye would say grafted into our bodies by the hand of God: That the Soule is partly tied to the body and to the instruments thereof; and partly franke, free, worke full, and continuing of it selfe; and yet notwithstanding that it is neither a body nor the harmonie of the bodie, but (if we consider the life and operation which it giueth to the body) it is after a sort the perfection (or rather the perfector) of the body; and if we haue an eie to the vnderstanding whereby it guideth the mouings and doings of the body; it is as a Gouernour of the body: That the further it is withdrawne from the Sences, the better it discourseth of things; insomuch that when it is vtterly seperated from them, it vnderstandeth things without discoursing, reasoning or debating, yea euen in a moment; because this debating is but a certeine lightening or brightnesse of the minde, which now taketh aduisement in matters whereof it doubteth, and it doubteth wheresoeuer the body yeeldeth any impediments vnto it; but it shall neither doubt nor take aduisement any more when it is once out of the body, but shall conceiue the trueth without wauering: That the Soule in the body is not properly there as in a place, or as in a ground, because it is not conteined or comprehended therein, & may also be separated from it; but rather if a man had eies to see it withal, he should see that the bodie is in the Soule, as an accessary is in a principall, or as a thing conteined in a conteiner, or a sheading or liquid thing in a thing that is not liquid, because the the Soule imbraceth the body, and quickneth it, and mooueth it equally and alike in al parts. That euery abilitie thereof is in euery part of the body, as much in one part as in another, as a whole Soule in euery part; notwithstanding that euery seuerall ability thereof seeme to be seuerally in some particuler member or part, because the instruments thereof are there, as the sensitiue ability seemeth to rest in the head, the irefull in the heart,

Epictetus. ἀπόσπασμα Θεοῦ.

Simplicius.

Plotinus.

Plotin. lib. 1. Ennead. 4. cõcerning the Beeing of the Soule, & lib. 2. cap. 1. & lib. 3. cap. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23. lib. 4. cap. 11. & the seauenth book through our.

heart and quickning in the Liuer, because the Sinewes, Heartstrings and Vaines come from those parts: Whereas the reasonable power is not in any part, sauing so farre forth as it worketh and hath his operation there, neither hath it néede of place or instrument for the executing of it selfe. And to be short, that the Soule is a life by it selfe, a life all in one, vnpartable; which causeth to grow, and groweth not it selfe, which goeth throughout the bodie, and yet is not conteined of the bodie; which vniteth the Sences, and is not deuided by the Sences, and therefore that it is a bodilesse substance, which cannot be touched neither from within nor from without, hauing no néede of the bodie either outwardly or inwardly, and consequently is immortall, diuine, yea and almost a very God: Which things he proueth by many reasons, which were to long to bée rehearsed here. Yea he proceedeth so farre as to say, that they which are passed into another world, haue their memory still, not withstanding that to some mens séeming it goe away with the Sences as the treasury of the Sences. Howbeit he affirmeth it to be the more excellent kinde of memorie, not that which calleth things againe to minde as already past, but that which holdeth & beholdeth them still as alwaies present. Of which two sorts, this latter he calleth Mindfulnes, and the other he calleth Remembrance. I will ad but onely one sentence more of his for a full president of his Doctrine. The Soule (saith he) hath had company with the Gods, and is immortall, and so would we say of it (as Plato affirmeth) if we sawe it faire & cleere. But forasmuch as we se it commonly troubled, we thinke it not to be either diuine or immortall, howbeit that he which will discerne the nature of a thing perfectly, must consider it in the very owne substance or being, vtterly vnmingled with any other thing. For whatsoeuer els is added into it, doth hinder the perfect discerning of the same. Therefore let euery man behold himselfe naked without any thing saue himself, so as he looke vpon nothing els than the bare Soule: & surely when he hath viewed himselfe in his owne nature merely as in respect of his Minde he shall beleeue himself to be immortall, For he shall see that his Minde aimeth not properly at the sensible and mortal things, but that by a certeine euerlasting power, it taketh hold of the things that are euerlasting, and of whatsoeuer is possible to be conceiued in vnderstãding: insomuch that euen it selfe becommeth after a sort a very World of vnderstanding and light. This is against those which pretend a weakenes of the Soule, by reason of the inconueniences which it indureth very often in the body.

Plotinus in his booke of the Senses, & of Memory. En. 4. lib. 3. and in his booke of doubts concerning the Soule cap. 26. 27.

Of the same opinion are Numenius, Iamblicus, Porphirius, and Proclus, notwithstanding that nowe and then they passe their boundes, suffering their wits to runne ryot. For in their Philosophie they had none other rule, than onely the drift of their owne reason. It was com-

monly

monly thought that Alexander of Aphrodise beléeued not the immortalitie of the Soule, because he defined it to be the forme of the body proceeding of the mixture and temperature of the Elements. Surely these words of his doe vs to vnderstand, either that he ment to define but the sensitiue life onely (as many others doe) and not the reasonable soule, or that he varieth from himselfe in other places. And in very déede hee saith immediatly afterward, that he speaketh of the things which are subiect to generation and corruption. But speaking of the Soule he saith it is separable, vnmateriall, vnmixed, and void of passions, vnlesse perchaunce we may thinke as some doe, that by this Soule he meane but onely God and not also the Soule that is in vs, for the which thing he is sharpely rebuked by Themistius, who notwithstanding speaketh neuer a whit better thereof himselfe. Howsoeuer he deale elsewhere, these words of his following are without any doubtfulnes at all. The Soule (saith he) which is in vs, commeth from without and is vncorruptible, I say vncorruptible because the nature thereof is such, and it is the very same that Aristotle affirmeth to come from without. And in his second booke of Problemes, searching the cause why the abilities of the Soule are oftentimes impeached: If a mans braine be hurt (saith he) the reasonable soule doth not well execute the actions that depend thereon. But yet for all that, it abideth still in it selfe, vnchanngeable of nature, abilitie and power, through the immortalitie thereof. And if it recouer a sound instrument, it putteth her abilities in execution as wel as it did afore. But I wil reasō more at large hereafter against the opinion that is fathered vpon him.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his bookes of the Soule.

In his second booke of Problemes.

What shall we say of Galene, (who fathereth the causes of all things as much as he can, vpon the Elements and the mixture & agréeable concord of them) if after his disputing against his owne Soule, he be constreined to yéeld that it is immortal? Surely in his booke concerning the manners of the soule he doth the worst that he can against Plato: and in another place he doubteth whether it be immortall, and whether it haue continuance of it selfe or no. Yet notwithstanding, in his booke of the doctrine of Hippocrates and Plato, It must needes be graunted (saith he) that the Soule is either a sheere body and of the nature of the Skye, (as the Stoikes and Aristotle himselfe are inforced to confesse) or els a bodilesse substance, whereof the body is as it were the Chariot, & where by it hath fellowship with other bodies. And it appeareth that he inclineth to this latter part: For he maketh the vital spirit to be the excellentest of all bodily things, and yet he graunteth the Soule to bée a far more excellent thing than that. What shal we thē do? Let vs weigh his words set down in his booke of ỹ conception of a child in ỹ Mothers womb The Soule of Man (saith he) is an influence of the vniuersall Soule that descendeth from the heauenly Region, a substance that is capable

Galen in his booke of the Manners of the Soule.

In his booke of the doctrin. of Hippocrates and Plato.

In his booke of Conception.

of

of knowledge, which aspireth alwaies to one substance like vnto it selfe, which leaueth all these lower things to seeke the things that are aboue, which is partaker of the heauenly Godhead, and which by mounting vp to the beholding of things that are aboue the heauens, putteth it selfe into the presence of him that ruleth all things. Were it reason then that such a substance comming from elsewhere than of the body, and mounting so farre aboue the body, should in the ende die with the body, because it vseth the seruice of the body?

The vniuersal consent.

Now hereunto I coulde adde infinite other sayings of the auncient authors both Greeke and Latine Philosophers, Poets, and Orators from age to age, wherein they treate of the iudgement to come, of the reward of good men, of the punishment of euill men, of Paradise and of Hell, which are appendants to the immortalitie of the Soule: but as now I wil but put the reader in minde of them by the way, reseruing them to their peculiar places. To be short, let vs runne at this day from East to West, and from North to South, I say not among the Turkes, Arabians, or Persians, (for their Alcoran teacheth them that mans Soule was breathed into him of God, and consequently that it is incorruptible) but euen among the most barbarous, ignorant and beastly people of the World, I meane the very Caribies and Cannibals, and we shall finde this beleefe receiued and imbraced of them all. Which giueth vs to vnderstande, that it is not a doctrine inuented by speculations of some Philosophers, conueied from Countrie to countrie by their disciples, perswaded by likelihoods of reasons, or (to be short) infered into mans wit by his eares: but a natiue knowledge, which euery man findeth and readeth in himselfe, which he carieth euerie where about with himself, and which is as easie to bee perswaded vnto all such as viewe themselues in themselues, as it is easie to perswade a man that neuer sawe his owne face, to beleeue that he hath a face, by causing him to behold himselfe in a glasse.

In the Alcorã Azo. 25. and 42.

It appeareth by the stories of the East and West Indies.

Against Auerrhoes.

There remaine yet two opinions, to be confuted. The one is the opinion of Auerrhoes, and the other is the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodise, who affirme themselues to hold both of Aristotle, namely in that they vpholde that there is but one vniuersall reasonable Soule or minde, which worketh all our discourses in vs, howbeit diuersely in euery seuerall person. And this thing (if we beleeue Auerrhoes) is done according to the diuersitie of the Phantasies or Imaginations wherewith the minde is serued as with instruments. But if we beleeue Alexander, it is done according to the diuersities of the capable minde as they terme it, that is to say, of the abilitie or capabilitie that is in men to vnderstand things, by receiuing the impression of the vniuersal minde that worketh into euery of them which in respect thereof is called of them the worker.

Let the Reader beare these termes and their significations in Minde, for all the discourse here ensuing.

worker. Worthy these opinions are such as may be disproued in one worde. For this onely one Minde, whether in possibilitie or in action, could not haue restrained or imprinted in euery man one selfesame cõmon beléefe and conceit of the immortalitie of the Soule, in so great diuersitie of imaginations, and in so many Nations, as we sée doe beleeue it, considering that the very same conceit is directly repugnant against it. May, it may well be said that Auerrhoes and Alexander had very diuers conceits and imaginations one from another, and very contrary to all other mens, séeing they had so diuers and contrary opinions imprinted either in their minde or in their imagination. Howbeit forasmuch as there may be some ỹ will make a doubt of it; Let vs examine them seuerally yet more aduisedly. First Auerrhoes will néeds beare Aristotle on hand, that Aristotle is of that opinion. Let vs sée how this surmize of his can agrée with the propositions which Aristotle hath left vs. Aristotle telleth vs that the Soule is knit to the body as the forme or shape to the matter, that the Soule hath thrée chiefe powers, namely of life, of sence, and of vnderstanding; & that the vnderstanding part conteineth in his power both the other two powers, as a fiuesquare conteineth both a Fowersquare & a Triangle. Whereupon it followeth that if any one of the thrée powers of the Soule be ioyned to the body as a forme to the matter; all the thrée be ioyned so to, as which are all in one soule as in their roote. Now Auerrhoes neither can nor will denie that the powers of growing & of perceiuing by the sences are ioyned after that maner to the body, and therefore it followeth that the vnderstanding power is so ioyned also, and consequently that according to Aristotle, as euery bodie hath his forme, so euery body hath his Soule. The same Aristotle findeth fault with the former Philosophers for holding opinion that a soule might passe out of one man into another: because (saith he) that euery certeine Soule must néedes be appointed & appointed to some one certeine body. Now loke by what Soule a man liueth, by the same Soule doth he vnderstand: for it is but one Soule indued with thrée diuers abilities, as he himselfe teacheth openly. One vnderstanding or minde therefore, must (according to Aristotle) worke but in one seuerall body, and not in many bodies. Also according to Aristotle, a Man & a Beast agrée in this, that both of them haue one sensitiue power and one selfesame imagination of things perceiued by the Sences, & that they differ in this, that man hath yet further a minde and reason aboue the beast, which thing the beast hath not. Now if this Vnderstanding or Minde be without the man, as the Sonne is without the Chamber that it shineth into and inlightneth, then cannot he be called reasonable or indued with vnderstanding, neither doth he consequently differ from a beast. For ỹ difference must be in nature, & not in accident. And so should it insue that Aristotles

Auerrhoes, vpon Aristotles third booke of the Soule.

Aristotle in his second booke of the Soule.

Aristotle in his first booke of the Soule.

foꝛ said definition of a man is false, as if he should define a Chamber by the shining of the Sunne into it: Oꝛ say that a Dog differeth not from a man in kinde; yea and that Beasts are capable of vnderstanding, foꝛasmuch as they haue Imagination readie afoꝛehande to receiue the influence thereof as well as we. But Aristotle is alwaies one in his defining both of beast and of man; and Auerrhoes also holdeth himself to it, without doubting thereof at all. This conclusion therefoꝛe cannot in any wise be vpheld by such grounds.

Againe, if there be not in euery seueral man a seuerall minde, but onely one vniuersall minde common to al men, which becommeth diuers by the onely diuersitie of our Imaginations: Then in respect that we haue sundꝛy imaginations, we shalbe sundꝛy liuing wights; and in respect that we haue al but one minde, we shall be all but one man. Foꝛ man is not man in respect of ꝯ sensitiue power, but in respect of the reasonable part which is the minde. But Aristotle graunteth that we be not onely diuers liuing wights, but also diuers men. And therefoꝛe he must nedes meane also, that we haue not onely diuers imaginations, but also diuers mindes. Now besides many other Reasons that might be alledged, ye might ad this also, That otherwise, Aristotles Moꝛalles and his discourses concerning Iustice, Free will, the immoꝛtalitie of the soule, the happie blisse, the reward of the good, & the paines of the wicked, were vtterly fruiteles and to no purpose: Foꝛ as our fancies oꝛ imaginations did come and goe, so would al those things come & go like wise, and so should they haue no continuance of themselues, but onely be as a shadow & vaine fantasie. But let Aristotle alone, (foꝛ he hath wꝛong) and let vs come to the matter it self. The Philosophers do oꝛdinarily make a duble minde; the one which they call possible oꝛ impossibilitie, which is capable & of abilitie to vnderstand things; and this they liken to a smoth table; the other they cal woꝛking oꝛ woꝛkeful, which bꝛingeth the abilitie into act, whereas notwithstanding they be not two mindes, but two seuerall abilities of onely one minde. Nowe, as foꝛ this abilitie oꝛ possibility of vnderstanding, we affirme it to be in the Soule of euery man. Contrariwise, Auerrhoes affirmed onely one vniuersall capable minde to be shed abꝛoade euerywhere throughout all men; and that the same is diuersely perfected and brought into act in euery seueral man, accoꝛding to the diuersitie of the Imaginations which the man conceiueth, euen by the helpe oꝛ influence of the said vniuersall woꝛkefull minde, which he saith is also a substance seuered from man, and (in respect of the vnderstanding in possibilitie) is as the Sunne is to the sight of our eies, and the vnderstanding in possibilitie is to the imaginations, as the sight is vnto colours. Now, I demaund first of all, whether these vniuersall Mindes of his, be substances created oꝛ vncreated. If they be created, where becommeth then his conclusion,

clusion, That the worlde is without beginning, and without ending, seeing that he will haue them to be continued euerlastingly in all men that haue beene, are, or shall be? If they bee vncreated, how can so excellent substances be made subiect to our fond imaginations, to yelde influence into them at their pleasures? Or rather how happeneth it that they correct them not? How happeneth it that they leaue them in such errors, yea euen in the knowledge of themselues, seeing that by the erring of the imaginations, the very vnderstanding & reason thēselues must also nēds be so often beguiled? Againe, as concerning these substances, which extend into so many places, are the Bodies or Spirits? how can they be Bodies, seeing they be in infinite places at one instant, and do infinite things, yea and flat contraries? And if they be Spirits doth it not follow thereupon, that they be wholly in all men, and wholly in euery man; that is to say, that euery man hath them whole to himselfe? And therefore that if they be deceiued by the fantasie of any one man, they be consequently deceiued in all men? And whereof comes it then, that one man ouercommeth his imaginations, and another man not? Or that one man resisteth them, and another suffereth himselfe to be caried away by them? Moreouer, who can denie that a man willeth things, whereof he hath vnderstanding, and likewise that he willeth some things which he vnderstandeth not, and that he vnderstandeth some things which he willeth not? And also that he willeth things contrary euen to his appetits, and concludeth oftentimes contrary to his imaginations, as cōmeth to passe in dreames and Lokingglasses, which thing the brute Beasts doe not? When a man willeth contrary to his appetites, willeth he not contrary to his senses, yea and contrary to his imagination too? for what els is fantasie or imagination, than the rebounding backe of the sences? And if this worke full vnderstanding be the onely worker in his possible vnderstanding by meane of imagination, how commeth it to passe that a man willeth contrary to his imagination? Againe, when either in dreaming or in debating, reason concludeth cleane contrary to that which fancie or imagination offereth, whereof commeth it that a man is contrary to himselfe, or y^t deed is contrary both to that which imprinted it, & to that wherein it is imprinted? Also what els is imagination (according to the opinion of Auerrhoes,) than a certeine operation annexed to the body, streaming vp from the Heart to the Braine? And on the contrary part who can say nay, but that the Will and Vnderstanding are able to performe their operations without the instruments of the body, seeing that a man doth both wil & debate things that are most repugnant to the body? Yea and that (as Aristotle saith) those be not actions which passe into the outward man, but those which abide within and make perfect the inner man? And who can make Will & Vnderstanding to be things depen-

Aristotle in his tenth booke of Supernaturalles.

ding vpon imagination, seeing that both waking and sleeping and al maner of wates els, they daily vtter infinite iudgements and determinations against it? Nowe, if we haue nothing in vs aboue Imagination: then considering that we doe both will and vnderstand, it must needes bee that this power or abilitie to will and vnderstand is shed into vs from without. And if it be but onely one vniuersally in all men; then seeing that the actions thereof are executed without the imagination, without the sences, and without the instruments of the body, yea and against them: it followeth that it willeth and vnderstandeth in vs whatsoeuer it liketh and listeth, euen in despite of all impediments and lets of the bodie, and that as it is but one, so it shall will but one selfesame thing, & likewise also vnderstand but one selfesame thing in all men. For if (as Aristotle confesseth) our imaginations make not our will and reason subiect vnto them, much lesse do they make ỳ forsaid vniuersal minde subiect to them as Auerrhoes pretendeth. But now contrariwise we see there be as many Willes as men, yea euen in one matter; and that the vnderstandings of men are not onely diuers, but also contrary. It followeth then that euery particular person hath in that behalfe a particular substance, which willeth and vnderstandeth, franke & free from all imaginations whensoeuer it listeth to retire into it selfe, and not that there is but one vniuersall minde which willeth and vnderstandeth all things in all men. Besides this, by the iudgement of Aristotle as I saide afore, this vniuersall minde could not worke will and vnderstanding in vs: for to will and vnderstand (saith he) are operations that passe not into the matter nor into the outward thing, but abide still in the worker, that is to say in the minde, as actions and perfections thereof.

Let vs yet againe take of that which hath beene said afore. If the said vniuersall onely one working minde, haue wrought from euerlasting in the said vniuersal onely one capable minde, by the imaginations of men: then hath the knowledge of all things beene euermore imprinted in the said capable minde; for it shall euermore haue brought the abilitie into act: And therewithall, the working and perfection of the thing that is euerlasting, shall haue depended vpon a thing that is temporall; which is vnpossible. And although Auerrhoes supposed not the World to be euerlasting: yet notwithstanding, the said capable minde which hath beene set a worke so many hundred yeares, by so many imaginations of men, and in so many sundrie Nations, could not now meete with any newe thing whereof it had not the knowledge afore. For this capable minde (saith Auerrhoes) is a certeine spirituall substance, which spreadeth it selfe foorth into all men and into all ages, and the nature of such sort of substances is to be all in the whole, and all in euery part thereof. For they be not tied to any one place, but are whersoeuer they

worke,

worke, and their working is in respect of the whole and not in respect of any one part, forasmuch as they be vndiuidable. Therefore it should follow by his opinion (as I haue said afore) that the one vniuersall capable minde is and worketh whole and vnparted in euery man. And if it be so, then is the being of it there, not in way of mere ability or possibilitie onely, but in way of operation & perfect in working, as a wicked spirit is in a Witch, in a Pythonesse or in a possessed person: which spirit, (were he possessed of the man as he himselfe possesseth the man, (after which maner Auerrhoes affirmeth vs to possesse the vnderstanding in possibility, by our imaginations;) would make the man capable of all that euer the Spirit himselfe knoweth or is. Whereupon it will follow, that this vnderstanding in possibilitie shall euerlastingly in all men from their very birth, actually vnderstand and know al things that all men vnderstand, as well in the old as the yong, and in the ignorant as the skilful, so as we shall haue no more néd of sences, nor of imagination to vnderstand withall. To be short, although Auerrhoes admitteth not the World to be without beginning: yet at leastwise he will not deny, but that (by his reckoning) they which come into the world at this day, should come farre more skilfull than all their predecessors, and the Children of them more skilfull than their fathers, and the offspring of those children more skilfull than those children themselues, and so forth on, because they should succéde in the knowledge continued throughout all ages. Whereupon it will also insue, that all Sciences shalbe equally in al men that make profession of them. As for example, we will speake here but of some one speciall Science, as Grammar and Arithmetike. Now if there be any diuersitie in the skill thereof, that diuersitie cannot come but of the diuersitie of the subiect or ground wherein the skill is. Now the ground of the skil is the capasitie of the minde or vnderstanding, (which Auerrhoes supposeth to be but onely one, common to al men) and not the Imagination, which is but a reflexion or rebounding backe of the sence. And so forasmuch as there is (by his saying) but one ground in all men, it followeth that the knowledge or skill of this or that Science must néds be equall and alike in all men: or els that if it be not equall, but do vary, as we see it doth in diuers degrées; then the same varying or diuersitie happeneth through the diuersitie of the ground wherein the skill is, and cõsequently that there is one particuliar vnderstanding or one peculiar mind in euery man, and not one vniuersall minde common to all men. Also it is a generall rule, that the receiuer of a thing hath not the thing afore he receiue it. For (as Aristotle saith) that which is to receiue a thing, must néedes be first vtterly void of the thing which it receiueth. Now afore that our Sence and Imagination had any being at all, this vniuersall common minde had receiued and possessed all things aforehand, and not

Aristotle in his third booke of the Soule.

onely receiued thē, but also kept them together. For as Aristotle himselfe saith, that maner of minde is the place of all vnderkindes and sortes of things, and thereto hath no lesse power than the Imagination, to reteine whatsoeuer the Sences receiue. In vaine therefore should that vniuersall minde vnderstand by our Imaginations, considering that it vnderstandeth by it selfe: in vaine likewise should the Imaginations imprint those things in it, which were imprinted in it so long afore: and in vaine is Aristotles setting downe of a worke full vnderstāding, which should bring our vnderstanding in abilitie, from possibilitie into action, if the said onely one vniuersall minde or vnderstanding be perfect of it selfe from euerlasting, as it followeth to be vpon the opinion of Auerrhoes. Neither is it to be said, that although the conceiuable vnderkindes of things haue bēne imprinted euerlastingly in the said vniuersall minde; yet notwithstanding there nēded an Imagination for the vnderstanding of them, as there nēdeth now whensoeuer we will vse the things that we haue sēne or learned afore. For by that reckening, to learne all maner of Sciences, we nēded no more but to bethinke vs by imagination, of the things that were already aforehand in the said onely vniuersall one minde, as we do the things that haue bēne printed sometime in our memories, and are somewhat slipped out of our remembrance, and so might we our selues learne al sciences without a teacher, because that in the said vniuersall minde of ours, we should haue all the skill that euer any man had atteined to, in like maner as the persone that hath once had the skill of Arithmetike or Cosmographie throughly setled in his minde, nēdeth no teacher to teach it him againe, but onely to ouerturne his own imagination, and to search his memory for the finding againe of that which he had laid vp there. Now we kno we that whosoeuer learneth nothing, knoweth nothing, and that ordinarily he which most studieth, most learneth: and that al the tolling and turmoyling of a mans owne Imagination that can bē all his life long, will neuer make him to attaine of himselfe to so much as the very principles of the least science that is. By reason whereof it followeth, That we haue not the skil of any science in vs, vntill we either be taught it, or finde it out by beating our wits about it: and that our imagination serueth not to reuiue the Sciences in vs, but to bring them into vs, and to plant them in vs. And forasmuch as al the Sciences should be in al men from the beginning, if there were but one vniuersall minde in all men, (which is not so) it followeth that there is in euery particular person a particular & peculiar minde, and not any one vniuersall minde common to all men. Moreouer, our minde atteineth after a sort to the vnderstanding of it selfe: which thing it could not doe in very deede, if there were but one vniuersall minde common to all men. For to vnderstand it selfe, it must nēdes worke vpon it selfe.

But if we beléeue Auerrhoes, our mind shall but onely be wrought vpon and receiue into it from the Imagination, as a Window receiueth light from the Sunne. Againe, the capacitie of the vniuersall vnderstanding in possibility, could not doe that. For it behoued it to haue som other thing besides it selfe, to bring it self into action. And surely Imagination could not helpe it, for it doth but offer vp the sensible things vnto it, and atteineth not so far as to the thinges that are to be discerned by drift of reason. Yet notwithstanding we vnderstand that we vnderstand, and we reason and iudge both of our Imagination, and also of our reasoning and vnderstanding it selfe. The thing then which doth so enter and pearce into it selfe, is another maner of power than an Imagination, or than an vniuersall vnderstanding in possibilitie. What is to be said to this, that of one selfesame Imagination, one selfesame person concludeth now after one sort, and by and by after in another sort, and thereout of draweth both contrary arguments & contrary determinations: or that diuers persons by diuers imaginations doe close together in one will & one minde? Is it possible that this should proceede of an euerlasting substance in one selfesame person, séeing that euerlastingnesse is not subiect to any chaunge of time or place? Or that it should proceede of any one selfesame substance in many men, séeing ỹ the imaginations of them be so diuers one from another? at least wise if the said substance worke not but by such instrumẽts?

As touching the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodise, who vpholdeth a certeine vniuersall working minde that imprinteth thinges in the vnderstanding in possibilitie, that is to say in euery mans seuerall capacitie, and bringeth it forth into action, the most part of the Reasons alledged afore against Auerrhoes, wil also serue against him. Howbeit forasmuch as by this workfull minde, hée séemeth to meane God himselfe, there is thus much more to be added vnto it; That God who is altogether good and altogether wise would not imprint in our minde the fond and wicked conceits, which we find there, nor leaue so great ignorance and darknesse as we féele there, but would in al men ouercome the infection which the body bringeth: and although he inspired not all men alike with his gracious giftes, according to the diuersitie of their capacities after the maner of a planed Table, yet would he not at least wise paint the world with so many false Portraitures and Traines, as euery one of vs may perceiue to be in our selues. Againe, were there any such inspiration or influence, it should be either continuall or but by times. If continual or euerlasting, we should without labour and without cunning vnderstand all that euer our imagination offereth vnto vs. And if it bee but at times, then shoulde it not lie in vs to list or to vnderstande any thing at all, though we would neuer so faine. For contrariwise, we haue much adoe to vnderstand some things, so as we must be faine to winne them

Against Alexander of Aphrodise.

them from our ignorance by peecemeale: and there be some other things, which we vnderstand by and by as soone as they be put vnto vs, and whē we list our selues. There is then in vs a power of Vnderstanding, though very feble, but yet neuerthelater obedient to our will: which thing cannot be fathered vpon God. Also if there be but onely one Minde working in all men, there shall be but one selfesame vnderstanding in all men, I meane naturally, notwithstanding that it differ in degrées. For into what place soeuer the Sunne doe shed his beames, he doth both inlighten it and heate it, howbeit diuerslie according to the nature and condition of places and things that receiue him, some more & some lesse, some brighlier and some dimlier. But howsoeuer the case stande, his light yéeldeth no darkenesse, nor his heate any cold. So then, if the diuersities of mens imaginations doe cause diuersities of effects in the inspiration or influence that floweth into the capasitie of our vnderstanding, surely it must néeds bée after this maner, namely that one man shall vnderstand one selfesame thing more, and another man lesse; but not in that any man shall take vntrueth for trueth, vnright for right, or one thing for another. Now, we sée vnto how many errors we be subiect, I meane not in such things as this, namely, that one man séeth better a farre off, and another better at hand, but that one man séeth white and another séeth blacke (which are contrary) in one selfesame ground and at one selfesame time. It followeth therefore that diuers and sundrie mindes doe worke in diuers persons, and not one selfe same minde in all persons. By forces of which reasons and of such others, I say that euery man shall finde in himselfe and of himselfe, That euery man hath a particular Soule by himselfe, that is to say a spirituall substance vnited to his body, which in respect of giuing life to the body is as the forme thereof, and in respect of giuing reason, is as the guide of our actions: that in euery man there is a certeine Sunbeame of Reason, wherby they conceiue things and debate vpon them, whereth rough it commeth to passe, that oftentimes they agrée both in the Reason it self which is one, and in the manifest grounds therof, and in whatsoeuer dependeth euidently vpon the same: That euerie man hath also a peculiar body by himselfe, and likewise peculiar complexion, humors, imaginations, education, custome and trade of life: wherof it commeth that euery man takes a diuers way, yea and that one selfsame person swarueth diuerslie from the vnitie of Reason wherof the path is but one, and the waies to stray from it are infinite: That this Sunbeame of reason which shineth and sheadeth it selfe from our minde, is properly that vnderstanding which is termed The vnderstanding in abilitie of possibilitie, which is increased & augmented by all the things which it séeth, heareth, or lighteth vpon, like fire, which gathereth increase of strength by the aboundance of the fewell that is put vnto it, and be-

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commeth after a sorte infinite by spreading itselfe abroad: Also it is the same which otherwise we call the Memory of vnderstanding or mindfull Memorie: and it is nothing els but an abundance of Reason, and as it were a powder vp of the continuall influences of the Minde: That the Minde from whence it floweth as from his spring, is properly that which they the said Auerrhoes and Alexander doe terme the working or workefull Minde, which is a certeine power or sorte that can skill to extende reason from one thing to another, and to proceede from things sensible to things vnsensible, from things mouable to things vnmouable, from bodily to spirituall, from effects to causes, and from beginnings to ends by the meane causes. This Minde is in respect of Reason, as cunning is in respect of an Instrument or tole; and Reason, as in respect of imagination and of the things that are sensible, is as an Instrument or tole in respect of the matter or stuffe that it workes vpon: Or to speake more fitly, this Minde is vnto Reason, as the mouer of a thing is to the thing that is moueable, and Reason is to her obiects, as the moueable thing is to the thing whereunto it is moued. For to reason or debate, is nothing els but to proceede from a thing that is vnderstode, to a thing that is not vnderstode, of purpose to vnderstand it: and the vnderstanding thereof is a resting that inseweth vpon it, as a staying or resting after mooning: That both of them as well the one as the other, are but onely one selfesame substance: & like as a mã both when he moueth & when he resteth is all one and the same man, or as the power that moueth the Sinewes is one selfesame still, both when it stirreth them, and when it holdeth them still, so the reasonable or vnderstanding Soule that is in euery man, is but onely one selfesame substance bodilesse and immateriall, executing his powers partly of it selfe and partly by our bodies. And seeing that Auerrhoes and Alexander make so great estimation and account of the effects which are wrought in vs, that they be inforced to attribute them to some vncorruptible & euerlasting Minde, let vs take of them, that in very truth the thing which worketh so great wonders in the body, can be neither sence, nor body, nor imagination; but a diuine, vncorruptible and immortall minde, as they themselues say.

But let vs learne the thing of no than them, which all wise men teach vs, and which euery of vs can learne of himselfe, namely, that this Vnderstanding or Minde is not one vniuersal thing as the Sunne is that shineth into all the windowes of a Citie, but rather a peculiar substance in euery seuerall man, as a light to leade him in the darkenesse of this life. For surely it was no more difficultie to the euerlasting God, to create many sundry Soules, y euery man might haue one seuerally alone by himselfe, than to haue created but onely one soule for al men together. But it was farre more for his glory, to be knowne, praised, and exalted of

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many Soules, yea & more for our welfare to praise, exalt and knowe him, yea and to liue of our selues both in this life and in the life to come: than if any other vniuersall Spirit, Soule or Minde whatsoeuer, should haue liued & vnderstood either in vs or after vs. Now then, for this matter let vs conclude, both by reason, & by antiquitie, and by the knowledge that euery of vs hath of himselfe, that the Soule and the Body bee things diuers: That the Soule is a Spirit and not a Body: That this Spirit hath in man three abilities or powers, whereof two be exercised by the body, and the third worketh of it selfe without the body: That these three abilities are in the one onely Soule as in their rote: whereof two doe ceasse whensoeuer the body faileth them, and yet notwithstanding the Soule abideth whole without abatement of any of her powers, as a Craftsman continueth a Craftsman though he want toles to worke withall: And finally, that this Soule is a substance that continueth of it self, and is vnmaterial and spirituall, ouer the which neither death nor corruption can naturally haue any power.

And for a conclusion of all that euer I haue treated of hitherto in this booke, let vs maintaine, that that there is but onely one God, who by his owne goodnesse & wisedome is the Creator & gouernor of the world and of all that is therein: That in the world he created Man, after his owne Image as in respect of minde, & after the Image of his other creatures as in respect of life, sence, & mouing, mortall so farre forth as he holdeth the likenesse of a creature, and immortall so farre forth as he beareth the Image of the Creator: that is to wit, in his Soule: That he which goeth out of himselfe to se the world, doth forthwith see that there is a God, for his works declare him euerywhere: That he which will yet still doubt thereof, néedeth but to enter into himselfe, and he shall méete him there, for he shall finde there a power which he séeth not: That he which beléeueth there is one God, beléeueth himselfe to be immortall, for such consideration could not light into a mortall nature: and that he which beléeueth himselfe to be immortall, beléeueth that there is a God: for without the vnutterable power of the one God, the mortal & immortall could neuer ioyne together: That he which séeth the order of the world, the proportion of man, & the harmony that is in either of them cõpounded of so many contraries, cãnot doubt that there is a prouidence. For the nature which hath furnished thẽ therewith, cannot be vnfurnished thereof it self, but as it once had a care of them, so can it not shake off the same care frõ them. Thus haue we three Articles which follow interchaungeably one another. Insomuch that he which proueth any one of thẽ, doth proue thẽ all three, notwithstanding that I haue treated of euery of them seuerally by it self. Now, let vs pray the euerlasting God, that we may glorify him in his workes in this world, and be vouchsafe of his mercy to glorifie vs one day in the world to come, Amen.

The

The xvj. Chapter.

That mans nature is corrupted, and man falne from his first originall: and how.

YEt for all this, let not man be proud of the excellencie or immortalitie of his Soule: for the more he hath receiued of his maker, the more is he indebted to him: & the more excelent that his nature is, the more lothsome and daungerous is the corruption thereof. The Peacoke is said to be proud of his gay fethers, when he sets vp his taile round about him: but whē he hath once stretched out his wings, he fals into a dump, and as sone as he lokes vpon his fete, he casts me down his taile and is ashamed. Euen so, as long as we thinke vpō the liuelines of our Spirit, and the excellencie of our Soule as in respect of the nature thereof; surely we haue whereof to glorifie God that gaue it vnto vs, & of his gracious goodnesse hath vouchsafed to honor vs aboue all other creatures. On the other side, if we consider how this nature of ours is strangely defiled & corrupted, and how farre it is digressed from the first originall thereof: surely there is no remedy but we must be ashamed of our selues, and wonder to see from how great a heigth we be now falne and sunke downe. Euen so the best Wine becōmeth the sharpest and eagrest Vineger, and of Egges (which were in old time the delicats of Kinges) is made the rankest poyson. For loke what degree of goodnesse a thing holdeth while it abideth in his nature, the same degree of euill doth it come vnto, when it falleth into corruption. Now then, loke how much our original generation was the better, so much shal the corruption that lighteth into it bee the worser: which thing according to the order which I haue vsed hitherto, we may examine towards God, towerds the world, towards men, and towards our selues.

Mans corruptiō appeareth in his respect to Godward.

Greatly in good soth is man bound vnto God, if he would consider it, and very blinde is hee if he haue not the skill to perceiue it. Of the great

great multitude of Creatures which God had created, he hath giuen to some but onely bare being; to some, both being and life; and to other some both being, life, and sence; But vnto man he hath giuen all these, and moreouer a reasonable minde, whereby he (& onely he here beneath) knoweth in al things what they haue & what they be. Which thing they themselues know not. Which is an euident proofe, that whatsoeuer they haue or whatsoeuer they be, they haue it and are it for man, and not for thēselues. For to what purpose are al their vertues & excellent properties, if they themselues knowe them not? The Sonne excelleth among the celestiall bodies, and the Rose among flowers. The beast is a degree aboue the Trees, & among the beastes, one hath some one point which another hath not. But what skilles it what thou art or what thou hast, if thou know it not? What boteth thée the light, if thou sée it not? what art thou the better for swéete sents, if thou smell them not? Or what auaileth it thée to excell in any thing if thou discerne it not? Of a trueth onely man of all the things in this inferiour World, can skill of these things and how to inioy them; and therefore it must néedes be that they were made for none but him; that is to wit, that to speake properly, God hath giuen vnto him whatsoeuer all other creatures either haue or be; and he hath not dealt with him simply as with a creature, but rather as with a Childe of his, for whom he hath expressely created this world and giuen it him to possesse. Now if the thing that is possessed bée infinitely lesse than the possessor thereof, and the world is giuen to man to possesse: how farre then doth man excell the world? And how greatly is man bound vnto God, who created him of nothing that is to say, not onely hath giuen the worlde vnto man, but also giuen euen man to man himselfe? Wherefore if he acknowledge not him to whom he is beholden, not onely for this inheritance, but also euen for his owne being: what shall we say but that he is an vnnaturall and backerdly childe, euen such a one as hath lost not onely his right minde, but also euen his sences? But of so many men, of whom all & singular persons stand bound, both ioyntly and seuerally in the whole and for the whole of that great bond for performance of the Condition thereof, how fewe be there which do once thinke of it, and how much fewer be there which thinke well of it? May, howe fewe be there which know that there is such a bond, and howmuch fewer doe dispose themselues to acknowledge it? And if perchaunce some one or two among many doe dispose themselues therennto, yet notwithstanding who is he that euer was able to atteine vnto it, considering that it importeth a yéelding vnto God of that which is his due: that is to wit, the imploying of our selues and of all that he hath giuen vnto vs euen our whole being and life, our Sences, our Reason, our doings, & finally all that euer we haue both within & without vs, in his seruice? and that

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we contrariwise turne all things to our selues as to their proper end, yea and euen our selues to our selues which are nothing? If we kept a reckoning of our life, how small a part thereof do we bestowe vpon God? How fewe of our steps doe we walke in his seruice? How few of our thoughts are directed vnto him? And if we loke vpon our very praiers, what are they but continuall offences, seeing that euen in the middest of our greatest vehemencie, we banish away by and by into vaine imaginations, and are caried as farre away from our praiers into wandring conceits, as heauen is distant from earth, and further? What Sonne will not fall out with him that speakes euill of his Father? Or els all that stand by will count him a coward if he passe it ouer with silence? Contrariwise, which of vs is moued when he heareth Gods name blasphemed? or if he be moued, that setteth himselfe in defence of him: or if he set himselfe in defence, doth not by and by forget it? What then doth this argue, but that in very trueth, our Soule liueth not, but our body; and that our Soule hath not her mouings and actions free and liuely, seeing it is not moued at the Iniuries that are done to the Soule and to the father that made the Soule, but at the wrongs that are done to the body and to the father of the bodie? If a man breake the Scutchions of our armes, we take it to be a great disgrace to vs, and a touching of our credit; and if he breake our Images or Pictures, we fall out with him and wil neuer be reconciled: And if it be done to a Prince, he makes it a point of high Treason; and that we doe not the like, it is not for want of pride, but for want of power to reuenge it. On the contrary part, which of vs is greeued at the wrong ỹ is done to his neighbour, or rather which wrongeth not his neighbour euery day? Or which is much moued when he seeth a man slaine before his face, vnlesse he be his brother or neere friend? Nay, which of vs our selues doth not daily kill his brother, either in very deede, or in heart, either with the sword I meane, or by hatred, euen for the least offence that can be pretended, and so teareth or breaketh not the Image of God which he hath painted and ingraued in man, euen euerywhere without any regarde? Now what els is this, but that we know not this Image of God to bee in our selues? For otherwise how durst we be so presumptuous, as to offer any hurt or harme vnto it, but because the secret consent of all mankinde in such outrage, confesseth it to be quite and cleane forgone, or at leastwise to be so disfigured and defaced, and so straungely beraied, that it can scarsly be discerned any more? And because the kindred that is betweene all men, deriued from the father of their Soules, moueth vs very little, but the vile kinred of the flesh moueth vs very much, which is as far inferiour to ỹ other, as there is ods betwixt the soule & a lump of earth, or betweene the fathers of either of them, that is to wit, betweene God and Pan: Yet notwithstanding.

ding, seeing that the wickeddest man in the world, and such a one as seemeth to be touched with nothing, hauing once slaine him whome he hated most of al men, doth by and by after the déed done, féele a barbiting in his minde, and a torment in his Conscience, which thing he féeleth not for the killing of a thousand beastes euery day, what can we say to the cause thereof, but onely the remainder of Gods Image common to all men, which putteth him in minde of the wickednesse that he hath done, and is highly offended at his owne offence, and which (according to this saying The good bloode lieth not) maketh our inditement of it selfe, and would faine euen it selfe be reuenged of vs within vs? Therefore let vs say (which thing we cannot deny vnlesse we deny our selues) that God created man to be to him as a child, and that man is growne out of kinde yea straungely growne out of kinde, not regarding (as we see in most men) to be knowne either of his father or of his brethren, (which thing notwithstanding the baskards of this world do séeke to their vttermost to doe) but by his will going about to abolish his pedegrée and all his titles of kindred, that he might be called the Sonne of the earth, (which was the name of Baskards in old time) rather than the sonne of him that begat him and created so many things for him to inioy. For proofe whereof to be true, what aime we at in all our studies & indeuers, but the earth & earthly things? And we continued stil in our original creation, we should according to the spirituall substance of our Soules, haue naturally pursued spirituall things, yea and haue mounted vp aboue the very heauenlie things. But where séeke we now our inheritance, our welfare, and our felicitie, but in these transitorie things? And whereof are all our suites & quarrels in the world, but of Cattell, of Corne & of Land? Wherefore we must néedes confesse, that it is a witnesse of the disheriting of Mankinde from the heritage of his father, and that he is in his fathers displeasure and disfauour, and that he doth but runne after Peasecods as the prodigall Childe did, when he hadt wasted his inheritance licentiously.

The sonne of the earth.

But now to come to those which make most profession of godlinesse, whence (I thinke we) commeth the difficult that all of vs haue naturally of Gods goodnesse and assistance, but of the féeling of our iust displeasure, which our conscience is grieued at within vs? The sonne of a good and rich father behighteth himselfe as much reléefe as his father is able to yéelde, & as he himselfe hath néede of. If not, but that the Child doubt thereof: we presume so farre of the fathers goodnesse, that we conclude that his sonne hath offended him, and made himselfe vnworthy of his goodnes by some great crime. Now then, séeing that God is the very goodnesse and riches themselues, whereof commeth it that no man can assure himself of them? That no man can rest himselfe bodily enough vpon him: that no man can trust vnto him so assuredly as his goodnesse requireth: and finally

nally that our requests are so full of distrust, and our hearts so full of vnbeliefe: Surely, seeing the fault cannot be in Gods goodnesse, which is a fountaine that cannot be dryed vp: it must néeds be that the fault remaineth alonely in the naughtinesse and fraletie of our selues, which dare not hope for good at the hand of him which is most excellently good, because our whole nature telleth vs that we be vnworthy of his grace, by reason we haue offended him so grieuously.

If we consider the gouernment and order of the World, we may euen there also finde apparantly, that man holdeth not himselfe in his state, but is falne from the seate of honour wherein God had placed him. God had set him aloft, aboue the Stones, aboue the Plants, aboue the brute beastes, yea and aboue the worlde it selfe. If he abide still in his degrée, whence commeth it that so many men make themselues bondslaues to Gold and other mettals: and that so many men do leade the life of Plants and brute beastes in the bodies of men: some giuing themselues to naught els than to eating, drinking and sléeping, and neuer lifting themselues vp any higher, & othersome consuming and wasting themselues in most beastly delights and pleasures: For what beast is there that would be a Plant, or Plant that sheweth not vp to get out of the ground: To be short, what thing is there in ỹ whole world sauing onely man, which doth not very precisely kéepe the owne state and degrée: I pray you if a man should sée one with a princely Crowne all miry on his head, tilling the ground and following the Plough, what would he thinke but that he were despoiled from the Throne, & ỹ some mischiefe were befalne him: And what then is to be said of that man, which toyleth in Doonghils and skulketh into corners to wallowe himselfe in a thousand sorts of filthinesse, and imployeth all his wit vpon such things: but that he is falne from the toppe of his minde, and that by the grieuousnesse of that fall, he hath so lamed and maimed all his abilities, that it lieth not in him to returne againe from whence he is falne? For who can deny but he is borne to greater things than he doeth: Or who can thinke that GOD hath giuen him an immortall Soule, to the intent he should imploy himselfe altogether about things which are not so much as worthy to be mortall: Or a countenance which he calleth continually to the minding of Heauen, to looke groueling on the mire: Or a Scepter, to play the dizard with it in a Play: Or a triple Mace to rake Doonghilles withall, or to digge the ground withall:

In respect of the World.

Againe, how is the Lawe and order of gouernement which shineth forth in the whole worlde and in all the partes thereof, turned vpside downe in man who is the Little World, by the disobedience of the Body to the Soule? In Plantes, in Trées, and in brute beasts, the Soule distributeth nourishment by proportion, Their bodies obey the direction

of

of their Soules without gainsaying, & euery abilitie perfo⁊meth his du-
tie acco⁊dingly. The nurrishing abilitie followeth his appetites, and go-
eth not beyond them. The sensitiue followeth his naturall delights, but
it violateth them not. But as fo⁊ man, what shall we say of him? Sure-
ly that his body commaundeth his Soule, as if the Plough shoulde
d⁊awe the Ho⁊ses, as they say; that his will suffereth it selfe to be ruled
by his appetites, that his reason is an vnderling to his sences, and that
his very whole nature is most commonly quite out of o⁊der. So must
we nedes confesse an ouerth⁊ow of nature, in him fo⁊ whome neuerthe-
lesse nature it selfe was made, and that man was swarued alde from his
right way, seeing that all other partes of the Wo⁊ld doe followe their
Nature, and that Nature it selfe teacheth vs it. What is to be said then,
but that man is not onely saine from the state wherein he was, to be set
in lower degree than he was afo⁊e; but also that he is saine in himselfe
and from himselfe, in and from his owne peculiar nature? Mo⁊eouer it
is manifest that the wo⁊ld was created fo⁊ mans vse; fo⁊ the wo⁊ld kno-
weth not it selfe, no⁊ the creatures that are therein. And againe, as fo⁊
the Angels, they neded it not, and as fo⁊ the b⁊ute beasts, they haue no
skill to vse it. Onely man hath vnderstanding to vse the seruice thereof,
and a body that hath nede of their seruice. Sith it is so, who can doubt
that God created man with a knowledge of his creatures, and also gaue
him power ouer them? Whereof commeth it then that the beasts do na-
turally knowe their seasons, the remedies of their diseases, and Herbes
that haue a p⁊op⁊ietie of nature to heale them, and that onely man a-
mong all other liuing things, knoweth them not, insomuch as he is faine
to goe to Schoole to the b⁊ute beasts to learne them? Also whereof com-
meth it that these creatures (which surely God made not to be snares
to man, fo⁊ that had bene repugnant to the godnesse of the Creato⁊, but
fo⁊ mans benefite and seruice) doe now kicke and spurne against man,
yea euen those which haue no power o⁊ strength at al to withstand him?
Let vs omit Wolues, Leopards, and Lions, which seeme to haue some
force to ouermatch the weakenesse of man. What meaneth it that
wo⁊mes make vs warre within our Bowels, that vermine deuoureth
our Co⁊ne, and that the earth yeldeth vs not any kinde of fruite which
hath not a peculiar enemie in it, to marre it ere it come to our hand: but
to d⁊iue vs to confesse, that man must nedes haue offended his maker
right greuously, and that whereas Gods putting of his creatures in
subiection to man, was to the end that man should haue continued in o-
bedience vnto God, now because man hath rebelled against Gods Ma-
iestie, God also suffereth those to rebell against man, whom he had put in
subiection to man, yea euen to the very offkourings of the earth? Fo⁊
what els is this contrarietie of the earth to him that tilleth it, of the Sea

to

to him that saileth it, and of the aire to the succesſe of all our labours and trauels, but a protestation of whole nature, that it disdaineth to serue a creature that was so presumptuous as to disobey his Creator; a creature I say, which by doing seruice to the creatures, hath forgone the authoritie which he had receiued of his Maker?

Now consequently let vs consider man towards man. What is there more disordered or more contrarie to nature, than is the nature of man himselfe? If beastes of one kind do kil or eate one another; we take it for an ougly thing. What an ouglinesse then ought it to be vnto vs, when we sée how men (who alonely be indued with reason,) do euerie howre kill one another, and rote out one another? Nay rather is it not a great wonder to sée good agreement & freindship, not among Nations, not betwéene Countries, not among Companies, but euen in households yea and betwéene Chamberfellowes? Wolues are cruell: but yet in what race of wolues shall we finde Caribies and Cannibals? Lyons also are cruel: but yet where were they euer séene in battel one against another? Now what is war, but a gathering & packing vp together of al the sorts of beastlines that are in the world? And yet what is more common among men then that? A Beast (say some) wil barke or grunt ere he bite, a house will cracke ere it fall downe, and the wind whirleth ere it breake things. But contrariwise what is man towards man? who euen in laughing threatneth, in saluting sleaeth, and vnder faire countenance of courteous intertainement, cloketh a thousand serpents, a thousand Lions, a thousand Quicksands, & a thousand Rockes at once? Wel: let vs leaue the wicked which discouer themselues too much. What doe we in all our bargaining, buying & selling, but beguile one another? or what doe we in our dalying, but delude one another? And what else is the whole societie of man which we so highly commend, but a selfgaine, and a very incroching one vpon another, the greater sort as tyrants vpon the meaner, the meaner vpon the inferiour sort, and the inferiour sort one vpon another to take him in some trippe? To be short, if we doe any good, it is but to the end to be séene; as for in secret, we will doe none at all. Againe, if we forbeare to doe euill, it is but for feare least the world should know it, and were that feare away, we would sticke at nothing. Whereto then serueth vs our reason which should further vs vnto all goodnes, but to couer our naughtinesse, that is to say, to make vs worse and more vnreasonable? yet notwithstanding how vnreasonable so euer we bée in all our doings, we cannot but knowe that there is a reason; and were it not in vs, we coulde not conceiue it; and were it not corrupted, we should not swarue from it: & yet if we examine our selues, we shal not be able to deny, but that we digresse very far from it. Therfore we may wel déeme of our reason, as of an eiesight that is either

In respect of Man.

impaired or inchanted. It hath the ground of sight still; but yet it vaūeth the party in no stead, but only to beguile him by false images & illusions.

Man in respect of himselfe.

Let vs come to man in himselfe, & see whether at leastwise he loue himselfe better than other men: & the more we stirre him, the more shall we feele the tinche of his corruption. When a diseased man feeles paine, we say there is corruption in his body; and furthermore that there is a default in Nature, or that the partie hath taken some surfet, which hath brought him to that case. Now thē what shal we say of the great number of diseases wherwith mankinde is pained, and wherewith he is so wholy ouerwhelmed, that there is not any age of his life, any part of his body, or any small string in any part of his flesh, which hath not some peculiar disease? Nay I say further, that man alone is subiect to moe diseases, than all other liuing things in this world together. The Philosophers sawe it, and haue made bookes expressly thereof, and are vtterly amased and graueled in seeking out the cause therof; and they could neuer yet yeeld any Reason therof which might satisfie others or themselues. Neuertheless the most parte of them come to this point, that man is most vnhappiest of all liuing wights; and they finde fault with God and nature for it, whom notwithstanding they confesse to haue done nothing but iustly in that behalfe. One saies, that onely Man sleaeth himselfe through impatience of greefe. Another saies, That the life of man is such, as that death is rather to be desired of him than life. And of such speeches doe all their Schooles ring. There is another which with greate wonderment, reckoneth vp certaine hundreds of diseases whereunto the eie alone is subiect. Now which of all the beastes hath so much as the thirtith part of them in his body? Is it likely that God, which hath giuen to Man so great preheminence aboue all his creatures, created him of purpose to torment him aboue all other creatures? Or rather is it not to be said, that man in his originall was created far after another sort than he now is, whether it be in respect of the Creator himselfe, or of the ende for which he created him? Surely then, let vs say as we haue said afore, that the verie cause why Man alone hath moe diseases in his body than all other Creatures together; is for that hee hauing abused Gods gracious gifts, hath done more euil than all they could skill to doe: and that the very euil & vntowardnes that is in them, is but to punish man withall. As for example, the Haile and Snowe serue not to hurte the earth or the fruites of the earth, but to punish him that should take the benefite of them.

Againe, when we come to consider the Soule and the bodie knit together; what a number of affections doe we meete withal there, (which as saith Plutarke) are so much more sorrowfull and greeuous than the bodily diseases, as the Soule is more sinful and blameworthie than the

bodie

bodie? To bring these passions to some reasonable order, the Philosophers haue made bookes expressly of Morall vertue, and giuen precepts (say they) to bring them to obedience; wherein they confesse the rebelliousnesse that is naturally in vs against reason. But who feeleth not in himselfe, that their remedies serue not so much to take away the mischiefe, as to cloke it? Which is a plaine declaration, that it is not a spot which may be washed away, but a deepe impression bronded in nature as it were with a searing iron, which in verie deede is not to bee wiped out againe, but couered; nor to be subdued & ouercome, but with much adoe to be restrained and held short. Furthermore, seeing that reason is so much more excellent than passion or affection, as the forme shape or fashion (say they) is more excellent than the matter or stuffe wherein it is: whence commeth this infection in vs, that maketh the matter to ouermaister the forme, and causeth the forme (as ye would say) to receiue shape and fashion of the matter; that is to say, which putteth reason in subiection to affection, & to the impressions which affection yeeldeth, contrary to the order which is obserued in all the whole world besides? For what els is this Intemperance of ours, but reason (such as it now remaineth) imprinted with lust & concupiscence? And what els is anger, but reason atteinted with choler, & so forth of the rest? And if a man will say, that these things are natural in vs; wherof commeth it that of these affections, we conceiue inwardly remorse, & outwardly shame; yea & that so naturally, as we must of necessitie néeds feele them whether we will or no, and can no more let them than we can restraine the beating of our Pulses or the panting of our Hearts: but because that shame & remorse for sinne are naturall in vs, but the sinne it selfe is against nature? As for example, there be things the doing whereof is in vs vice; and in brute Beasts, nature: for they be angry, they auenge themselues, & they company together indifferently & in open sight: and of so doing they be not ashamed, because it is their nature. Now, were these affections & fleshly pleasures as natural in vs as in the beasts: as little should wee be ashamed of thē, as they. But contrariwise, if an honest mā come in while we be angry, by and by our rage is repressed, as who would say our vice did hide it from him: and if a man come vpon vs vnawares in taking our pleasure (yea though it be well lawfull) we blush, as if our blood were desirous to hide & to couer our doings. Yea and how secretly soeuer we be alone by our selues in execution of our vices, we incounter continually with a companion in our selues, which not only beareth witnes of them, but also condemneth & punisheth them in vs. Sothly then, the motions of anger and lust against reason in man, are not naturall or originall, that is to say, they proceed not of the first creation: but are come in afterward by corruption. And therfore the remorse which happeneth vnto vs in Diodorus lib. 4.

in those passions, is nothing but a secrete (howbeit very liuely) warning of nature, which is ashamed to play the brute beast; which thing she would not be, if those things were originally of mans nature. And in very deede, the vniuersall consent of mankinde in being ashamed to goe naked, insomuch that they had leuer to see the skinne of a Beast, or the excrement of a Worme vpon themselues, than to see their owne flesh: and the thing which Saint Austin noteth in all men; namely, that they will rather do open wrong in all mens sight, than haue to doe with their lawful wiues openly; doe euidently shew that the beastlines (that is to say the concupiscence or lust) that is in carnal copulation, is not an original nature, but a mere corruption thereof. Which thing our present age (but surely nothing to her praise) may better proue vnto vs than al the reasons in the world. For certainly, considering ỹ excessiue ouerflowing of vices which is to be seene, & the customable vse of them, yea euen of such as are against nature, turned almost into nature, if euer voluptuousnes could haue transformed it self into nature, and preuailed against nature, it must néeds haue bene in this our age; wherin notwithstãding, as strongly armed, authorised, & reigning as vice seemeth to be, yet is she inforced to hide herself euen in the midst of her triumphs, vndoubtedly as acknowledging ỹ she reigneth not ouer her own, but ouer another mans.

Herodotus in his Clio.

Austin in his woorke of the Citie of God, lib. 14. Chap. 17. and 18.

Againe, if ye haue an eie to freindship, to charitie, to the bringing vp of Children, to societie in mariage; who wil not say that for al our training vp to leade vs thereto, and for all our reading to instruct vs therein, yet we had néede to resort to the brute beastes to learne of them, and to take example of them, which is a token (as I said afore) that their nature is lesse corrupt than ours? If the case concerne the turning away from the vices of Intemperance, Lecherie, Drunkennesse, Incest, and such others: who would thinke that our nature being so excellent, and (besides the discourse of reason) hauing so many Lawes, Statutes, Penalties and Magistrates to helpe it: & being bridled with so many dangers, sorowes & paines insewing the same: should yet notwithstanding not be restrained: whereas on the contrarie part, the brute beastes do naturally forbeare both foode and pleasure, sauing onely so farre forth as nature requireth, that is to wit, for the maintenance and preseruation of themselues and of their kinde? And séeing their nature doth so vphold it selfe, and that our nature béeing staied so many waies, and closed in with so many barres, cannot be vpheld nor kept within compasse: who can say that our nature (in case as it is nowe,) is not in worse plight than theirs is.? And yet who wil say that the Nature of the excellentest of all other Creatures, hath alwaies bene such from ỹ first original beginning therof? All the said things are common both to Man and beast: but yet moreouer, mã glorieth of an excellẽcy of mind inriched by God with infi-

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nite goodly gifts. What is to be saide then, if in the thing whereby he surmounteth them, he be found inferiour to them? Or if in that which of it selfe is vncorruptible, corruption be most open and euident? Of so many men indewed with Reason, I pray you how many be there that vse it? That is to say, Of so many men, how many be not brute beasts? Or what rarer thing is there among men, than a verie man in déed? And of such as vse Reason, how many be there that vse it well, that is to say, how many be there which be not Diuels? Now take mée out of mankind the beastes and the diuels, and who wil thinke it straunge that a Philosopher toke a Torch at high noone day, to séeke for a Man in the mids of a multitude? One sort al their life long do set their minde vpon nothing but this life; they spare not so much time as to consider what that power is which worketh that thought in them. What boteth it these more to haue a mind, than it boteth a man to haue eies that doth nothing but sléepe? Others imploy it about the defiling of some mans wife, or the deflowring of some maiden, or the glosing of some wrong, or the eluding of some right, or the sowing of discord in some household, or the setting of fire on the lower corners of some Realme. To what purpose againe is it for these men to haue a minde, which is bent and intended to nothing but mischiefe? Or what else is such a minde, than the eie of the * beast of Aegypt, which killeth those whom it looketh vpon, and it self also by the rebounding backe of his owne sight? Some in déede do lift vp the eie of their minde aloft; but how farre or what sée they? Surely (as saith Aristotle) euen as much as an Owle in the bright sunne. The edge of vnderstanding rebateth at the outside of the least things that are: and how then shall it be able to enter into them? Our minde is dazeled with vapors; & what will it be then at the vnapprochable light for which it was created? God created the World for man; therefore his intent was that man should haue the seruice thereof: and that he might haue the seruice of things, it behoued him to know them. Contrariwise, what thing doe we know sufficiently? What know we in comparison of that we know not? And how can we vse the seruice of them, séeing euen the least things commaund vs; not the Beasts, the Herbes, and the Stones onely, but also euen the Earth and the verie drosse thereof? God hath created man for his owne glory; and as man is the end of the World, so is God the end of Man. And it is not to be doubted, but that as God gaue man knowledge of the world, that he might vse it to his behoofe, so hee gaue him knowledge of his Godhead, that he might serue him. But how many be there which ame at this marke? & how shal we hit it if we ame not at it? and how shall we ame at it, if we sée it not? and how shall we sée it, if we thinke not on it, nor passe not for it? Againe, let vs bend our wits to it as stoutly as we can, who is he that séeleth not himselfe to

* The Cater pleb and also the Cockatrice.

quaile when he is to thinke vpon God? Who is he that burſteth not, if he ſtraine himſelfe too farre? And whereof commeth this, but that the ſtring of this Bowe hath laine into the water, and is made ſo wet that it will ſerue to no purpoſe any more? This minde bringeth forth dedes; and becauſe they be ſomewhat ſlow, they be done with the more aduiſement. But what are the beſt of thoſe dedes but ſinne? If we commit any crime, all our whole minde goeth with it, and our doing of the euill is for the euils ſake. But if we doe any good; which of vs doth it not as a byworke for ſome other things ſake, rather than for the loue of the good it ſelf; as one for honor, another for gaine, and a third for feare? And what elſe is this, but a ſeruing of vanitie, and not an obeying of vertue? And whereas euil is nought els than a bereauing or wanting of good: who is hee on the contrary part, which thinketh not himſelfe a man good inough, if he do no euil? As who would ſay that good alſo were nothing els but the bereauing or abſence of euil. And in very dede whom do we cal good and honeſt men: but ſuch as abſtain from doing men wrong, from ſtealing, from extorting, and from lending vpon Vſury, albeit that it behoue them to proceede further, and to be liberall in giuing, forward in helping, and diligent in ſeruing, foraſmuch as goodnes is not a defect or a notdoing of things, but an effect or doing of things, and conſiſteth not in onely refreining or ceaſſing, but in working and performing. And in effect, what els is it to define an honeſt man to be ſuch a one as doeth nothing at al; than to define a good Archer to be ſuch a one as neuer ſhooteth at al? This minde of ours doth alſo yelde forth words: and they paſſe out more ſwiftly thā dedes, yea euen from ỹ wiſeſt. If a man would kepe a reckoning of his words but for one day; what ſhoulde be find at night but a heape of vanities, as backebitings, ſlaunders, leaſinges, railings, beſides a thouſand ſortes of ſlipperdeuices and idle words, which euen by their onely idleneſſe doe well bewray our vanitie? And ſith it is euident that whereas ſpeech was giuen vs to procure and maintaine ſocietie, we ſee it is commonly applied to the breaking thereof, by ſowing of diſcord and debate: who can deny but that there is a notable corruption in the minde, which vttereth forth that ſpeech? Againe, ſeeing it is an vniuerſall vice, againſt which the better ſort do ſtriue with all their force and cannot ouercome it: who can ſay it is a vice that is incident but to ſome peculiar perſons, and not to the whole kinde of man? What is to be ſaid then of our thoughts & wits, whereof whole thouſands paſſe through our minds in an houer, which our mindes can neither repreſſe nor expreſſe? O how many do we eſteeme to be good men, whom we ſhoulde ſee to be wicked men if their thoughts lay open, or if we had eies to ſee into them? O what a ſort of wilde beaſtes ſhould we ſee harbored in a mans hearte as in a Forreſt? And what is then our ſkil, but ignorance; our wiſedom,

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but vanitie; and our holines, but hypocrisie? Wherein consisteth our vertue, but in concealing our vices, when as in trueth (as saith Aristotle) it were both more for our behoofe and more approching to righteousnes, if we laid them open? Moreouer, what is all our inforcing of our selues to vanquish our vices, but a laboring to outrunne our owne shadow, which (do we what we can) will alwaies accompany vs whither we will or no? And surely we ought to be ashamed, not so much for that we be such, as for that either we know not our selues to be such, or be not sufficiently ashamed that we be such. Neither is there a stronger proofe of our corruption, than that: in like maner as we deeme them to be filthy & stinking, which are raking in Priuies and feele not the stinch of them: & those to be more sicke which feele not themselues sicke, than those which are most pained with their disease: and those to be more franticke which finde not themselues to be brainesicke, than those which seeke to the Phisition for the curing of their frenzie. For had we the wit to consider our chaunges, to feele the vncouenesse of our Pulses, and to obserue the steaming vp of our humors with the impressions which they make in our braine: we should by such discerning of our diseases, become halfe sickefolke and halfe Phistions. But surely considering the state wherein we now be, how we liue as it were by a borrowed Soule; I wote not whereunto I should compare vs, except it be to certaine diseased persons, of whom Hippocrates maketh this expresse Aphorisme, saying: When such as are very sore sicke, do feele no paine, but fal to playing with their Couerlet, pulling out the heares, and picking out the motes; the case goeth very hard with them, and there is smal hope or likelihood that they shall liue. And what els is this life of ours, but euen such? We lay sticke to stick, stone to stone, & Penny to Penny, no more minding the life of our Soule, than if we had no Soule at all. If any man doe yet still doubt hereof, I offer him a condition, which if he wil put in triall, I dare assure him he will doubt thereof no more. Let him but set downe in writing, all the thoughts and imaginations that come in his head by the space of one day, and at night let him reuiew them and take the account of them; And I dare vndertake he shall finde in them so many vanities, so many crimes, so many Hobgoblins, & so many Monsters; so straunge, so fond, so rude, & so ougly; that he shal be afraid of himselfe like the beast that starkleth at the sodaine sight of himselfe in a loking glasse; & that he shal not stand gasing, enamored at his owne beautie as Narcissus did; but runne away ashamed of his foule deformitie, to seeke where to wash away the mire that he hath wallowed in. What a thing then were it, if he considered it thus al the weeke long without putting it in writing. And how much more were it, if he should do it a whole yeere; and finally al his whole life? To be short, to set man in few words before

our eies, we reade commonly that there are fower powers or abilities in mans Soule, namely, Wit, Will, the abilitie of being angrie, and the abilitie of lusting, and in these fower wée lodge fower vertues, that is to say, in Wit, Wisedome; in Will, Righteousnesse: in the abilitie of being angry, Hardinesse: and in the abilitie of Lusting, Staidenesse. Now, Wit is maimed with ignorance, Will, with wrongfulnesse; Hardinesse, with Cowardlines, and Staidenesse, with Licentiousnes; so as in this world they can neither be cured without skarre, nor be brought to a skarre. Also we perceiue there are in man ỹ outward sences, Imagination, and Appetite, which thée the brute beasts haue as wel as he, ouer and besides the which, hée hath also wit and will as peculiar giftes giuen him of God. And if we be men, we estéeme our selues better than beastes, and loke to haue them to be our vnderlinges. Contrariwise, whereas Imagination ought to rule the Sences, and Reason to rule Imagination, and will to rule Appetite: now the outward sence carieth away Imagination, Imagination Reason, and Appetite will, insomuch that the onely sence being bewitched or beguiled, carieth a mã headlong into all euill after the maner of Phaeton whom the Poetes speake of. It is a plaine case therefore, that a man hath made himselfe an vnderling to the beast, & consequently that mãkind is turned strangely vpside downe, and doubtlesse farre more monstruously, than if we saw him go vpon his head with his heeles vpward. Now then, séeing ỹ man is so ouerturned, whereof can he brag, but of offending God vncessantly in this life, & of infinite punishment in another life, according to the infinitenes of him whõ he hath offended? And to what purpose therefore that his immortality serue him, but to die euerlastingly & neuer to be dead?

Whence mans corruption commeth.

But let vs leaue this matter to another place. And forasmuch as by considering man what he is to Godward, to the world ward, to Manward, and to himselfe, I haue euidently proued his corruption and frowardnesse; namely, that he is vtterly contrary to the ende to which he was created of God, to the order of the whole world, to the welfare of all Mankinde, and to his owne benefite: Let vs henceforth consider from whence and from what time this mischiefe may haue befalne him, and what may haue bene the cause thereof. Certesse, if we say it came of God and that he had it of his creation; we blaspheme God to grossely. For God is good, and the very goodnesse it selfe: and therefore he cannot haue made any thing euill. Also it appeareth throughout the whol gouernment of the worlde, that he is the maister and maintainer of order. And therfore how is it possible that he should make the little world (namly man) to be a mould of confusion and disorder? Againe, no other thing than his owne glorie and the welfare of man, moued him to create man, and yet man béeing in case as he is, forbeareth not to blaspheme Gods name,

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and to purchase his owne destruction. Nedes then must it be that Man was made a farre other creature at the beginning, than he is now: as in very dede the Husbandman createth not the winell in the Corne, nor the vintner the sowreneſſe in the Wine, nor the smith the rust in the yron; but they come in from elswhere. Neuertheleſſe, the man that neuer dranke other drink than Wineger, would think it to be the naturall sap & taste of the Grape. And we likewise who neuer felt other in our selues than corruption, and are bred and brought vp in darkneſſe like the Cimmerians, would beare ourselues on hand, that God is the cause & author thereof. Now, let vs which haue tasted both the Wine and the Wineger, iudge what maner of creatures we may haue bin in our first creation: in doing wherof there is yet notwithstanding this great differẽce, that the palat of our bodily mouth is able to discerne the swete frõ the sowre; but the palat or taste of our soule, is vnable to do eyther of them both; the one, because corruption cannot iudge of cleanneſſe; and the other, because it cannot iudge wel of it self. In Wine & Wineger we discerne a liquid nature cõmon to them both: but as concerning their qualities, the Wine is swete, warme, and friendly to nature; wheras the vineger is sharpe, could, and corrosiue: yea and the very coloures of them are vnlike one another. Lo here two things vtterly contrary; and yet notwithstanding, the Wineger is nothing els but Wine altered from his nature. And because we haue sene the one as wel as the other; we wil neuer be made to beleue, that the Wineger was Wineger frõ ỳ very grape. Let vs iudge of our Soules with like discretion. We find there a spirituall nature, immateriall and immortall; and that is the onely remaynder of hir first originall. But yet this Spirit of ours is forward to nothing but euill, nor inclined to any other than base and transitorie things. It clingeth to the earth, and is bondslaue to the body. To be short, in stead of flying vp, it crauleth I wote not howe, contrary to the nature of a Spirite, which mounteth vp on high, and cannot be shut vp in these vyle and drossie things. Therefore it must nedes be sayed, that this nature of ours was not so of nature; it departed not such as it nowe is from the hand of the workmayster: but contrarywise, good, frē, pure, and indued with farre other qualities than it hath now: for now it is steyned with naughtineſſe, bondage of sinne, and corruption. May will some man say, seing it was created clere frõ al corruption, who was able to corrupt it as we see it to be now? Sure we be that it is a spiritual nature: and therefore neyther ỳ Elements nor any other bodie, could naturally do any hurt vnto it; & as litle also could time do any thing therto: for time is nothing but the mouing of bodies. Moreouer it was free of it selfe, and Ladie of the bodie, and therefore could not receyue her first corruption from the bodie; And yet notwithstanding wee see, that

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as nowe it is subiect to bee corrupted, both of hir owne flesh and of the vanities of the worlde which by nature had no power ouer it. Nedes then must the maker of nature himselfe, haue giuen a power to these things aboue their nature, whereby they might preuayle against the nature of the Soule; the doing whereof surely could not but haue bin rightfull in him, considering that he is the very righteousnes it selfe: For Iustice layeth not any punishment, but where some fault or offence hath gone afore. Therefore it must nedes be said, that man had committed some heynous crime against his maker, wherupon such penaltie & bondage were appointed iustly vnto him. And therefore let vs say, ỹ the Soule of man being the first corrupter of it selfe, did of it owne accord vanish away as Wine turneth in it self & of it self into Wineger, whereas if ỹ soule had hild her self in awe & vnder couerture, & had rested in hir Lãs as is sayd of Wine, that is to say, if shée had abidden stedfast in beholding her maker, without seeking her welfare in her selfe: shée might haue continued vtterly vncorrupted still. And againe, that by turning so away frõ God to hir self, she offended her maker, & forwent ỹ gracious giftes which she had receiued of him: wherupon followed ỹ curse of the Creator, and the sentence of his iust wrath vppon his creature, wherethrough it came to passe, that the same was not only bereft of all the grace wherwith it was replenished by beholding it selfe in him, but also was made an vnderling to the selfsame things which were made to haue done it seruice. Now what this sinne was, we cannot better vnderstand, than by the punishment thereof. For punishment and sinne haue a mutuall respect one to an other, as a fore & a salue, & may after a sorte be knowen the one by the other. Order would that our wit should obey God, & that all our sences and appetites should obey our reason: but wee see ỹ as now our sences & appetites hold reasõ vnder foot. This punishment ought to set our fault before our eyes, when as wee sée our selues falne downe and thrust vnder our selues, namely, that man intended to haue mounted vp aboue God. The same order would also that all the whole world & worldly things should haue serued mã, & mã haue serued God, that God might haue bene the marke of man, as man should haue bene the mark for al other things to haue aimed at. But we see that at this day man is an vnderling to ỹ leaste things that are: insomuch ỹ euẽ those which haue neither sence nor life doe resist him, & he pitcheth ỹ end of al his desires in earthly things, as if they were of more value than him self, accordingly as al of vs know, that the end is alwaies better than the things that tend to the same. Séeing then ỹ nature is reuolted from man, it is certein ỹ man is reuolted frõ God: for it is the ordinary punishmẽt of rebellious Subiects, ỹ their own seruants & vnderlings also do kick & spurne against them. And moreouer, séeing that man not onely findeth al maner of mischief & misfortune in himselfe, but is also so blynd

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as to sèke his felicitie in the myre, and in the durtie dunghils of this world; it is a token that he sought his happinesse in himself, & elsewhere than in God: To be short, we be stricken in our soules with ignorance of the things that are most needful for vs; & in our bodies with continual infirmities, & finally with death: and that is because we haue bene curious in sèking triseling things, as not contented with ỳ lesson that God had giuen vs; and would nèds haue made our selues immortall, howbeit not by the euerlasting power of Gods quickening spirit, but by the forbidding vse of transitorie things, yea euen which had no life in them. Thus sée we now wherof the corruption of mankind is come, namely euen of our own transgression, & of the punishment that followed vpon the same.

But it is demanded of vs yet further, how long it is ago since this befell. If we had espyed this corruption in vs but from some certeyne hundred yéres hence; it were not for vs to sèke any further for it. But let vs hould on our course vp the streame of Mankind euen to the Riuers head, and we shall finde it still alwayes soule and muddy; & we shal from age to age beare these outcryes euen among the best, I loue well the good but I cannot doe it; and (to be short) that man is inclined to doe euill, and subiect to receiue euil; which are in one word both the fault and the punishment. Agayne, were it but in some househoulds, or but in some Nations onely, men would not sticke to father the fault vppon the Clymate and the Soyle, or vppon the misteaching or misexample of the parents. But when we sée that in that respect al men are in one selfsame taking, as well the men of old time as the men of our dayes, sauing that sinne increaseth continually, as wel vnder the Equinoctiall line as betwéen both the Tropicks, & as wel on the further side as on the hither side of them, sauing that some take more payne to kéepe it frō sight than others, & that those which haue most wit are worst; forasmuch as I haue alreadie sufficiently proued the creation of the world & of the first man; we be driuen to mount vp againe to the same man, and to say that as he is the roote of our offspring, so is he also the wellspring of this corruption which reigneth in vs, as in whome our whole race was both atteinted with sin, & attached with punishment. In this behalfe it is not for vs to pleade against God, but to submit our shoulders to his iustice, & to lifte vp our eyes to his mercie. For necessarily from poynt to poynt doth this cōsequence ensue: ỳ soule is corrupted in al mākind: who is so corrupted ỳ he féeleth it not? This corruption cannot proceéd from the Creator. For when did euer purenesse yéld foorth corruption? The other creatures could not haue defiled it. For what maketh a thing vncleane, but ỳ taking of vncleannesse vnto it: & what causeth ỳ taking of vncleannes vnto it, but the touching thereof? and what touching one of another can there be betwéene a spirite & a bodie? It remayneth therefore that our Soule corrupted it selfe by forsaking her duetie, eyther of her owne

How long ago corruption came into man.

accord, or by the admitting vnto it of some wicked Spirit, that is to say by perswasion of that Spirite: which perswasion is vnto Spirits, as touching is vnto bodies. And againe, this corruption is from al time: then comes it not of trayning. And in all Nations: then comes it not of Constellation. And in all ages, both ould, yong and middle sort: then comes it not of imitation or example taking. Therefore it must nedes procede both from one onely man, and from the first created man, who turned away from GOD through pride, whereupon God also did iustly turne away from him, as we reade of our first father Adam in the holy Scripture. Now then, what remayneth more for vs, but to conclude that thing by nature, which we beleeue through Scripture? namely, That God created man good: That hee tolde him his will: That man chose to liue after his owne lyking, and would nedes become equall with God: That therevpon he was banished frō Gods presence and fauour: That the Earth became rebellious against man, and man against himselfe: and to be short, that man was wrapped in the wretchednes of this world, intangled with sinne in himself, driuen to liue euer dying in this life, and (were not Gods wrath appeased towards him) sure to dye euerlastingly in the life to come.

The xvij. Chapter.

That the men of old time agreed with vs concerning mans corruption and the cause thereof.

IT followeth that we gather the voices and iudgements of the wisest sort, yea and of al men in general; the which in myne opinion ought to beare the more swaye with vs, because it is a kindly thing with vs, both to loue our selues, and also to thinke ouerwell of our selues. For what cause hath a man to complaine, if being made Iudge in his owne case, he frame his owne inditement, and willingly beare witnesse against himselfe, by his owne voluntary confession.

confession. Surely, that man is strangly infected with vyce; it is witnessed sufficiently by the Hystories of all ages, which in effect are nothing els but Registers of the continuall Manslaughters, Whoredoms, Guyles, Rauishments, and Warres: And when I saye Warres, I thinke that in that worde I comprehend al the mischief that can be imagined. And that these vyces were not created in mans nature, but are crept into it; it appeareth sufficiently by the books of the Cerimonies of all nations; all whose Churchseruices are nothing but Sacrifices, that is to say, open protestations both euening and morning, that we haue offended God, and ought to be sacrifized and slaine for our offences according to our desertes, in stead of the silly Beastes that are offered vnto him for vs. Had man bene created with vice in him, he should haue had no conscience of sin nor repentance for it. For repētance presupposeth a fault, & conscience misgiueth the inflewing of punishment for the same. And there can be neither fault nor punishment in that which is done according to creation, but onely in & for our turning away from creatiō. Now the Churchseruice & Cerimonies of al Nations, doe witnesse vnto vs a certeyne forethinking & remorse of sinne against God. And so they witnesse altogether a forefeeling of his wrath which cannot be kindled against nature which he himselfe created, but against the faultinesse and vnkindlynesse that are in nature. The Conscience of Sinne

Also what els are the great number of Lawes among vs, but authentical Registers of our corruption? And what are the manifold Commentaries written vppon them, but a verie corruption of the Lawes themselues? And what do they witnesse vnto vs, but as the multitude of Phisitions doth in a Citie; namely, ỳ multitudes of our diseases; that is to wit, the sores and botches whereto our Soules are subiect, euen to the marring and poysoning of the very playsters themselues? Againe, what doe the punishments bewray which wee haue ordeyned for our selues, but ỳ we chastise in vs, not ỳ which God hath made or wrought in vs, but that which we our selues haue vndone or vnwrought: nor the nature it selfe, but the disfiguring of nature? But yet when we consider that among al Nations, that lawmaker is beléeued and followed by and by, which sayth, Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not beare false witnesse; wheras great perswasiō is required in al other lawes which are not so natural: It must néeds be concluded, that the Consciences of all men are persuaded of themselues, that the same is sinne, and that sinne deserueth punishment; that is to wit, that sinne is in nature, but not nature it selfe. But to omit the holy Scripture, which is nothing els but a Lokingglasse to shew vs our spottes and blemishes; what are the Scholes of the Philosophers, but instructions of the Soule? And what els is Philosophie it selfe, but an arte of The opinion of the auncient Philosophers.

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bealing the Soule, whereof the first precept is this so greatly renowmed one, know thy selfe? Aristotle in his Morals, sheweth that the affections must be ruled by reason, and our mind be brought from extreames into the meanes, and from iarring into right tune. Which is a token that our mynd is out of tune euen of it owne accord, seeing that it nedeth so many precepts to set it in tune agayne. And yet is not Aristotle so presumptuous as to say, ỹ euer he brought it to passe in his owne mynd. Theophrast his Disciple was wont to say, that the Soule payd well for hir dwelling in ỹ bodie, considering how much it suffered at the bodies hand. And what els was this, but an acknowledgmēt of the debate betweene ỹ bodie and the mynd? But (as sayth Plutarke) he should rather haue sayd, ỹ the bodie hath good cause to cōplayne, of ỹ turmoyles, which so irksom and troublesome a guest procureth vnto him. Plato who went afore them, sawe more clerly than both of them, He condemneth euery where the companie and fellowship of the body with the soule, and yet he condemneth not the workmanship of God. But he teacheth vs that the Soule is now in this bodie as in a prison, or rather as in a Caue or a graue. And ỹ is because he perceiueth euidently, that cōtrarie to ỹ order of nature, the Soule is subiect to the bodie, notwithstanding that naturally it should and can commaund it. The same Plato sayth further, that the Soule crepeth basely vpon these lower things, & that it is tyed to the matter of the bodie: the cause wherof he affirmeth to be, that she hath broken her wings which she had afore. His meaning then is, that the soule of her own nature is winged & flyeth vpward, that is to say, is of a heauenly & diuine nature, which wings shee hath lost by meanes of some fall. But to get out of these bondes, and to recouer her wings, the remedie that Plato giueth her, is to aduaunce her selfe towardes God, & to the things that concerne the minde. By the remedie we may coniecture what he toke the disease to be; namely, that our soule hauing bēn aduaunced by God to a notable dignitie, the which it might haue kept stil by sticking vnto God; fell to gazing at her owne feathers, till shee fell headlong into these transitorie things, among ỹ which shee crepeth now like a sillie worme, reteyning nothing as now of her birdlike nature, saue only a rowsing of her feathers and a vaine flapping of her wings. Now he saith, that he learned al this of a secret Oracle, the which he had in great reuerence. And of a trueth, in this doctrine of the original of our corruption, we haue to marke the same point which wee haue noted in some other things afore; namely, that the nearer wee come to the first world, the more cleere & manifest we finde the matter. Empedocles and Pythagoras taught that the soules which had offended God, were condemned & banished into bodies here below. And Philolaus the Pythagorian sayeth, that they receiued that opinion frō the Diuines & Prophets

Aristotle.

Theophrast.

Plato in his Phedrus.

Empedocles and Pythagoras.

Philolaus.

of

of olde time. Their meaning is, that the body, which ought to be ȳ house of the soule, is by Gods iust iudgement turned into a prison to it; and that which was giuen it for an instrumēt, is become Manicles & stocks. So then, there is both a fault and the punishment: and the fault must nēds procēde from one first man, euen in the iudgement of those men of olde time, which acknowledged the creation of the world. Also those auncient fathers seme to haue heard what prouoked the first man to sinne. For Homer speaketh of a Goddesse whom he calleth Até, (that is to say Waste, Losse, or Destruction) which troubled heauen, & therefore was cast down to ȳ earth, where she hath euer since troubled Mankind. And hereupon Euripides calleth the Fēnds πρωτογονῶν, that is to say, Faine from Heauen. And the Aegyptians, who be of most antiquitie, held and taught the same in their Mysteries. It is a mātly clēre shadow of that which we read in the Scripture concerning the fall of the diuel, whereunto he driue mankind afterward by his temptations. But when as Pherecydes the Syrian agrēing therein with Sybil, telleth vs expressely ȳ this Diuell which hath marred & destroyed ȳ whole earth was a Serpent, (whom he called ὄφιονεῦν or ὄφιονῆα, that is to say, Snakebread or Adderbread,) which armeth men by whole troopes against God: we by gathering al these testimonies together, shal haue the whole storie of the fall of man. Hermes being ancienter than al these, doth plainly acknowledge the corruptiō of man, yea & that so farre, as to say that there is nothing but euil in vs, & that there is no way for vs to loue God, but by hating our selues. And to kēpe vs frō accusing the Creator, The workmaster (saith he, to cut off all quarelling) is not the procurer of the rust, neither is the Creator the author of the filth and vncleanesse that is in vs. On whom then shal we father the cause thereof? God (saith he) created man after his own likenesse, & gaue him all things to vse. But man in stead of staying vpon the beholding of his father, would needs be medling & doing somewhat of himselfe, and so fell from the heauenly contemplation into the Sphere of Elements or of Generation. And because he had power ouer all things, he began to fall in loue with himselfe, and in gazing vpon himselfe, to wonder at himselfe; whereby he so intangled himselfe, that he became a bondslaue to his bodie, whereas he was free and at libertie afore. Now he intangleth this trueth with his accustomed speculations. But yet what is this in effect, but that the first man being proude of the grace which he had receiued, drowned himselfe in the loue of himselfe, whereas he might haue liued euerlastingly by drinking still of the loue of GOD? And if we mount vp yet higher to Zoroastres, who (as is written of him) was Noes graundchilde: we shal finde that in his Oracles, he bewayleth the race of Mankind in these wordes: Alas alas, the Earth mourneth euen vnto

Pherecydes alledged by Origen against Celsus.

Hermes inh is Pœmander.

Zoroastres.

Chil-

Children which words cannot be otherwise interpreted than of original sinne, which hath passed from the first man into all his offspring; after which maner the Cabalistes and namely Osias the Caldean interpret it; whereunto Gemistus the Platonist is not repugnant. And as touching the original of this mischife, he denyeth in these words that it came of creation; The thing that is vnperfect (sayth he) cannot procede of the Creator. Now that we be come as it were vp the streame to the first man Adam by whom sinne entered into the world, and by sinne, death: let vs see hencefoorth what the opinion of the Philosophers hath bin, since the comming of the second man Iesus Christe. We haue a little booke of one Hierocles a Stoick, vpon the golden sayings of Pythagoras, which shal answer both for the Pythagorists, and for the Stoicks. Man (sayeth he) is of his owne motion inclined to follow the euill and to leaue the good. There is a certain stryfe bred in his affections, which stepping vp against the will of Nature, hath made it to tumble from Heauen to Hell, by vndertaking to fight against God. He hath a free will which hee abuseth, bending himselfe wholy to incounter the Lawes of GOD: and this freedom it selfe is nothing els but a willingnesse to admit that which is not good, rather then otherwise. What els is this, but as the holy scripture saieth, that all the imaginations of mans heart are altogither continually bent to euil? which we dayly dispute of, namely that our freedome is frelh and forewarde vnto euill, but lame and lasse vnto dooing well? If ye aske him the cause thereof, Let vs not blaspheme for all that, (sayeth he) nor say that God is the author of our sinnes; but rather that man is of his owne accord become vntoward: and that whensoeuer we fall into sinne, we do that which is in vs, but not which was in vs from God. How then shal we make these propositions of his to agree; namely that God created man; that man is frowarde and corrupted; and yet that God created not man such a one: vnlesse wee saye that God created man good, and that afterward man degenerated from his nature? But it is the very thing wherennto he commeth of himselfe. Ambition (sayth he) is our bane and this mischeefe haue we of ourselues, because we be gone away from God, and doe giue ourselues to earthly things, which make vs to forget God. And that this mischeef is common to all mankind, he confesseth sufficiently in that he giueth vs an vniuersall remedie that is to wit Religion: the which alonly is able (sayeth he) to rid vs from earthly ignorance, without the riddance whereof, we can neuer come againe to our former shape and to the likenes of our kind, which was to be like vnto God. Now if all the whole kynd be defiled as he sayeth it is; surely we must resort backe to one first father, from whome it is spread out into the rest by naturall generation. Plutarke writing of good vertue sin-

Gemistus.

Hierocles the Stoick against Atheists.

findeth it a very hard matter to make our affections subiect to reason, and the body obedient to the spirit. And he is driuen to maruell greatly, That our féete should be so ready to goe or to stand still whensoeuer Reason letzeth or pulleth backe the Bridle; and that on the contrarie part, our affections should carry vs away so headlong for all the restreint that we can make. Also hee thinketh it strange, that in our discourses of the greatest matters, as of Loue, of the bringing vp of our Children, & of such like we be driuen to take ỹ brute beastes for our Iudges, as who would say that nature had stamped no Print of them in our selues; And he findeth himself so sore graueled in his consideratiõ, that he preferreth ỹ brute beasts before vs in all things, sauing in the capacitie which we haue to knowe God; vndoubtedly as perceiuing a continuall following of their kind in all of them, wheras in vs only there is contrariwise such an vnkindly and Bastardly Nature, that not euen the best of vs haue any whit of our former nature remayning in vs, sauing onely shame that we haue it no more. And this very gift of knowing God which remaineth to man, graueleth Plutarke more than all the rest. Man (sayth he) is a reasonable Creature; God hath set him in the world to beserued & honored of him & he hath made him to be borne to cõmon ciuil Societie. Wherof cõmeth it then that in his doings he is more vnreasonable, more contrarie to Gods wil, & more against the law of Nature, then the very brute beastes? In this perplexitie, one whyle he sayth that man had receiued fayre and sound Seede, but he that corrupted it afterwarde: Another while hee sayeth that he delt with reason as perfumers doe with Oyles, which neuer ceasse medling and mingling of them, til there remayne no sent of Oyle at all: And in one place, perceiuing (by all likelihod) this corruption to be so vniuersall: hee sayeth further, that at the very beginning and from their first coming into the World, men intangled and confounded themselues with sinne, Whereby we may perceiue, that had the thing bin declared vnto him in such sort as wée beléeue it; suerly hee would willingly haue imbraced and receiued it, as the onely solution of so many perplexities wherein he was intangled.

Plutark in his booke of Morall vertue, & in his booke of the mutual loue between Parents and their children and, That Beastes haue Reason.

Let vs come to the Platonists. All of them agrée in these points; That the Soule of Man is a spirit; & that a spirit cannot naturally receiue any affection frõ a body, neither which may cause it to perish, nor which may doe so much as once trouble it. Yet notwithstanding, on which side so euer they turne themselues, they cannot deny but that our myndes are troubled with infinite affections & passions in this body, & that they be subiect one while to starting besides themselues through pryde, anger or enuie; and another while to be cast downe with Riotousnes, Gluttonie, and Idlenes; yea and to receiue diuers impressions not only from

the body but also from the aire, the water, and from Fishes, and finally from euery little thing in the world. Now how can this contrarietie be reconciled, except their meaning be as ours is, that naturally our Soules are not subiect to any of these things, but that they bee put in subiection to them beyond the course of nature? If it bee beyond the course of nature; by whome is it doone, but by him that commaundeth nature, to whome it is as easie to put a spirite in Prison as to lodge a man in a house? If it be done by him who is the righteousnes it selfe; doth it not followe that it was for some fault committed by the Soule? If for some fault: then seeing that the punishment thereof is in al men, in whome should that first fault be, but in that man which was the originall of all men, as in whome all of vs (say I) were materially? Now againe, this fault cannot bee imputed to the body, for it is in the wil, and the body of it selfe hath no will: neither can it be imputed to any infection receiued first from the body; for the Soule could not be wrought into by the body. In the Soule therefore must the fault of mankind needes bee, and for the soules offence doth the Soule it self suffer punishment, and make the body also to suffer with her.

Howbeit, that we may the better iudge of their opinions, let vs heare them in the chief of them one after another. Plotine hauing considered that the Soule is of nature diuine, heauenly, and spirituall; concludeth that of it selfe it is not wrought into by the body. But afterward perceiuing how it is defiled, ouermastred by sinne, & by force of necessitie linked vnto lust, he commeth backe to this solution, That hir being here, beneath is but a banishment to her, which he termeth expressly a fall, and otherwise (as Plato doth) a losing of hir wings; That the vertue which she hath, is but a Remnant of hir former nature; That the vice which she hath, is taken by dealing by these base and transitorie things; and to be short, that all the vertue which is learned, is but a purging of ỹ Soule, which must be faine to be as it were newfurbished, to scoure of the great Rust that hath ouergrowne it. In these Contradictions therefore he maketh this question to himselfe: What should bee the cause (sayth he) that our soules being of a diuine nature should so forget both God their father & their kinred, & themselues? Surely (answereth he) the beginning of this mischif, was a certaine rashnes and ouer boldnes, wherethrough they would needes pluck their necks out of the collar, and be at their owne commaundement, by which abuse turning their libertie into licentiousnes, they went cleane backe, and are so farre gone away from GOD, that (like Children which being newly weaned, are byandby conuayed away from their Fathers and Moothers, they know neither whose, nor what they be, nor from whence they came. Now in these words he agreeth with our Diuines, not

Plotin. En. 3 lib. 2. Also Enn. 1 lib. 6. Cap. 5 Also Enn. 1 lib. 8. cap. 14 & Enn. 6. li. 9 Cap. 9

Plotin. li. 1. Enn. 5. Ca. 1.

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only in this, that corruption came in by sinne, but also in that kinde of sinne, namely Pride, whereby we be turned away from our Maker. In another place, The Soule (sayth he) which was bred for heauenly things, hath plundged it selfe in these materiall things, and matter of it selfe euil, that not only al that is of matter, or matched with matter, but also euen that which hath respect vnto matter, is filled with euill, as the eye that beholdeth darknes is filled with darknes. Here ye see, not onely frō whence we be turned away, but also to what: that is to wit, frō God to vanitie, from the Creator to the creature, from good to euill. But of this inclyning to the materiall things, hee somtimes maketh the body to be the author, as though the body had carried the Soule away by force of his imaginations; and he acquiteth the minde thereof as much as he can, in so much as he sticketh not to affirme, that notwithstanding all this marredneſſe, yet the Soule liueth and abideth pure & cleane in God, yea, euen whyle the soule (whereof the Mynd is as ye would say the very eiſight or apple of the eye) dwelleth in his body. Howbeit, beſides that he is reproued for it by Porphyrius, Proclus and others; his owne reasons whereby he approueth that the Soule is not naturally subiect to the body, bee so strong, that it were vnpoſſible for him to shift him selfe from them. In this the great Philosopher is ouershot, that he will nēdes seeke out the cause of sinne in Man as Man is now. Where finding Reason caried away by imagination, and Imagination deceiued by the Sences; he thought the fault to haue proceēded of that; whereas in deede he should haue sought the cause in Man as he was first created, when he had his Sences and Appetites absolutely at commaundemēt, whose wilfull offending hath brought vpon vs the neceſſitie of punishment which we indure. And in good soth, this saying of his in another place cannot be interpreted otherwiſe; namely, that the cause why the soule indureth so many troubles and passions in this body, is to be taken of the life which is led afore out of the body: that is to say, that the subiection of the Soule to the Bodie is not the originall cause of the sinne thereof, but rather a condemnation thereof to punishment. Neither also can he scape from these conclusions of his owne, namely, that the Soule being separated from the body, hath her wings sound and perfect: and that ỳ Body being ioyned to the soule, hath no power to breake her wings, and yet that shee findeth her selfe there to be weake & without wings: except he hold with vs, that the soule hath by her fall forgone her strength, and that the bodye by the feebleness of the soule and the sentence of the Creator, is strengthened in his weakeneſſe: that is to wit, in so much as the body (as I haue saide afore) is of a House become a Prison to the soule.

Plotin. Enn. 1. lib. 8. Cap. 4

Plotin. Enn. 1 lib. 5. cap. 5

Enn. 3. lib. 3 cap. 4.

Plotin. Enn. 1 li. 8. cap. 14. & lib. 3. Ca. 4

To be short, granting Gods Iuſtice, as he doth, he can neuer winde

himself out of this question which he himselfe maketh; namely why the sinnes are imputed to the Soule, seeing it doth them not but by infection of the body; vnlesse he make this infection to be a punishment of the fault which the Soule had committed afore in the body.

S. Austin in the Citie of God lib. 10 Cap. 23. & 32.

But Porphyrius, who perceyued these inconueniences, hath spoken more distinctly of the matter than his Maister did, agreeing with him neuertheless in the corruption of man, and in the cleansing of the Soule; Which cleansing of the Soule (sayth he) is so needfull a thing, as that it cannot possibly bee but that God hath prouided some vniuersal meane of cleansing mankynd. How is it possible then (sayth he) that the fall of the Soule, should come of Imagination which knitteth the Soule to the bodie, seeing that the higher things are not drawne downe by the lower but contrariwise the lower are drawne vp by the higher? Nay rather (sayeth he) the higher substances come downe in themselues from vnderstanding into imagination, from spiritual things to bodily things, from high things to lowe things, from perfect things to vnperfect things. And wheras by sticking fast vnto God they might haue abidden firme, not so much by their own strength as by his, & might haue liued & wrought as vnder his forme; they be come to a fall of themselues by stooping to matter. And therfore (sayth he) in the substaunces which are inclinable to such things, there is befalne (as men say) a sinne and a certayne vnbeleefe which is condemned, because they fell in loue with the Creatures, and turned away to them from the Creator.

Porphyrius in his booke which sheweth how to do the things that are to be conceiued all onely by reason and vnderstanding

Also in his third booke of Abstinence.

To be short he cõmeth to this poynt, that ỹ fall of mens soules, is like the fall of the Fiendes that is taught by the Iewes, and that through the fault of the wit and the will, which he termeth vnbeleefe or vnfaithfulnes, man is falne into the folly of concupiscence, that is to saye, from the fault into the punishment thereof, from the rebellion of the Soule, into the bondage thereof to the bodie. And ye must not thinke we speake contraries when we say, one while that man sinned by aduaunсing himselfe too high, and by presuming to become as it were equall with God; & another while that he sinned by stooping downe to these base and lowe things. For in very deede, the lifting vp of a mans selfe to Godward, is the true abasing and humbling of himself: for who is he that can rightly looke vp to God, and make account of himselfe, or rather not be abased in himselfe? And to encline to a mans selfe, is in verie trueth a presuming to make him selfe equall to God. For it is a seeking of that thing in our selues, which is not to be found but in God, namely of welfare and felicitie; and what els is pride, but a selfe estimation or an ouerweening of a mans selfe?

Proclus concerning the Soule & concerning the Feend. ca. 4.

Proclus doth ordinarily call the inclyning of our nature vnto euill, a descending or comming downe; and the corruption thereof, a fal because

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the highest that our Soule can attayne vnto, is the beholding of God; and the descending, stooping, or comming downe thereof, is to fall into estimation of our selues; and the fall is to bee thrust downe (in subiection) vnder our selues, like a body that falleth from some high place. But as touching the cause of the corruption, he fathereth it vppon our Mind, that is to wit, the highest part of our Soule; saying that if the same had continued sound, and sticked fast vnto God, (as sayeth Plotin) it had also holde reason sounde still; which is the Sunbeame thereof, and consequently all our actions should haue bin sound, so as wee should not haue bene subiect to sin. Seing then ý the punishment is come to ý highest part of vs, which we see combered with so many passions, dimmed with so much darknesse, and defiled with so many vices, surely the fault proceedeth onely frō thence. Hereunto we might adde many other sayings; but we wil cōtent our selues as now with onely Simplicius the famous interpreter of Aristotle. As long as mans Soule (sayth he) cleaueth fast vnto God the author thereof, it abydeth sound, and holdeth her perfection wherewith she was created of God: but fall she once to shrinking away from him, by and by shee withereth as hauing lost her roote, and comes to nothing: neither can shee recouer her former liuelinesse, except shee be reunited againe to her former cause. Now perceiue we euerychone of vs, that our nature is withered; and therefore let vs say, that we be slipped from our roote. And the roote leaueth not the branches, but contrariwise the branches leaue the roote. Let vs say then that we haue bereft our selues of the gracious goodnes of GOD, who would haue maintained vs still: for to nourish & quicken, is the propertie & nature of the roote. In one onely thing doe the Philosophers differ from vs in this behalf: namely, that they vphold al mens soules to haue sinned euery one in himselfe; and we say, That the onely first man sinned, and thereby hath bound all his whole offspring to the punishment. But yet do both come back againe to one point, seeing that euen by their own reasons I proued the creation of the world, which of necessitie leadeth vs to one man the father of vs all, whereas the Philosophers hang wauering still vnresolued in that point.

Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

Among all people we see there were prayers to craue pardon for sin, Sacrifices to appease Gods wrath, Mysticall washings, and Satisfactories or Votaries that were charged with the sinnes of some whole Realme, Citie, or State. All these (as I haue said afore) are publike protestations of a publik corruption. The Philosophers were fore combered in finding a meane to cleanse Mankynd from his filthines; some would haue done it by the Morals; some by the Mathematicals; and some by Religious Ceremonies: but in the end they confesse that al these things can doe nothing in ý behalf. They be fooles in their remedies, but

Vniuersall consent.

in discerning the disease. We reade of the people of Affricke at this day, (who bee giuen enough to contemplation,) that they fall into great conceyts of mynd, and are not able to perswade themselues that all their Churchseruices are sufficient to make them cleane. And that is a proofe that they feele a misdeed within them, whereinto neither the eye of the Phisitian can see, nor the medicine that he ministreth can atteyne. Also the Persians were wount to holde a holyday euery yeere, which they called The death of vices: In the which Feast, for a token of deuotion, they killed of all sorts of Serpents & wyld Beasts. And doubtles that was because they had learned, that man doth couertly carie in his breast all maner of Beasts, which it behoueth him to kil in himself, according to this saying of the Platonists, That the readiest way to return vnto God, and consequently to a mans first nature, is to kill his owne affections. But what shall we say to that which we haue learned in these our dayes among the barbarus Nations of the West Indies? There came a man into their Countrey (say they) which called himselfe the Sonne of the Sonne, who by his word and power replenished the Land with men and women whome hee created, and gaue them great abundance of fruits. Who doth not hereuppon call by and by to remembrance the creation of man & woman in the Scripture where God sayth vnto them, Increase and multiply and fill the earth; I haue giuen you al herb bearing seede, & all trees bearing fruit, and so forth? But (sayth the booke of their Diuinitie) because some men prouoked his displeasure, he afterward chaunged the good soyle which he had giuen them, into drye and barreyne sandes, and bereft them of Rayne, and left them nothing but a few riuers to helpe themselues withall by their great labour and trauel. Who espyeth not here agayne the sinne of man, Gods curse vpon the earth, and namely these words, In the sweate of thy browes shalt thou eate thy bread all the dayes of thy life! And who should bee ignorant of God, when as euen those knowe him, whom wee esteeme to bee almost of another kynd than we be?

Agathias in his second booke of the Persian warre

The generall History of the Indies. ca. 122.

But here the wicked perceyuing themselues to want matter to replye, do fall to rayling against God, Seeing that man (say they) sinned through the free will which GOD gaue vnto him; how can God be called good, hauing giuen man wherewith to sinne? By the same reason I say at once for all, if God be good; why hath he made Man, or any thing for Man? If he should take from thee all that thou abusest, I pray thee what should bee left thee? Thy Reason? What is there in that, maketh thee more vnreasonable? Thy Senses? To what other seruice doest thou put them, than to the marring of thy Senses? Thy tong? How much more eloquēt is it in speaking euil, than in speaking good? To be short, where shal the good things become which he hath giuen thee for the maintenance

Obiections.

nance of thy health and life? Naye, on the contrary part, which of them is it that thou turnest not to thy death and to thy bane? Now is ỳ founder of them to blame, if thou kill thy selfe with the things without the which thou couldest not liue? Or if thou become euil by the things without the which thou couldst not be good? God hath giuen thée a will: without will thou couldst not be good. Vnto wil he hath added a good wit to guyde it; & without wit thou couldest not be wise. If thou be loth to be eyther good or wise, it is but because thou art loth to bée a man. Thy will was giuen thée to loue God withall. Now, loue delighteth to bée frée harted; neither would God bee loued of vs as inchaunted to it, but freely & vtterly vnconstrayned. Therfore it behoueth this will to be frée. Likewise thy wit was giuen thée to behould God withall. And hadest thou but onely thy Senses, what hadest thou more than the brute Beastes? And if thou hadest no more than they, why were they and all the whole world made for thée? Now then, which of these two canst thou finde fault with, seeing that without them both, thou couldest be neither good, nor wise, no nor a man? Thou wouldest haue bin created vnchangeable; howbeit, not as a Rocke or a Mountayne, but as a man. Surely the vnchangeablenesse of Spirits, was created to depend vpon their linking in with their maker. Thou wouldest peraduenture haue bin an Angel: but there are euen of the Angels that are falne, and as they were farre higher than thou, so was their fall more daungerous than thyne. O man, acknowledge the goodnes of the Creator in creating thée good, and acknowledge the vanitie of the creature, which cannot stand in his own goodnes but in the goodnes of the Creator. But especially aboue al things commend thou his goodnes and mercie, in that he hath not only relæued thée in thy fal, but also as it were vpheld thée that thou mightest fall the softer.

Another taketh exception to Gods Iustice. What Iustice is it (sayth he) to punish a man so rigorously for so small a fault? Nay, what is more iust than nature? what is more natural than to run into darknes, when a man turneth away from the Sunne? Or (as Plotin sayth) to impaire & war naught, whē a man departeth frō ỳ souereign good? But O thou mā which thinkest thy self iuster than God, what punishment wouldest thou appoint to thy Sonne, not being a babe or a yong childe, but being com to yéres of discreation, & a mangrowne, not pinched & pyned, but flowing in all wealth: if vpō a brauerie & lustinesse of courage, he would disobey thée for a thing of nothing? Then set thou Adam also before thyne eyes newly come into ỳ world by ỳ goodnesse of ỳ creator, not stark naked but furnished with the whole worlde to serue him, not witlesse but with a pure, sound and skilful minde not subiect to his lustes but able to holde them in awe to his wil and hauing his wil obedient to reason. Now, whether thou consider his sinne, his rebellion, his vnfaith-

fulnes, & his pride; or whether thou haue an eye to the easines of abstaining frō sin: what punishmēt wilt thou not deeme him worthie to haue? Yea (sayest thou) but why vseth he this rigor against his children? Nay rather, say, why is he so mercifull, why is he so gracious, as to keepe them low in their fathers fall, least they should fall (more greeuously) through the same rashnesse? Thou buildest a Citie, and the custome is to beautifie it with Priuiledges. Afterward this Citie rebelleth; thou takest away their priuiledges, their Belles, their Armour, and their weapons; and this punishment of their Insurrection extendeth to all their posteritie, albeit they were but few at the beginning, and grewe to be mightily multiplyed afterward. The graunting of the Priuiledges to the first, was appoynted of goodnesse; for otherwise they might haue had occasion to complayne of thée. Likewise it is Iustice to take them so from them, and mercie to withhould them from their posteritie who haue the same rebellious mind in them, and had els runne headlong into extreme punishments. God gaue thée the priuiledge of freedome, and inriched thée with singular gifts both of body and mynd: prayse thou his goodnesse. Now, because thou hast abused them, he eyther taketh them cleane away, or els diminisheth them: acknowledge thou his Iustice. And because thy children might doe as thou hast done, and would not be amended by thine example, he taketh them from them also and diminisheth them in thée: commend thou still his mercie in his Iustice, but specially honor thou his Iustice in his mercie, in that of this rebellious race he causeth the partie to bee borne, which can appease his Iustice.

Yet for all this, they giue not ouer. If by the sinne of the first man (say they) nature be corrupted in all men: why be not the children more corrupted than their Fathers, by meanes of so many sinnes committed by their Fathers? In this behalfe they mistyke of Gods clemencie, & yet could not Gods Iustice haue contented them. Now the Lords intent in punishing the rebellious Citizens, was to make them submit themselues againe vnder his gouernment, & not to destroy them vtterly. And it was Gods intent to humble mankind by making him to feele ỹ smart of his fal; & not to breake him in peeces in his wrath, but to reclaime him by his mercie. We bee falne into a Pyt, we be falne from our highnes: now what would a second fall be? We haue broken our wings already against the Earth; whither would wee fall at the next flight? We be falne (say I) from the goodnes of our nature into naughtines, from Gods fauour into his wrath: how can wee fall any lower? Nay rather by creeping halfe broken vpon the Earth, wee knowe that wee be falne; and feeling the losse which wee haue susteyned, wee crye vnto God for relefe, and like little Purcechildren we beseech him to stay and vpholde

vphold vs with his mightie hand.

Now therefore let vs conclude for these two last Chapters, That mans nature is corrupted; and that it was not so created of God; but that man abusing Gods grace, did cast himselfe downe from goodnesse into naughtines, and from Gods free fauour into his iust displeasure; and that the man in whom the said Nature was first corrupted, was the first man: from whom we haue receiued our corruption, as well as our nature. But let vs not so much muse to take an account how we be falne into this pit of infection, as earnestly bethinke vs by what meanes we may get out againe, which is the thing that we haue to treate of next.

The xviij Chapter.

That God is mans souereigne welfare, and therefore that the cheefe marke which man should ame at, is to returne againe vnto God.

WE say that the chéefe point wherein fooles differ from wisemen, is that fooles shoot out their doings at allauenture into the aire, & that wise men direct al their doings to some certaine end. And again, ỳ the point wherein good men differ from euill men, is that good men determine with themselues vpon the good things, and euill men vpon the euill things, the good vpon that which is good in deed, and the euill vpon that which is good in showe. Therefore it standeth vs greatly on hand, both to haue some one certaine marke, and the same to be good: and to haue but one, because God hath giuen vs but one wit, and the perfection of wit is wisedome: and to haue the same good, because he hath giuen vs but one will, & the perfection of the wil is goodnes. Surely God being the very goodnes and wisedome it self, was not without this one marke and the same very good, when he first created all things. For Nature (say the Philosophers) doth nothing otherwise than wel and to a good end. If they spake so of the Handmaid, what shall we say of the Maister

Maister of the house? But forasmuch as he him selfe is the beginner, the holder on, & the ender of al things, he in all his doings did not set downe any other end than himselfe. We his creatures, who take our beginning and continuance from him, can haue none other end than him. Yet notwithstanding, the reasonable creature wisheth wel to it selfe, and doth alwaies purpose a certaine end with it self, which it thinketh to be behouefull. For the end of euery thing, is the peculiar good, benefite, or welfare therof: & this desire being in vs by kind, cannot be in vaine. Therfore it must nedes be that the true welfare of man consisteth in his true end or in his true amingpoint: & that the true amingpoint of man, & the end which the Creator intended, must meet iump together: That is to wit, he must imploy himself to ỹ glory of God, whose creating of al things was for his owne glory, & by tending thitherward attaine to his own welfare, which is ỹ thing that al things do naturally seke. And therfore if we find either mans chiefe amingpoint, or his soueraigne welfare; we find them both: for they be both but one selfesame thing; which in respect that his wit loketh thereat, is called his amingpoint, and in respect that his wil resteth theron, is called his welfare, both of thē together being the restingpoint of ỹ whole man. And vnto this end is he to apply himself & al his motions, al his indeuors & al his desires, as to his highest felicity, benefit & welfare.

Things are said to be good, either because they come to good end, or were purposed to a good end.

Mans end or amingpoint and his welfare consist or rest both in one thing.

Now, had we continued in our original nature, we should haue had no paine at all to seke them: for our wit was inlightened with the light of our marke, and our will was drawne by our welfare, that is to say, by God by whom and for whom we were created; whereas now through our pride our eies are gazing at all things, saue our right way and our chiefe welfare. Yet notwithstanding, we may trace it out by certaine markes, specially if we beare in minde that we be saine: for then wee wil not stand groping for it in the filth of ỹ things that are here beneath, as folke amazed at our fal; but we wil seek for it in the grace & in the face of our maker from whence we be saine. For like as whē we seke to know the vse and goodnesse of a tole (as for example, of a Sawe,) we consider it not by the rustinesse therof that hath eaten away the teth, or by the breakes that it hath taken by some falles; but by the teth therof which are sound, sharpe, and smoth, such as they were when they came newe out of the Sythmakers shop: euen so must we do with man; we must not iudge of his end by the blindnesse, ignorance, naughtinesse, & corruptnes that is come vpon him, but by the excellencie, goodnesse, and light that was in him at the first when GOD created him. Also we iudge not of the vse of the Sawe by the mettall therof in that it is Steele, or in that it hath a handle, or in that it hath an edge to cut withall: for a knife hath al these things, which yet notwithstanding is neuer the more a saw for al that: but we deme therof, by some peculiar shape, & by some

The Markes whereby to knowe the amingpoint and welfare of Man.

properlie of the teeth therof, which make it to differ not only from a knife, the which hath no teeth, but also from a File which hath teeth, howbeit of another sort. Then let vs doe the like still in man. If we deeme of the vse whereto God hath appointed him, by that he liueth, or by that he hath sences; what néedeth man to be made, seeing that the Plants are indued with life, and the brute beasts both with life and sence? But now hath he made Man, and he hath not made him in vaine. The vse of him therfore is to be taken, of that part which God hath giuen him specially & peculiarly to make him a man; of ẏ (I say) which maketh him to differ from the things which haue but onely being, life, and sence: I meane the very highest part of his Soule. Againe, the saide particular shape which giueth a particular vse to the Sawe, is common to al tooles which beare the name of a Sawe: and therefore the spectall propertie of man which giueth him a peculiar vse which no other Creature hath, must néeds be after such a sort peculiar vnto him, as it may neuertheless be common to al of the same kind: that is to say, as al mẽ are created with that property, so all men must tend to that ende. And forasmuch as that end is the soueraigne welfare of Man; it hath consequently certaine markes or tokens whereby it is to be knowne. Man seeketh nothing more than his end, neither desireth he any thing so much as to continue for euer: and yet notwithstanding the soueraigne welfare is the end of man: and therfore it must néeds be an end without end; an ende which doth not consume or waste, so as the thing which tendeth to it should thereby be fordone: but which perfecteth and fulfilleth it, so as beyond it there is not ought that can be desired or be. If there were any other beyond it, it were neither an end, nor soueraigne or chiefe. But for such a one doe we séeke: and if it could either waste or perish, we might be afraid to lose it: and the greater that the pleasure were, the greater also should ẏ greefe therof be. But the properties of felicitie or happinesse is, to content the desire & to exclude feare. Now then, as touching the thing which we séeke; in respect that we séeke it as our ende, it behoueth it to be agreeable to the very nature of man, peculiar to the whole kind, & common to all that be of the kinde: & in respect ẏ it is our soueraigne welfare, it behoueth it to be vniuersal, perfect, & continuall. And now let vs see what that may be.

Surely if we consider man and the world; in man the Sences, and in the World the sensible things: Man as the beholder, and the world as a Theatre: man as the guest, in the world the Feast prepared of all things conuenient for him: we will say by and by, not onely that they be made the one for the other, but also that in verie deede the World was made for man, and not man for the World, or for any thing therein. And againe, if we consider howe that in the World there is wherewith to content the eie, the eare and all the sences; but nothing

The world is not the ende to which man was made.

that

that can sufficiently content the minde, the which (as earthly as it is) passeth from the things visible to the invisible, from the bodily to the gostly, and from the creatures to the maker: shall we not easily conclude (which thing I will treate of more at large hereafter) that as the world cannot be mans end, so can it not also be his contentation? And yet notwithstanding man is not created for nought; neither is the desire of his owne welfare planted in him to no purpose. For as say the Philosophers, nature hath made nothing in vaine, neither is she maimed in thinges needful. Therefore it must needs be, and otherwise it cannot be, but that the Creator is the end and contentment of man, whose minde cannot be satisfied nor his will contented to the full, if any part of him do rest upon these vile and transitory things. By the way, whereas we commonly affirme that God is both the end and the welfare of al things for that they be guided and led whithersoeuer he listeth by his prouidence, and also be made partakers of his goodnes: we must vnderstande that this is verified of man after a more high and excellent maner. For the Creatures here beneath, some haue but sence and appetite, and other some but onely a bare inclination of nature: onely man hath wit and wil, which make him a man. Now all these are infallibly directed whithersoeuer it pleaseth God, as the arrow is leueled at some marke by the Archer, who shooteth the Arrow straight though it haue no eie to see with. But man by a peculiar priuiledge hath an vnderstanding wit which was giuen vnto him clearesighted and cleane, that he might see the marke whereat he is leueled; and Will, which he receiued franke and free, that he might repose all his delight therein: the one to know and discerne it, the other to loue and imbrace it; the one to see and behold it, the other to obtaine and inioy it. Now then, as the hither end of all creatures here beneath is man, and the furthest end of them is God: so the nearest and immediat end of mā is to know God, & his only welfare is to stick wholy vnto him.

God is the end or Marke that Man ameth at

Let vs imagine man as much as we list, to be still as sound as euer he was: yet what end, or what contentment could he haue but only God? We make great account of riches; what could hee be the better which had gotten al, or which had al riches gotten for him already to his hand? for what els is the getting of this world, but a proofe of want and pouertie? we esteeme highly of honor, of vaine titles, and of dignities: And what els are al these but a vaine gasing and wonderment of people which can be none at al where no people are? Surely then was not man set in the world, to the intent that that should be his marke to aime at; & much lesse could he take his contentment there. Yet notwithstanding he had receiued more wit than we haue, and not to no ende. And therefore we must needs say it was to direct him to some further thing than vanitie, which at that time could haue no place at all. Some will say, his

soueraigne

soueraigne welfare consisted in his health. What was his health, but his very being. & what maketh health to be esteemed, but sicknes, & who longeth for it, but he that is diseased? But whereto serueth so excellent a wit, if it be to haue nothing more than the brute beast? Another saies it consisted in vertue. How in vertue, seeing that vertue is nothing els but the subduing & conquering of affection by reason; wherof he was in possession already by nature, [and had held it stil without contradiction] if he had not of his owne accord yelded himself to euil? now then what remaineth, but ỳ for as much as man had not any thing to do, either within himself or without himself, his wit was giuen him to fly vp both aboue ỳ world & aboue himself, that is to wit, to the beholding of the creator, to yeld him thanks & seruice for his innumerable benefits, & to be wholly inflamed with the loue of him? now loke what was the end & soueraigne welfare of ỳ first man; the same must we thinke to be of al other men, notwithstanding that our wit be weakned & our wil besotted & all our nature couered ouer with rust, & marred like the teeth of a Sawe. Therefore as the end of the first man when he was in his perfect soundnes, was to attaine vnto God; so the end of vs in that small soundnesse which remaineth vnto vs, must be to tend vnto him; and like as the first mans soueraigne welfare was to sticke vnto God; so cannot we hope to attaine to our soueraigne welfare, but by returning vnto him. In this welfare & vtmost end which we set downe vnto man, let vs try whether we can finde all the markes which we haue required therein. First, it ought to be peculiar to that kind of man, and consequently placed in the noblest part of him. Now in al these lower things where is there an vnderstanding wit, but onely in man; & in man what is more noble, than his vnderstanding? and what is it (to speake properly) that maketh him a man, but vnderstanding? Moreouer, who sees not that many brute beasts do passe, man in liuely force both of life & sence? But in this alone he (as Plutarke saith) doth passe them all. Secondly, it must neuertheles be cõmon to al men. Now (as vtterly blinded & corrupted as we be) what is more common among vs al, than the knowledge of God? If Riches and Honor be the marke we shot at; how few of so many men which leuell at it with Heart, Eie, Hand, & Sinews, do hit it? If our welfare consist in hauing our helth, in being vertuous, in dealing vprightly, or in calmenes of mind; how few do inioy it? On the contrary part, who is so blind that he seeth not God, as sone as he doth but loke out with his Eies? or which findeth him not within himselfe? or which attaineth not to him, if he loke aboue himselfe? And who seeth not this marke, so clere that the world is but a shadowe to it? so great that the whole world is nothing to it; and so nere, as that we be not nerer to our selues? Or who can be afraid to be shut out from it, whose greatnes hath rome inough

for

for al, and whose sufficiencie is such, as the former shot can be no impediment to the latter to haue a lighting place? Surely therefore we may wel say, that if we had continued sound, we could haue had none other marke or end but him; for al things els had béene nothing. And now also for all that we be corrupted; we ought not to tend or intend to any other than him; for he alone can be al to al, and this point can be nowhere but in him. To be short, like as the soule is the shape of man, so is the knowledge of God the true shape of al vnderstanding of man. Neuertheless, although the shape of man was disfigured in the first man, yet there remaineth a certaine common conceaning of God, howbeit so defaced and bestubbered, that either we discerne him no more to be our ende, though he put vs in minde therof on al sides; or els imagining our selues to leuel at that marke, we swarue aside one while to vngodlines, and another while to superstition; or at least wise we had leuer for the most part, to rone at euery thing that our sences méete withall, and to wallow in these base things like beasts which haue no more but their sences.

Thirdly in our soueraigne welfare, I required that it should be vniuersall. Now where shal it be found to be so but in God, who is in déede the very good of all goodnes, and the verie welfare of all welfare that is in the world? Also that it should be perfect and full. And what desire we but the things that are? And what can he want, which possesseth him in whom al things are? Againe, I added that the same must be euerlasting and vnchangeable. Now who can be so, but the maker of order & change it selfe? and what thing sée we héere in this world, yea euen in our selues, which abideth in one state by the space of two moments? To be short, if we desire to content our sences, he hath made sensible things for ỹ nonce; and if we desire to content our minde, he himselfe is the things that are to be minded. Where then is the thing to be recouered which we couet, but onely in him? Now as touching this vniuersal soueraigne good, true it is that all of vs are able to desire it, but the most part of vs, vnable to discerne it, and none of vs able to attaine vnto it. There remaineth nothing to vs at al (I meane euen to the best of vs since our fal) but a griefe that we haue it not any more, and that we be not able of our selues to recouer it again héere below. Then let vs say, that as it had béene a happie case for vs, to haue continued stil in our first state: so is it now for vs to returne thither againe; that is to say, to be set againe in Gods fauour, that we may one day sée his face yet againe. And because this blessednes cannot be brought to perfection in this life so ful of wretchednes: we must dispose our life in this world, not to liue stil in the world, but to die in respect of these dead thinges, and to liue vnto God; at least wise if we intend to liue the true life, and to liue euerlastingly in him.

The false ends and the false Welfares.

Now then we sée that we haue found our true resting point and our

true

true welfare, that is to wit the turning againe vnto God, from whose fauour and fellowship we be departed. For proofe thereof, we néede but to examine from point to point the other ends & welfares which worldly men doe set downe to themselues, by the tokens and proofes which I haue made of the other already. Whereby as we shall find a common desirousnes in al men to séeke the welfare; so wil we doubtlesse wonder at such diuersitie of tastes, which like to the lustings of them that haue the gréene sickenesse, (who be grédy of Dust, Coales, Ashes and such other baggage) cannot but bewray vnto vs a strange distemperature & corruption of our whole nature. Most men haue in all ages spent their whole life, either in raking together of riches, or in Ambition, or in purchasing of Landes, or in puffing vp themselues with the winde of Pride. And what can be more contrary to the liking of our vnderstanding, than those things? The end whereto things tend, is better than the thinges themselues. What is it then for a man to bend himselfe to these outward things: but to shewe that we be worse than Earth and Dong? And who woulde not beléeue that the Soule of man were infinitely lesse made for such thinges, than cloath of Gold to wrappe vp mire and dirt in?

Also we séeke the vttermost end of man. Now who is he that desireth not Riches for some other end, than for the Riches themselues? namely that he might spend them either wantonly or honorably, or necessarilie? Nay who would passe for them at all, if he might haue the other thinges without them? Were it not so, what were more wretched than man in whose end consisteth his welfare, séeing that either the Wilinde, or Fire, or robbing may bereaue vs of that felicitie: that is to wit, ouerwhelme vs with miseries in one moment? Againe, how can Riches be the common marke of all men to shoote at, séeing that the inriching of one man is the impouerishing of another? Yea and that the very béeing of them consisteth but in the opinion of men, some counting Gold, some stones, some Shelles, and some Nuttes to be Riches: and al resembling yong children, which set al their felicitie in Checkstones and pins? And what is it for men to set their felicitie in things which are neither Man nor of Man, as if they should set the goodnes of a knife in the sheath, or of an Horse in his Footecloth or Saddle? To be short, how can that be the soueraigne God, which is no good at al? which is common as well to be bad as to be good, and doth rather impaire men than amend them? Or how can that be our chéefe marke to shoote at, which of all things turneth vs most from the true marke, that is to wit, from God: as in truth there is not a readier way to driue vs quite and cleane from God, than to drawe vs nearer and nearer to worldly riches? Riches.

And what is Ambition? Wee might discourse of that time without end. Honor.

end: for in verie déde it hath no end. Some attaine to some certaine point: otherſome be quite excluded. Which of them in our opinion are the happieſt? Sothly they that are excluded are diſapointed of their pretenſed felicitie. That is all the harme they haue by it. They that attaine to honor, are in continual torment, ſpightfull or ſpigbted, doing miſchéef or receiuing miſchéefe, ouermated or ouermating. What is this but many euils for one, and a multiplying of miſeries without number, for the obtainement of one ſillie ſhadowe of felicitie? We will leaue the reſidue to declamers: what are the fruits of theſe bellish torments, what are they? Forſoth Honor, Reputation, and Power or Authority. What is all this but winde, which cannot fill vs, nor ſcarſely puffe vs vp? I ſhall be ſaluted as I go abroade, I ſhall ſit higheſt at mætings. In hauing theſe things, what haue I, which a wicked man may not rather haue than I? And if it be a good thing, how is it giuen to euill men? I ſhal haue reputation. If it be among euill men, O how ſhal I be blamed among good men! Perhaps I ſhall haue it among good men. If for vertue: who ſéeth not that reputation is but a ſhadow, made to follow vertue? And who will runne after the ſhadowe to forgoe the bodie? If frély for nothing, (as men ſay) vpon credite: who knoweth not that thing to be nothing worth, which is giuen for nought, and by ſuch as are noughtworth? And who wil beléeue that we be borne to ſuch an end as that? Nay rather, how many be the ſlaunders wherwith good men be charged: inſomuch that diuers times they be faine to forgoe their reputation for the preſeruation of their Conſcience?

Power, Authoritie and Soueriintie,

Finally, I ſhal haue obtained power & authoritie. If that be the ende of Man; how happeneth it that for one mans hauing of it, ſo many millions are faine to go without it? And if it be his ſoueraigne good; wherof commeth it, that not onely it is turned to euil, but alſo cõmonly turneth the poſſeſſors therof to euil? But let vs put the caſe that all this is good. To whõ? For euery one ý is honored as a Prince, ten thouſand are faine to knéele: For one that triumpeth, a hundred thouſand are led in captinity: For one that reigneth, ten hundred thouſand ſerue as ſlaues. By this reckoning, ſome onely one man ſhould be the end of many men: & the felicitie of thée or fower ſhould be the infelicity of a whole world. Now our ſéeking is for the end & felicitie, not of ſome one or two men, but of al the whole kind. What wil ye ſay then if euen thoſe fewe haue it not? I take to witneſſe the happieſt Courtiers that are, whether one wrie looks of their Prince do not ſting them more at the hart, than a thouſand flatterers & as many crouchers and cappers can delight their eares & eies? Nay, I report me euen to the greateſt Princes themſelues, whether one Rebellion of their ſubiects againſt them, do not vexe them more than all their honorable triumphs do reioice them? and were it not a ſhame to ſay,

that

that mans soueraigne good should stand in awe or depend vpon a grim looke? What els then are all these things, but resemblances of the Apples that grow about Sodome, which being pleasant to the eye, and prouoking to the appetite, doe vanish into smoake or into soote as soone as a man puts his teeth to them?

Besides this, the felicitie of man ought to abyde in the thing it selfe. But the contentment of the ambitious person, dependeth vpon another. Also it ought to bee euerlasting: But ambition endeth with the body, and is buryed with it in the same graue. Againe, the things that ambition craueth, are sought some times for some other things sake: but we demande an end whereupon to rest, and not a meane to an ende. To bee short, so farre off is ambition from being a way to bring vs to soueraigne good or felicitie; that in verie trueth (as I haue sayd afore) it casteth vs miserably downe and maketh vs to fall quite and cleane from it.

The vtmost end & soueraigne good of Man are not in himselfe.

Now, seeing we cannot finde the thing we seeke for, neyther among men, nor in these worldly things; doth it not follow that we must seeke it in our selues? Surely the world is not of it selfe, nor for it selfe, but was made by another, and for another; neither hath man his owne beginning of himselfe: and therefore he cannot be the end of himselfe. The maker of a thing maketh it not for the things sake, but for his owne sake: and therefore he himselfe is the ende of his worke. Againe, the thing that is made is not good in respect of it selfe, but for the vse or ende whereto the maker maketh it: and therefore the maker himselfe is the soueraigne good thereof. But let vs discouer the matter yet more largely. Man is composed of Bodie and Soule; the Bodie mortall, the Soule immortall. Now, if wee set mans felicitie in his body only; we do too great wrong, both to the Soule, and to the whole man. For if it consist in the bodie, it perisheth and fadeth away with the bodie. And then what remaineth to the Soule which ouerliueth, but wretchednesse? But wee looke for a felicitie which belongeth to the whole Man, and to his whole life both together. Againe what should be this felicitie of the bodie, vnlesse perhaps it be Beautie; which gladdeth more the beholder than the bearer thereof, and yet within a while after, is lost by some wound, some sore, some pimples, or some Sunburning? In the Soule ioyned with the bodie we haue three abilities, namely of life, of sence, and of vnderstanding. Let vs see in which of these three, mans soueraigne welfare and end may be harbored. The Soule giueth life to mans bodie, and the perfection of life is health. If our life serue to none other end than that; what had the first man to doe with it, who was created healthfull? If it must be the end of vs now after our corruption; what is more vnhappie than man? Nay, what is more vncapable of happinesse than man? A bodie

Beautie.

Health.

subiect to a thousand diseases, a thousand harmes, a thousand daungers; weake, fraple, fraught with miseries within, wrapped in them without; alwaies vncerteine of life, alwaies sure of death; whom a Worme, an Hearbe, a graine of dust may kill: who if he loked for none other happinesse than that, were much better to bee a Plant than a Man. Againe, who is so sound and healthie of bodie, or so diseased in mynd, which (if he were put to the choice) had not leuer to haue a sound mind in a sick body, than to be out of his wits hauing perfect health of bodie? Wothly then it is a very clere argument, that our chiefe happinesse resteth in our mynd, seing we can find in our harts to redeme it with the miseries of our body.

Bodily pleasure, Voluptuousnes, or Sensualitie.

Let vs come to the sensitiue parte. The happines thereof seemeth to consist in Voluptuousnes or Sensualitie. If that make vs happy; then happy be brute beasts, as who doe vse it both more freely, and with more delight than wee: and vnhappy is man, who cannot wholy become a beast, do what he cã. The beast taketh his pleasure, without regard who sees him, without remorse of conscience, & without any arguing against himselfe. Contrariwise, what man is he which feeleth not a Law in himselfe that goes about to bridle him: which feeleth not a hart bytyng in the middest of his pleasure: or whose greatest delights leaue him not a sting of repentance behind them? And what happines can that be whereof we be ashamed, and which compelleth vs to seeke couert for the doing therof? Also what a fond woorkman was hee, that framed vs so farre vnfit for such a purpose? insomuch that whereas all our body is lyable to aches & stitches both within & without and on all sides: we scarsly haue aboue two or three parts vpon vs capable of pleasure, and euen those also subiect to greefe and paine. Let there be a man (saieth Plutarke) that hath led his whole life in pleasure and sensualitie; and about a two or three howers afore he drawe towards death, let him be put to his choyce whether he had leuer too delight his sences by lying with his Lais, or delight his mynd with deliuering his Country from some great perill. Will he (thinke you) be so very a beast, as to doubt which of them he shal chose? Who seeth not then that the pleasure of mynd, is both greater than the pleasure of the body, and more peculiar to man, and more agreeable to his end? We seeke a souereigne good: if it be good, it will amend vs. But what doth marre vs and impayre vs more both in bodie and soule, than fleshly pleasure? Also we meane it should be perfect. If it be so, it will make vs perfect too. But what consumeth vs, what decayeth vs more than sensualitie? Againe, wee seeke an end; but yet an endlesse end, not which maketh an end of our pleasures, but which doth still feede our desires. Contrarywise, what is there which is sooner at an end in it selfe, which sooner maketh an end of vs, or which sooner wearieth vs and lesse contenteth vs, than the bodily pleasures: considering that (as the Poet (saith

saith) the pleasure and paine go both together? Moreouer, how may that be the soueraigne good, which is not so much as a meane good? For who can denie, but that abstinence is taken for a vertue, euen among the vicious sort? And what maner of good is that, which may become euill by increasing, if it were not euill of it self afore? Finally, al bodily pleasures consist in the Sences, and are executed by the sensitiue parts. Now, the Sences are oftentymes forstalled in vs, either by diseases or by oldage: and the sensitiue parts are dispatched at the least by death.

Now albeit that a man haue a double life, the one in this world, the other in another, the one dying, the other immortall; the first which is here tending to the second as the worse to the better; yet is not our seeking for such an end or such a felicitie as dyeth with vs, but for such a one as maketh vs happy, quickeneth vs, and refresheth vs euerlastingly: the which surely is not to be found in mortall things. Now followeth therefore the Understanding part, which is occupied one while in it selfe, another while in the gouernment of the world, & another while in contemplation of heauenly things: and of these three operations spring three perfections: namely Vertue, Policie, and Wisdome. Let vs see yet in which of these three consisteth our soueraigne felicitie and contentation. Surely it is not to bee doubted, but that our end will bee found to consist in that part: for whither can the minde of man reach, beyond the world, and man and him that made them both? But let vs see if we come neere it in this world. I pray you what is Vertue? The calmenesse of our affections. What are these affections of ours? The waues and stormes of our Soules, raised with euery little blast of winde, which doe so tosse and turmoile it vpside downe, that euen the best Pylots are faine to strike Saile, and reason it selfe is driuen welneere to forsake the Helue. If Man were created to this end, why was he created with calmenesse of minde? Or if his soueraigne good consist now in ouer mastering his affections; what more contrarietie can there be, than to be voide of affections and to be a man? Let vs put the case that some man atteine thereunto: shall he also stay there? No: for valiantnesse hath an eye to warre, warre to peace, peace to the prosperitie of the Commonweale, and so forth of others. Now, that which tendeth vnto another, cannot be the vtmost end. But will man at leastwise be contented therewith? Nay, let vs commend Vertue as much as we list, and let vs busie our selues in making bookes of it: yet if it extend no further than to the things on earth, I dare well say there is not any thing, I say not so happy, but so wretched & miserable as man. Folke will say he is an honest man: but yet as honest as he is, they will let him starue for hunger. The Prince will say he is a faithfull, a sound, & an vpright dealer, neither led by couetousnesse nor carried away with ambition; but yet he will not put him in trust with the Vertue.

managing of his affayres in this world. The foulest vice in the world shall finde a mate: but if Vertue runne through the whole world, she shal scarce find a husband. Now then, if we seeke our felicitie in this life; what is Vertue but very miserie? And if we seeke it in the other lyfe; what shal become of this vertue where we shall haue no affections to encounter with? Surely then is not Vertue our end: for the end that we seeke, hath not an eye to a further thing; neither doth the soueraigne good thereof, which goes ioyntly with it, come to any end.

Policie. What then? Is Policie that ende? We call Policie the right vse of reason in the gouerning of worldly affaires. Besides that, it may also properly be defined, to be an art or skill of guyding mens doings to a certeine end. Now the skill, and the end that it aimeth at, cannot be both one thing. But (to be short) what is this world? Strife, Warre, Discord, Enuy, Rancor, Burning, Sacking, Wasting, Spoiling, and destroying a miserable ground for man to build his felicitie vpon; What is the gouerning and disposing of all these things, but a dealing with Byles, Botches, and Cankers, whereof if we haue no feeling, they can (to go the best way) doe vs no good; and if wee haue feeling, they worke vs nothing but sorrowe, griefe, stinch, and lothsomnesse? Yea, but the happines or felicity is in healing them. Happy then is that commonweale which receiueth good by thy paine: but not thy paine happy which thou hast taken to heale it. For when a Physicion healeth a man, who receiues the benefite, the Physicion, or the Patient? And if the Physicion did his Cure for gaine, and the Magistrate his dutie for honour: who sees not that the skil of curing was not the end of the one, nor the skill of gouerning the end of the other: seeing that they tended either of them to a further end, and that so fillie a one? Notwithstanding all this, in the end Man dieth, & the world perisheth: but the Soule liueth still, & yet giueth ouer the dealings of the world. Therfore needs must some other thing thã Policy be our soueraign good, seeing that this Policie is limited within the bounds of this world.

Wisdome or Religiousnes. Now then, let vs examine Wisdom. It is the beholding of God and of things belonging to God. This requireth a man to lift vp himself aboue the world, and aboue himselfe; I meane that a man should retire from all outward things into his owne Soule, the Soule vnto her Mind, and the Mynd vnto God. Surely there is great likelyhood that our doings ought to be referred to this wisdom, and that our end and welfare should consist therein. For the perfecting of such a contemplation, wee say there are required wealth, Health, Vertue, and Policie. For want and pouertie, bee as Fetters of Yron to a wel disposed mind: a sickely and diseased body, is as a torture to it: vnruly affections dazle it and make it see one thing for another: Policie is the Stablisher of Commonweales, and whosoeuer giueth himselfe to contemplation, it behoueth him to be setled in a

quiet

quiet place, that he may hold the Plommet of his minde steddy without shaking or stirring. Thus doe all things serue to serue to that vse. But when they come all to the forenamed poynt, to helpe vs; yet I pray you how far doe they further vs? It is naturally bred in man to beleeue that there is a God: and his workes doe put vs in minde of it euery howre. But shall we enter into our workemaster, seeing that the verie outside of the least of all his workes doth stoppe vs? Agayne, who knoweth not, that if there be not a God, there can be no happines at all? And sith wee knowe it, euen (as yee woulde say) from our byrth; why take wee so much payne in seeking that which wee haue already? Reason telleth vs further, that God is good and iust; that is to say, that hee loueth that which is good, and hateth that which is euill. And our owne conscience telleth vs, that wee doe little good or none, but much euill. And if the little good which we doe be done amisse, what happines is there, or rather what vnhappines is there not in that knowledge which maketh vs to feele a continuall torment in our selues? But the partie that is giuen to contemplation, mounteth vp yet higher, and considereth that God is immortall, vnchangeable, and not to be wrought into: which is as much to say, as that he is not as we men are, who doe die, moue, and change: and when he comes to that point, he is at the highest that his wit can reach vnto. And what is all this flying vp, but a creeping still vppon the earth? For, to say that of a thing which it is not, or to say it is not this or it is not that; what els is it but a protesting that wee knowe not what it is: as if a man should boast that he knowes an Elephant, vnder pretence that he knowes it is not a Snaile? What then is our highest contemplation but deepe ignorance? And who would make ignorance his highest felicitie and furthest end or shote-anker? Yet notwithstanding how few be there which atteine so far? And if any through rashnes aduenture any further; into what error and blindnesse doe they fall, no lesse than they which forgo their sight by looking against the Sun?

It remaineth then in the end, that we must atteine to that by Faith, which wee cannot atteine vnto by Reason; that wee must mount vp by liuely beleefe aboue our vnderstanding, vnto the things whereunto the eye of our minde is not able to reach. And Algazell the Arabian proceeded so farre, as to say that the rote wherby the felicity to come is attend vnto, is faith. And what is this faith in God, but a beleeuing that our welfare lyeth in him? What is the beleeuing, but the hoping for it? What is hope, but the desiring of it? What is the desire of it, but the not hauing of it? And to be short, what is the continuall beleefe of it heere, but a bewraying that heere we can neither haue it nor see it? If we haue not faith, what haue we but ignorance? And if we haue faith; what haue we but onely a desire and longing; considering that the greater our faith is, the

Faith or Beleefe.

Algazel in the beginning of his Supernaturalles.

The xix. Chapter.

That the wisest of all ages agree that God is the vtmost end and souereigne good, felicitie, or welfare of man.

Surely man doth naturally desire, for the contentment of his wil, to be well; and for the exercise of his wit, to haue some certeine end. And therfore there is not a riser nor a larger place in Philosophie, than the serching out of the chiefe end & souereigne good of man; insomuch that Cicero saieth that the whole authoritie of Philosophie, consisteth in that point alone. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as by reason of our fall, we finde our selues astonished here by loue like folke faine out of the Clouds, and moreouer benighted with verie deepe darkenesse in a place that leadeth many sundry wayes cleane contrarie one from another; we knowe not in this perpleritie which way to take, and yet euery of vs thinks himselfe wise enough to direct his companion. One calles to the right hand, and another to the left: One points ye vp the hill, and another sets ye through the plaines: and yet all of them can as little skill of the right way one as another: and at the last the most part of them perceiue in the ende of their trauell, that the more haste they made, the further they wandered from their way. But what wonder is it if blinde folkes, or such as are guided by blind folkes, or such as haue no guide at all, doe goe astray? Nay rather, were it not to be esteemed for a miracle, if any of them all, howbeit being guided from aboue, should happen to hit vpon the right way? Naturall desire causeth men to seeke their welfare. And all Philosophie lieth in that point of seeking out the welfare of man. Sinne hath put vs from it, and maketh vs to lose it. And therefore the wiser sorte haue laboured to recouer it by eschewing sinne. But most men knowing not that this sinne is come vpon vs by a high fall, and therefore imagining themselues to be nestled stil in their former place: doe busie their heads about the seeking of it there, not perceiuing that they be throwne downe very low, farre from God, and vnderneath themselues. That is the cause why wee to no purpose doe seeke by groping round about vs, for that which is not to bee had there,

Austin in his xix booke and first cap. of the Citie of God.

there, nor is to be found there. Varro saith, that in his time there were two hundred foure score and eight opinions, concerning this point in the bookes of the Philosophers: that is to wit, two hundred fower score and eight Sects: for that was the badge or Cognisance that made the difference betwixt them. It was a wonder to see so many diuersities, and a more wonder, that of so many so fewe could hit vpon the trueth. Yet notwithstanding they triumphed one ouer another, and were curious in confuting one another; as in deed it is alwaies more easie to remoue a fault, than to amend it; and to conuince a lie, than to finde out the truth. But yet at least wise we haue wonne thus much at the hands of them all: That there is one chiefe ende, and one soueraigne good, whereat all men ought to ame: and we finde euen by the contrarietie of their owne reasons one against another, that it is none of all those things wherein they haue sought it: whereupon we may easilie conclude, that it cannot bee anywhere els, then where we seeke it. Had they well considered, that Man is faine from his former dignitie, and compared the glorie of his former state with the wretchednesse of his present state; they would haue sought none other happinesse or felicitie than to returne thither, that is to say, than to be linked againe vnto GOD: and they would neuer haue followed so many fond fancies, more worthy to be pitied than to be laughed at. Neuertheless there are some fewe to be found in all ages, which haue leueled at this marke, like as among all the rest, we see that some haue had a certaine knowledge of our first originall nature.

The Epicures. The Epicures sought this soueraigne good in the pleasures and delights of the bodie: and the Stoikes mocked them for their labor, perceiuing well, that there is not here so faire and sweet a Rosebush, which hath not very sharpe pricks, and that it was the nert way to make a man a beast. To be short, the Epicures themselues were so much ashamed of the matter, that to make Lady Pleasure to go for an honest woman, they were faine to disguise her as much as they could, and to say that by Pleasure they meant the delights of the minde, and not the feuerous pleasures of the body, which passe away in the turning of a hand. But in the end, what were their pleasures? Forsooth (say they) to bethinke a mans selfe how oft he hath made good cheere, or how oft he hath seene his trull. O strange beastlinesse! As who would say (saith Plutarke) that the pleasures of this world were to be kept in Conserues, or to be layd vp as Restoratiues in the closet of mans memorie: or rather (say I) as though the remembrance of troubles past, yea or of some greeuous sicknesse recouered, were not more delightfull than the greatest ioyes that are possible to be had.

The Stoiks. The Stoikes therefore doe giue vs another kinde of happinesse or welfare; namely Morall vertue, which consisteth in the quiet reigning of reason

reason in vs. But what is this els than a mere imagination? How will they answere to the Peripateticks, which say that man is not made for himselfe alone, but for common societie: That his vertue must ame at a further ende: That vertue neither in respect of that whereat it aimeth, nor of that whereon it worketh can make men happy? To be short, what will they say to their owne companions, who for the vpholding of this their surmised felicitie, do vnderprop it with wealth, health, courage, and measurable pleasure, as vnsufficient to stand alone without aide? But I haue ripped vp this point sufficiently in the Chapter going last before.

What then do the Peripateticks set vs downe? As the Stoiks left the Bodie to mount vp to the Soule, so these mount vp from the Soule to the Minde. There are (saith Aristotle) two sorts of Blessednesse. The one ciuill and publike, called Policie; which consisteth in action: and the other priuate and of household, called Wisedome, which consisteth in Contemplation. He thinkes verely that he hath said somewhat. But how can Policie be this blessednesse, considering that according to his owne saying, Policie is but a cunning or skill to lead things to a certeine end, and is not the ende it selfe? Or how can Wisedome be it, seeing that (as he himselfe saith) our vnderstanding seeth as little in matters concerning God, as the eye of an Owle doth when she commeth nere the Sunne? Our vnderstanding is dull, our iudgement vncerteine, and our memorie deceitfull. The deepest of our knowledge (saith Socrates) is ignorance; and all Philosophie (as Porphyrius vpholdeth) is but mere coniecture, easie to be ouerthrowne with euery little push. Now then, how may this be a happinesse, vnlesse we will graunt that the Owle is happie in comming nere the Sunne; or a blind man happie in beholding colours?

The Peripatetikes or walkers.

Aristotle in his Moralles. lib. 5.

Porphyr. in his first booke of the Soule, to Byrithius and Anebon.

His Disciples Alexander and Auerrhoes, perceiuing that all our contemplation is but veration of minde, most commonly to no purpose; haue found vs out another deuice. Which is, that all our happinesse consisteth in ioyning the capacitie of our minde, or rather of our imagination, vnto certaine separated substances, to bee informed by them in all maner of knowledge: for the which deuice they be reproued of most Philosophers, and as I beleeue, in the end they laughed themselues to scorne for it. But as I haue said alreadie, what are these separated substances of theirs? Or rather why did they not set our felicitie in being knit vnto God, whome they confesse to be better than all these things? Againe, who is he, were he neuer so fantasticall, euen though it were Auerrhoes himselfe, that could vaunt himselfe to haue euer atteyned to that imagined Coniunction of theirs in this life? And seeing that (as they beare vs on hande) the knowledge of the nature of all sensible things, is required to the attein-ment of that felicitie of theirs; how shall we atteyne to the full heighth thereof, if we stop at the very beginning?

The Academiks.

Plato in his Commonweale lib. 10.

In his Epinomis.

In his Theetetus.

The

The Academikes therefore, who take vpon them to weare Platoes liuery, mounted vp one step higher, and considered very well that all our contemplation is but a continual wrestling, one while against the darknesse of the things, and another while against the darknesse of our owne minde. And as they acknowledge our hurt to procéde of a fall, whereby we brake our wings, which (as Plato interpreteth them) were Morall vertue and contemplation: so conceiued they thereupon, that it were a great good turne for vs to recouer them againe. But whether to be carried by them? Let vs heare that of Plato. All the things in this world (saith he) which we call goods, as Beautie, Riches, Strength, Nobilitie, and such other; are so farre off from being goods in deede, that they be rather corrupters and hinderers of good. Then are they very farre off from being the Soueraigne good of man, or consequently the End whereat he ought to stay. Againe, It is vnpossible (saith Plato) that men should be happie in this life, doe what they can: that is to be had in another life, where the vertuous shall receiue felicitie for a reward. In vaine then doe we séeke that here beneath, by our déedes and contemplations, which is not here to be found: and in vaine doe we set our vtmost end heere, where is not the furthest end of our life. But in the end, what is this felicitie? It is (saith Plato) to be ioyned vnto God, and to become like vnto him, who is himselfe the highest top, the furthest end, and the vtmost bound of all felicitie. Thus yée see that (by Platoes iudgement) the two things which we séeke, doe méete both together alonly in God. The end of our life is to be ioyned vnto God. And our Blessednes or felicitie which ought to content vs, which consisteth in the full fruition of all good things, is the possessing of God, who is the very felicitie it selfe. Yet neuertheless, Aristotle séemeth to haue come at length to the same point, in that he saith, That God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things: and againe, that mans felicitie consisteth in the same thing wherein the felicitie of the Gods consisteth, that is to wit, in perfect contemplation of that which is aboue all moueable things.

Laertius in the life of Plato.

Plato in his Phœdon.

Aristotle in his booke of the World: And in his Morals: and in his first booke of the heauens.

Pythagoras said that the ende of this life is Contemplation; that the end of all Contemplation, is God: and that the felicitie of man is to be lifted vp vnto God. Also he taught vs that we be but as Pilgrims in this world, and as folke banished from Gods presence: and what doth the banished man desire more, than to be restored home into his owne Countrie? And Mercurie saieth, that our end is to liue in Soule, which in this world is as good as buried: That in this world there is not any thing that is worthy to be said to be well or good. It is in another place therfore that man must liue and inioy his welfare, namely (as he saith) in being become one againe with God. And Zoroastres saith, that we must trauel with al our power towards the brightnes of the father, who is the giuer of

Pythagoras.

Mercurius Trismegistus, otherwise called Hermes.

Zoroastres.

of our soule. Also he hath told vs that we be falne away from this brightnesse of light into thicke darkenesse, and haue lost Gods fauour by going about to set our selues free from his seruice. But as the world hath taught vs more and more that there is no god in the world: so the later Philosophers haue discoursed yet more largely thereof, than those that went afore. Here therefore we might rehearse a good part of Seneca and Cicero and others, whose opinion for asmuch as I haue alledged already in the chapter of the Immortality of mans soule, where it may be knowne wel inough: I wil content my selfe for this time with a foure or fiue of them.

Surely Plutarke is wonderfull in confuting the beastlines of the Epicures, and the awk opinions of the Stoiks: setting against the Epicures, the pleasure that a good man receiueth in seeing God well serued here on earth, and in hauing him for his Leader from aboue: and against the Stoicks, the strife which man hath against himselfe, which all their Philosophie is not able to appease, and therefore he resolueth himselfe in the end, that as in the misteries of the men of olde time, the loking vppon them was the end why they toke the orders of them vpon them: so the end of true Philosophy is the Contemplation and beholding of the mindly and immortall nature, that is to say of God the Creator. Plutarke. θέα τῶν νοητῶν καὶ θείων φύσεων.

Iamblichus was surnamed the Diuine: and it is saide that he was so called, because he spake so Diuinely of this matter. Thus therefore doth he say: Shall we say that to be healthy, to be faire, to be riche, to be honored, to be of a good wit, and such like are mans happines? No surely. The strength of man is but a iest, and his honour a mockerie: Yea, Man himselfe and all that he maketh account of, are but a fleeting shadowe. Neuertheless, vnto good men, they be good possessions: but vnto wicked men, they be euill and dangerous. What then? should not the possessing of them for euer, and not as in a Dreame that vanisheth away, be the true happines? No: the possessing of them for euer, if it were without vertue, were a very great mischiefe, and the sooner they were taken from vs, the lesse harme it should be. Nay, the very true meane to attaine to the heauenly felicity, is praying and calling vnto the Goddes, & chiefly vpon the great God which reigneth ouer them all. And therefore he saith in another place, Whatsoeuer a man doeth or leaueth vndone, ought to bee referred to the Godhead, and all this life is ordeyned for nothing els but to followe God; the knowledge of whome is perfect vertue, Wisdome and Blessfulnes, which maketh vs lyke the Goddes, that is to say (after his manner of speaking,) like the Angels. Let vs heare yet more of him. The time hath beene (sayth hee) that man was fast tyed to the beholding of GOD: but afterwarde hee was made subiect to the bodye, and tyed to the necessitie of Destinie; and therefore it behoueth him to bee well aduised, by what meane hee may bee rid of it. Iamblichus.

Now,

Now, other knowledge there is none that can deliuer him, but onely the knowledge of God. For the paterne of felicitie, is to knowe the good, and the knowing of good, is the holy gate whereby to come to the maker of all things. Now sayth hee againe afterward.) the care of these inferiour things which maketh vs to forget God, cannot be separated from this transitory lyfe wherein we be: for this body will neuer suffer vs to play the right Philosophers in deed. **It followeth then that this knowledge of God vnder the which he comprehendeth all vertus, all wisedom, and all studie of Philosophie, cannot be attaind vnto, nor become perfect in this lyfe, but onely in the life to come.**

Plotin. Enn. 1: lib. 4. cap. 15. 16.

Plotin. Enn. 6. lib. 9. Cap. 10.

The finall end of Man (sayth Plotin) is the pure Good, that is to wit God; and all other things are but appurtenances to that end, and not the end it selfe. Whosoeuer possesseth this good, can haue no good taken from him, nor any good put vnto him. For it is not only an vniting vnto God, but almost a being of God himselfe. **Now who is he that can take such possession of it in this life? And therefore he addeth,** There our mind beholdeth the fountaine of life, of vnderstanding, of being, the cause of good, and the roote of the Soule. There lyeth our welfare after such a sort, that to be farre from it, is as good as not to be at all. There is the beginning and end of life. The beginning; for from thence dooth it proceede; and the end; for there is the welfare whereon it resteth. The welfare, say I; for in atteyning thither, it becommeth again that which it had bin afore. For as for the being which it hath here, what is it but a downfall, whereby it hath lost hir wings? Here reigneth a base and vile Venus; but there reigneth a heauenly one. Here a loue of the Worlde; there the loue of God. And what a greef ought it to be vnto vs, to be wedded to the earth? And on the contrary part, how desirous ought we to be to feele God in all parts aboue? Yea and to be so ioyned vnto him, as one center is within another, so as both of them may be but as one? **Now he is full of such and larger sayings; and alwaies he concludeth** blessednes and euerlastingnes follow one another, whereby hee excludeth them both out of **this worlde and out of this life.**

Porphyrius in his worke of abstinence. lib. 1. cap. 2. Porphyrius concerning the Soule, to Byrithius and Anebon the Ægiptian. Simplicius vpon the naturalles and vpon Epictetus.

But for the more spede, let vs come to others. What is the end of Man (saith Porphyrius)? It is vndoutedly to liue in Mind. And how is that? By contemplation in this life? No (saith he in another place). All Philosophie is but gessing, a light beleefe receiued from hand to hand, & which hath nothing therin which may not be called in question. **What maner of Contemplation then shall the true one be?** Not a heape of words (saith he) nor a patching together of precepts; but a true vnion of the beholder and the thing that is beheld, that is to say of our Minde and of God.

Simplicius the Peripatetik, whether he learned it of Epictetus or some where els, speaketh of it thus. The greatest good that is in the knowledge

ledge of Nature, is that it is a faire path to leade men to the knowing of the Soule, of the separated substances, and of Gods beeing. Moreouer it inflameth vs to the seruing of God, leading vs by the effects to the Maiestie of the Creator; whereupon followeth an onement with God, with assured faith and hope; which are the things for which Philosophie is cheefly to be vsed. And in another place; The beginning (saith he) and the end of happy life, and the perfection of our Soule, consisteth in being bent and turned vnto GOD, as well by acknowledging that hee gouerneth all things with Iustice, as by consenting to all that hee dooth, as proceeding from a righteous iudgement. For so long as our Soule abideth in him as in the roote, it abideth in the perfection wherein God created it. But if it fall to starting out of him, it becommeth withered and droopeth, vntill it turne backe and be vnited againe vnto him. The cause then of our vnhappines, is our separating of our selues from God; and the cause of our happinesse is our linking in againe with him; and man seeketh a happinesse agreeable to his kinde, as all other things doe. The end of man therefore is to turne againe vnto God, that he may become one with him.

Syrian the Schoolemaister of Simplicius writing vpon Aristotle, hath comprehended the matter in one word; we deale with Philosophie (saith he) for our owne benefite: that is to say, for our owne welfare; which welfare is to be vnited vnto God. Vpon these words, τὸ ἐμὸν ἀγαθόν.

And Alexander of Aphrodise commeth not farre behind when he saith, that our soueraigne felicitie consisteth in deuotion towards God, beyond whom there is not any further reward to be desired. For seeing (saith he) that the worthiest operation of the soule is contemplation; and contemplation properly is the knowing of the best things; and none are so good as the things that concerne God: our end and felicitie ought to bee the contemplation of things belonging to God. To be short, the best esteemed interpreters of Aristotle, do make him to yeeld to this point whether he will or nill, as men ashamed in his behalfe; that hauing sought so much for the true end of man, he hath not set it downe more certainly. Alexander in his booke of Prouidence, cited by Cyrillus.

Now, the Philosophers of old time knew in all times, not onely that those which atteine to the said end for which Man was created, are happie; but also that those which despise it doe fall into extreame wretchednesse: the one sort receiuing euerlasting felicitie, the other sort being by Gods Iustice condemned to endlesse paine. Also it is an article expresly set downe in the Credes of all people, as a point that is probable to all men at the very first sight, That God is righteous and good; and that euill is accompanied with punishment, and good is accompanied with reward. As for the Cabalistes of the Iewes, it is no wonder though they haue handled this matter well: for they haue drawne matter out of the fountaines The ends both of the good and of the bad. In their booke of shame concealed.

fountains of the holy scripture. And therfore let vs hear but the Heathē.

Hermes Trismegistus in his Pœmander.

Those (saith Hermes) which haue obteyned the fauour of God, are of mortall become immortall, and conceyue the only Good, which maketh them to fall into a misliking of these inferiour things, that they may indeuor with all their power to returne to him the more speedily.

Orpheus.

Orpheus speaking yet more clearely, bringeth good men into Gods presence, to the seate of felicitie, and to the feast of the righteous, where he maketh them dronken with the perfect and euerlasting contemplation: but as for the wicked he burieth them in a quamire, tormenting them with vaine thoughts, and making them to drawe water into a Sive: that is to say, he assureth the one sort of perfect contentation, and puteth the other sort in extreame dispaire.

Pythagoras. Pindarus. Diphilus. Sibylla.

Of Pythagoras we haue these verses.

If reason here thou followe for thy guide,
Then at thy parting hence thou shalt be sure,
In Heauen a God immortall to abide,
No death thenceforth for euer to indure.

οἱ δὲ θεὸν πιμῶντες, ἀληθινὸν εἶναι ὅτι ζώων πληρεμῶσι τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον, αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν παράδεισον ἴσως ἐφόδιον μένουσι. That is to say, they that worship the soothfast and euerlasting God, shall inherit life for euer time without end, dwelling in Paradise alike ouerflorishing green. But of the other sort she saith thus. κάμπτουσι πυρὶ τοὺς μὴ θεὸν πιμῶντας. That is to say, rosted continually with firebrads of pains. Socrates in defence of himselfe.

And these verses were followed by all Poets, who commonly represented the receiued opinion: among whō Pindarus & Diphilus proceed so far, as to describe an excellent Garden replenished with all things, and appointed to be a reward for good men, as if they had heard speaking of the Paradise of the Iewes, or els had read Sybilles verses concerning a certeine grene Garden which she also calleth Paradise, affirming it to be assigned for an heritage to such as followe the way of God: that is to wit, which take him for their shotanker, with whom they shall haue euerlasting life and light: whereas on the contrary part, the wicked (saith she) shall lie burning like firebrands and Torches in endlesse paines.

Also Timæus of Locres hath not forgotten this point in his little booke, where he saith thus, There is a certeine vengeance both according to the Lawes and according to the Oracles, which maketh vs to feare both heauen and earth. For strange and vnintreatable punishments are prepared for the wicked in hell.

As for Plato, he taketh so great pleasure in this matter, that he cannot be drawne from it: & he scarsly palleth any one dialogue, wherein he hath not some speech thereof; meaning doubtlesse to do vs to vnderstand, that without that, all Philosophie and all Diuinitie be maimed; and it should seme that the constancie of Socrates his teacher, had confirmed him not a little therein; in whose defence of himselfe, which was as it were his last will, we reade these words. Death would bee greeuous to me, if I were not sure, first that when I am departed hence I shall goe to the wise Gods (so did they terme the Angels or Created minds) and secondly to the men that are deliuered out of this life, who out of doubt are

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in better case than those that are here. And vnto Cratylus again he saith, when the good man departeth this world, he commeth to great honour and to a great inheritance; for he becommeth a Dæmon according to the true signification of the word, that is to say, skilfull & wise. That then is the perfection of a Philosopher, whose end and profession is to haue knowledge and skill. And in his Theetetus he saith, that with the Gods there is no euill, but euill walketh heere beneath among these transitorie things, and therfore that we must hie vs thither and flee from hence, that is to say, we must become righteous and wise. For (saith he) such as shall haue followed the way of folly and wickednes, shall not be admitted into the resting place of the blessed sort which are exempted from all euill; but according to their lewd life, they shall be condemned to dwell for euer with the euill. In his Gorgias he maketh mention of an auncient Lawe vnder Saturne, which he affirmeth to haue beene then still in vse, namely that when good men depart out of this life, they be sent into the fortunate Iles (which Iles Pindarus also describeth very curiously) and the wicked into the Iaile of Vengeance, which he calleth Tartar; vndoubtedly betokening these vnknowne places, by places knowne vnto them: which they take commonly to be either most pleasant or most horrible: like as the Ielues betokened the Restingplace of the blessed sort by a goodly Garden, and Hel by the valley of Onam or Ghehinom, which was an irksome place neere Ierusalem. In his Phædon he bringeth in a certeine Prophet raised from the dead, which reporteth that those which are iustified, go on the right hand, pure, and cleane, and are sent vp to Heauen: and that the damned sort go on the left hand, besmeared with filth and mire, weeping and gnashing their teeth, and in the end are sent into lowe deepe places. Yea and he describeth there the blessed Countrey in such termes, that some men haue taken the paines to confer it, with that which is written thereof in the Apocalyps. To be short, in his Axiochus he calleth the place of Iudgement the field of truth: from whence (saith he) they which haue followed the inspiration of the good spirit, shalbe sent into a Paradise or pleasant Garden, which he describeth there in the delightfullest manner that he can deuise, to represent the things which hee cannot conceiue, by the things which we see here on earth: and that they which haue beene led by wicked fiends, that is to say, by the instinct of the deuill, shalbe condemned to darknes and confusion, where he describeth a great number of endlesse torments. Neuertheless he sheweth that these things are not to be taken according to the letter, when he saith in his Commonweale, that neither the punishments nor the rewards of this world are any thing at all either for nomber or for greatnesse, in respect of those which are prepared for either sort in the life to come.

Plato in his Cratylus.

Plato in his Theetetus.

Plato in his Gorgias.

Plato in his Phædon, and in his tenth booke of Lawes.

Plato in his Axiochus.

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ χαλεπωτάτων παραδείγμασι. Plato in his Commonweale.

Cicero who would néedes be as a Plato in Latin, followeth him as it

were

Plutarke concerning the slowe punishing of the wicked.

were step by step; and so doth Plutarke also, who counterfetting Plato, bringeth in one Thespesius raised from the dead, and maketh him to discourse of the life to come. And without calling in Plotine, Porphyrius, Proclus, Hierocles and such others, whome it would bee ouerlong to heare, onely Iamblichus shall suffice, whose words are these: The good Soule shall dwell with GOD, and walke vp and downe in Heauen, where it shall haue a dwelling place. But the Soule that is defiled with cursed deedes, shalbe sent vnder the Earth, to the iudgements which are there executed vpon soules. Now what can wee demaund more of the Philosophers, than that which they confesse? Namelie that the happines and the ende of man, are not in this life but in the other, and that the marke which man should shoote at, is to imploy this in the knowing of GOD, that in the other life he may euerlastingly enioy all good things in him.

So then, let vs conclude both by mans reason and by the authoritie of all Philosophie. That as the body of man relyeth vpon his Soule; so his mortall life relyeth vpon the immortall life that is to come: That the end whereto man was created in this world, is to know and serue God, and to possesse him wholy aboue. Howbeit forasmuch as by our fall we be faine from knowledge into ignorance, and therefore although we haue some little glimmering sight of our end which wee ame at, yet wee wote not how to shape our selues to it; And againe, by the same fall we be faine from our soueraigne welfare into a bottomlesse pit of miserie, where we crepe so lame as it is not possible for vs to returne againe to our former state: Let vs see whether God of his mercie, haue not left vs some remnants whereby to get vp againe, and to be directed into our right way; and whether he himselfe also doe not reach vs out his fatherlie hand, through the cloudes of darkenes, wherewith we be ouerwhelmed, to pull vs backe, and to call vs home againe to him, as very Bastards, Rebelles, and vnworthie Caitifes as we be.

The

The xx. Chapter.

That the true Religion is the way to attaine to the said end, & soueraigne welfare; and what are the markes of that Religion.

I haue proued already, That there is but one God the father of mankind: that he created the world for mans vse: and that he gouerneth both the World & Man by his prouidence. Hereupō the least man among all wil conclude by and by, That sith he is our father, we owe him obedience; sith we hold all things of him in fee, we owe him fealty and homage; sith hee prouideth all things for vs, we ought to cal vpon him in al our doings and in all our necessities. Also I haue shewed, that Man is of nature immortall: and therefore he must apply himselfe with all his heart to immortall thinges. That by sinne he is faine from God & from himselfe: and therfore he must craue forgiuenesse of him, that his wrath may be appeased: That this offence was a certaine pride and ouerweening of himselfe; and therfore he must acknowledge his frailty and wretchednesse, and humble himselfe before God. Now in one word, what is all this to say, but that as there is but one God and one mankind; so there ought to be but one religion, that is to say, one ordinarie duety and seruice of man towards God? For what els are all the exercises of religion, but appurtenances of the Articles which we haue proued; that is to wit, of the creation of the world, and of Gods Prouidence; of the Immortalitie of the Soule, and of mans fall; and of mans soueraigne welfare? In religion men crouch, men knéele, men haue ordinances to obserue: this is done in token of obedience. Againe, they giue thankes and praise vnto God, and they giue him the first fruites both of their Cattell and of their Corne: that is a signe of acknowledgment that they be but as his tenants: They cal vpon him in their aduersity, & they aske prosperity of him in all their doings, be they

neuer so small: It is properly a commending of themselues to his prouidence. Also in Religion there is weeping, sorrowing, fasting putting on of sackcloth, and besprinkling of themselues with dust. This is in token that we ought to humble our selues beneath the very earth. Againe, there be Sacrifices both generall and particular; and what are those but protestations that all of vs and euery of vs haue deserued death? In the end of al this, there commeth a promise and a pretence of euerlasting life, to such as discharge their duetie towardes God: which is as much to say, as that these Ceremonies & obseruations are not the things that we must rest vpon, but are meanes to lead vs to our right end, which is to lift vs vp on high. But betweene these two last Articles, namely betweene the death which we protest our selues to haue deserued, and the euerlasting life that is behighted vs to inherite, there is a maruelous waste distance to be filled vp: yet notwithstanding either it must needs be that man is set in the world in vaine, or els that there is a way or a bridge ordained for the passing thereof. Therefore Religion, which hath brought vs to the pits brim, must also shew vs this bridge; that she may vnite and linke vs againe vnto God from whom we be gone so far and so strangely by our fal; and that she may reconcile vs as bastardly children to our father, and as rebellious Subiects to our prince: without which reconciliation or (according to the Latin derivation) Religion, God ceaseth to be our father, and we to be his children; and al Religion, how gay and glorious shew soeuer it haue, is vtterly vnprofitable and vaine. Now, the end that man should ame at in this life, is to returne vnto God, and it cannot be in vaine: but in vaine it should bee, if there be no way to lead man vnto God, or rather to bring God vnto man. To intent therefore that neither God be defrauded of his glorie, nor man of his end and felicitie, there must (according to my former proofes) needs be a way, that is to say a meane to reconcile man vnto God, and to vnite him againe vnto him, that he may be saued; which way we will (according to the common speech) call Religion.

There is but one true Religion.

Now, all the auncient men agree fully, that there ought to be a Religion among all men; as in deede there is not a thing that doth more necessarily follow, than a GOD, a Man, and a Religion; a Father, a Sonne, and an Obedience; a Maister, a Seruant, and a seruice; a Giuer a Receiuer, and a reward: or rather a Lender, a Debter, and a Bond. And therefore full well doth one say, The Philosophers ought to haue beene the first Diuines. For inasmuch as we make towards God with two wings, that is to say, which Wit and Will: Wit can no sooner conceiue that God is our father, but by and by Will inferreth thereupon, Ergo we ought to obey him and to serue him: yea and it proceedeth yet further, that sith he is our father and we his children, it is for our most

Marsilius Ficinus concerning the Christian Religion

behoofe

bose to returne vnto him. O Lord (saith Hermes) What thankes shal we yeeld thee? And by and by he answereth, Lorde, there is but onely one thanke, and that is the acknowledging of thy Maiestie. And againe: The only way to come vnto God, is godlines matched with knowledge, that is to say, to know how he wilbe serued, & thereupon to serue him. And Pythagoras was wont to say to the same purpose, forasmuch as wee be nothing without God, it becommeth vs to liue vnto God. Plato commendeth Religion in a thousand places, wherof I wil not take past two or three sayings here. It is mans felicitie (saith he) to be like vnto God. As how? By being righteous and holy. How may that be? By Religion towards God, which is the greatest vertue that can be among men. Aristotle (by many mens report) was Religious, & as for Auerrhoes his interpreter, he was vtterly irreligious. Neuertheles see how nature swimmeth ouer vngodlines. Aristotle saith it is grafted in nature to do sacrifice. And Auerrhoes saith that we be bound by nature to magnifie God with Praiers and Sacrifices. What is this to say, but that it is naturall to man, yea euen in respect of his shape & substance, to haue a Religion? And why? Alexander professeth himself to be the interpreter of Aristotle and therefore he shal interpret him for vs here. It is (saith he) because our whole felicity consisteth in deuotion towards God. For we looke for none other reward but God himselfe, and him being the very soueraigne good, we obtaine by seruing him. Now when we heare these words, we may think it was a strong torment of conscience that wrong this truth out of them. For al men know, that chiefly Auerrhoes vrgeth the eternitie of the world, & the vniuersalitie of one onely Minde which yet notwithstanding cannot match with godlines.

In the last chap. of his Esculapius

Plato in his Epinomis and in his Thœetetus.

Aristotle in his fifth booke of Moralles: & in his first of Heauen.

Auerrhoes vpon that first booke of Heauen.

Alexander of Aphrodise, concerning the prouidéce of God, cited by Cyrillus.

Epictetus maketh not the like florishes of Philosophie, but yet he playeth the Philosopher much better in déde. If we had wit (saith he) what should we do but praise God continually, & sing Psalmes of thanksgiuing vnto him, euen in digging and tilling the ground, & both in iourneying and in resting? As how? Euen saying thus: Great is God which hath giuen vs these tooles to till the earth withall; Great which hath giuen vs hands to worke withal; Great which hath giuen vs to grow euen not woting it, and to breath euen being a sleepe, for these are things that cannot be imputed to our owne cunning. Such (saith he) ought to be the Songs of euery of vs. And againe: If I were a Nightingale, I should do as Nightingales doe: but being a reasonable Creature, what shal I do now? I will euermore praise God (saith he) without ceasing; and I will exhort you al to do the like. And Simplice his interpreter hauing first made goodly discourses, addeth that he which is negligent and slothfull in seruing & honoring God, cānot be diligent in any other thing, how needfull so euer the same be. Of all vertues (saith Hierocles) Religion is the guide,

Simplicius vpon Epictetus

Hierocles in his first chapter against Atheistes.

for it concerneth matters of God, and therefore Pythagoras beginneth his precepts thereat. And the word which he vseth there for a guide signifieth a Meane, which one word importeth very much, namely that al the vertues which we make accoũt of, as Hardines, Wisedome, Iustice, and Temperance, are nothing if they be not referred vnto God, and vsed in respect of him, that is to say, if Religion do not direct and leade them to God the principal end whereto al our doings ought to tend. But what is religion? It is (saith he) the obeying of God, the mother of al vertues, and the disobeying of al vices. And our obeying of God must be of such a sorte, that we must rather disobey our parentes, yea and lose our liues to, than disobey him. For our obeying of our parentes must be for to loue God; and it is of his goodnesse that we possesse our liues. Iamblicus saith thus. Let vs begin at the best and most precious: namely the obseruing of Religion, which is the seruing of God. And in another place. Thou surmisest (saith he) that there is some other way than godlines to attaine to felicitie, and thou askest of me what that way may be. But surely (say I) if the very substance and originall power of all goodnes and welfare be in the Gods: onely those are happy which consecrate and vnite themselues to GOD after our example, For in that state are both contemplation and knowledge accomplished: and besides the knowledge of the Gods, there is also the knowledge of our selues, which is gotten by casting backe our vnderstanding towardes our selues. To be short, Proclus as wel vpon his own iudgement as vpon the opinions of Plato, Iamblicus, Porphyrius, Plotin and others, saith that Religion and calling vpon God are proper and peculiar to man after the fourth maner as Aristotle termeth it, that is to say, a natural property which agreeth fitly to the whole kinde of man, and onely to man, and without the which he cannot bee a man. Now I am not ignorant that they speak sometimes of the seruing of the Gods in the plural number, as though there were moe Gods than one: insomuch that some of the Philosophers turned aside to arte magike, and al of them yelded to the Idolatries and Superstitions of their time. For in deede, to know that God ought to be serued, and to knowe after what sort he will be serued, and to serue him thereafter, are thinges farre differing. But it is inough for this time that we winne thus much at their handes, that of necessitie there is a religion, which thing euen the Nauigations of our time do shewe to be imprinted in all the Clymates of the world, and in al kindes of men: as which haue discouered Nations that wander in Woods, without law, without Magistrate, without King, but none without some kinde of seruing of God, none without some shadowe of Religion.

Hierocles cap 5.19.11.

Iamblicus in his 45. Chapter of Mysteries.

Proclus in his booke of praying.

That there is but one true Religion.

Hereby then we knowe that there is a religion, that is to say, a way to Saluation, or a way whereby to come home againe vnto God. But as

are there many waies, or but onely one? It is a high question, but yet easie to be decided, if we consider what Religion requireth of vs, and what it is to get for vs. Religion (as the men of olde time themselues haue taught vs) requireth of vs in effect, that we shoulde yelde full obedience vnto God: full obedience say I, so as we should dedicate our selues to his glorie, both our thoughts, words and deedes, in such sorte that our selues and all that euer is in vs should be referred to his honour. If Religion require this, how can it be any other than one? Or what diuersitie can it admitte? And if any require lesse of vs, contented peraduenture with the outward man, (which is al one as if they would rob God of one halfe of a man:) what is their doing but hypocrisie or high treason against God? But now againe, seeing that Religion bindeth vs in so great a bond, euen by nature, that there is not any man which is not inforced to confesse the debt so witnessed by the whole worlde: surely there is no man that faieth himselfe able to pay it, or which doth not willingly plead guilty, yea and which is not inforced to say, that the most part of his thoughts, words and deedes, are not onely farre off from God, but also tending directly to offend God. Now then, if Religion offer vs not as well a meane whereby to discharge and cancell the bond, as it offereth the bond it selfe: It is so farre off from being the way to welfare which it ought to be, that it is rather a definitiue sentence of death, and an expresse condemning of vs. Therefore let vs see whether there be many waies of satisfaction, or but onely one.

What shall the deuoutest man in the world offer vnto God for his owne discharge? Shal he offer his first fruites? God gaue him both the seede and the whole crop. Sacrifices? The Wood, the Fire, and the Cattell, are all of Gods gift. The whole world, if a man had it: Hee hath lost the inheritance and the right thereof in seeking to infranchise himselfe from the seruice of God. Nay (which more is) God not onely gaue the world vnto man, but also man to man himselfe. The world then? al that euer is therein, cannot discharge man against God. What may man himselfe do? Surely an acceptable sacrifice should man be to God (as Hierocles saith) if he were such a one as he ought to bee. But what should the best of al men offer vp in sacrificing himselfe? Swthly nothing but enuy, hatred, railing, backbiting, vain thoughts, vntrue words, wrongful dealing, and (to go yet further) faint thanks, with cold and counterfet prayers. Now these are so farre off from amounting to a discharge, that they turn to a huge heape of woe and more vndischargeable bonds, according to the infinite skille of the Maiesty of the Creator that is offended by them. Now then, if neither the world nor man can discharge man against God, what remaineth to do it, but God himselfe, whom Religion must offer to man for his discharge, euen God merciful, to God iust; God a paimai-

ster to God the creator: Verily, that hauing shewed vs how deepely we be indebted to God; it may also teach vs the wonderfull meane ordained by God and in God, whereby he and his soueraigne Iustice may be satisfied, and our extreme iniquitie be therewith releeued? Nowe the debt of vs all is all of one sort and nature; namely that wee owe our selues all wholy vnto God; and our vnabilitie to discharge it is also all alike; namely that all that euer commeth of our selues can deserue nothing but death vpon death. Our common bond (say I) entred into vs all by gods benefits towards the first man, is by his disobedience become forfeted, both in respect of himselfe & of all mankind. Besides this, the creditor and the paier are both one, and cannot be but both one. For it is only God that both doth & can satisfie himselfe. It followeth then, that the true Religion can be but one; namely euen that onely one which sheweth vs the onely one meane of saluation: and that all other Religions, if they abate any whit of mans debt vnto God, are traiterous to his maiestie; and if they set not down a sufficient meane of discharge, they be but vaine & vnavaileable ceremonies: and so as wel the one sorte as the other, vtterly vnworthy of the name of Religion. Furthermore, if there be diuers true religions, I meane diuers, as in respect of the substance of them, whereof riseth ỳ diuersitie: Of the thing which they point at? Nay, in God (whom Religion loketh at) there is such vnitie, that al other maner of vnitie is diuersitie in respect of that. And then if it be so that one Religion rely vpon one God, and another vpon another, we be sure that there is but one God, and that all other Gods are either Creatures or Vanities, insomuch that (as Proclus himselfe saith) moe Gods and no G O D differ nothing at all. And so what shal those other Religions be, but either Idolatry or Athisme, that is to say, vtter goodlesnes: Wher of then? Of their ground: Nay, Man which is the ground whereon Religion worketh, is but one kind of thing. Also as the disease being in all men commeth of one rote, so is it of one selfesame nature. Likewise the remedie therof (as I haue said already) is but only one. Now where the ground is al one, the disease al one, and the remedie al one to: who will euer say that there should be diuersitie of Artes in the handling or ministring of them? If a man be to humble himselfe, I would faine haue them to tell me, what other way there is than to know himselfe: what other way to knowe himselfe, than to beholde himselfe: what other way to beholde himselfe, than to loke into a faire cleare glasse: And what clearer glasse is there, than the Law of God, & the perfect obedience which God requireth at mans hand? And seeing that this Law, and the perfect obedience required by the same, can be but one, how may religion be diuided into moe than one? Againe, if man be to be lifted vp vnto God, what other way is there than to make him know God as his Crea-

for, that he may honor him; as his gouernour, that he may cal vpon him; as his father, that he may obey him; as altogether iust, that hee may seeke to appeale his wrath: which thing sith he cānot do of himself, what shift hath he but to haue recourse to the remedie? And seeing that the remedie can bee but onely one; doth it not folow that saluation lieth in that only religion which sheweth it vnto vs, & that to haue any mo religions, is but confusion and vanitie? And to speake properly, what is religion? An arte or skil (if I may so terme it) how to saue men. And wherein consisteth this art? First in shewing men their disease; secondly in shewing them that it is deadly; and finally in teaching the fit and conuenient remedie. In deede the very Law of Nature leadeth vs well to the first point. For who is he which euen of Nature accuseth not himselfe, and whose conscience nippeth him not when he hath sinned? Reason also leadeth vs to the second point. For who is he that concludeth not with himselfe, that the Creature which offendeth his creator deserueth to be rooted out, that is to say, that sinne ingendreth death? and thus farre may all Religions come, & al Ceremonies ordained by man, as Praiers, Sacrifices, Washings, Cleansings, and such others. But what is al this but a bringing of vs to Helgate, or rather a shewing of Paradise vnto vs a farre off, howbeit with such a horrible and infinite gulfe betwixt vs and it, as man and all the whole worlde can neither fill vp nor passe ouer? Yet must there nedes be a passage: For the end of man is to be vnited vnto God, and this end is not in vaine, the meane to be vnited aboue, is to be reconciled here beneath: and the meane to be reconciled here beneath, is (as I haue said already) but onely one, which is, that God himselfe acquite vs without our discharging of the debt which we owe vnto him. Only that Religion then (& none other) which leadeth vs straight to the said passage, and by the following whereof we finde it, is the true Religion, as that which alonly attaineth to the end of Religion which is the sauing of man. May not men (wil some say) worship God diuerslie, some lifting vp their eies to heauen, and othersome casting their faces downe to the ground? Yes, for the worshiping is but one, and the humbling of mens selues is but one still, though there be difference in the signes. But our disputing here is not of the Ceremonies, but of the substance of them. Also may not men offer Sacrifice diuerslie? yes. But if thy Sacrifices haue no further end then the sheading of the bloud of a beast: then (as saith Hierocles) they be to th Fire but a feeding thereof with fewel and vapors: and to the Priestes, a superfluous maintenance of butcherie. It is requisite therfore that sacrifices should be referred to somewhat, namely that by them thou shouldest protest, that whereas the sillie innocent beastes doe suffer death, it is thou thy selfe that hast deserued it both in body and soule. Againe, if thou haue nothing else in

thy Religion, but Sacrifices and prayers; how godly a show soeuer they make, thou hast nothing but a confession of thy fault, and a sentence of death against thée for the same. For if those Ceremonies ame not at a certaine marke, they be trifling toyes; and if that be the end whereat they ame; then come they short, as which do but leade thée vnto death, and there leaue thée.

An obiection. There are some that would beare vs on hand, that Religion is but an obseruation of certaine Ceremonies in euery Countrie; by which reason, that which is holy here, should be vnholy in another place; and that which is godly in one Land, should be vngodly in another. To be short, they make it like the Lawes that depend vpon Custome, which passe no further than the bounds of the place where they be vsed. If Religion be nothing else but so; what science, art, or trade is more vaine than that? Or rather what is to be said of it, but that in deede it is no Religion at all? Leachcraft is vncertaine in many respects, as of aire, of water, of age, and of climate: but yet, that which is Leathcraft in one Country, is not manquelling in another. Lawecraft hath almost as many sundry Lawes as cases, and the cases that are in the world are infinite. Yet notwithstanding who seth not that all these diuersities of cases are brought vnder one vprightnes and reason? and that they which yéld not thereunto, are not reputed for men, but rather, for enemies of mankind and wilde beasts? Also vertue hath the affections to worke vpon, a ground more moueable than the sea and the wind. And yet who will say, that that which is hardines betwéene the two Tropiks is Cowardlines in al other Countries; or that that which is staidenesse is one halfe of the world, is vnstaidenesse in the other halfe? To be short, what thing is more subiect to rising and falling, or to be cried downe or inhaunced, than coine of siluer and gold, as which séemeth to followe the wils of princes? And yet notwithstanding, for all their ordinances and proclamations, both gold and siluer do alwaies kéepe a certaine rate and value. What shall we say then to Religion, which hath a firmer and substantialler ground than all these; I meane not mens bodies, goods, affections, or fantasies; but the very soule and minde of man, who also hath such a rest to stay vpon, as is setled, vnmoueable, and the Lord of all Chaunges, that is to wit, God? How much more wisely doth our Pythagorist Hierocles teach vs, that Religion is the gouernesse of all vertues, and that all vertues tend to her as to their certaine end, as who would say, they be no vertues if they swarue from her; insomuch that hardinesse being referred to any other than godlinesse, becommeth rashnes; wisedome becommeth wilines: and Iustice becommeth Iuggling: and at a worde, all vertue is but malking and hypocrisie? If Religion be the ende of all vertues, must it not nédes be fixed and vnmoueable? Or if it be

moueable,

mouable, what is there then that is iust, good, or vertuous? And if the case stand so: what thing in the world is more vnnauyable than man, or to speake more rightly, what thing is to lesse purpose in man than his mynd? But there is vertue, and the wickedest man that is, will auow it. Therefore there is also a certeine Religion, which maketh it to be vertue, and whereunto vertue referreth it self; and the vngodlyest man that is cannot scape from it.

Let vs looke yet further into the absurdities of this opinion. Who can deny but that among the diuersities of Religions, there were many sorts of wickednes and vngodlynes openly executed; some worshipping the creatures in Heauen yea & on earth, as the Egyptians did in old time and as the Tartarians do at this day; some offering vp men in Sacrifice, as the Carthaginenses did in old time and as the Westerne Iles doe yet at this day: and othersome permitting things not onely contrarie to all Lawes, but also euen horrible and lothsome to nature? If all this be good; I pray you what good is there, or rather what euill is there in the world? But if it be euil in it self; who can deny but that there were wicked & vngodly Religions in the world, (I vse the word Religion after the common manner) and that a man had needs of a Rule whereby to discerne the good Religion from the bad? And in verie deede it is so rooted in nature to beleeue that there is but one Religion to be had, as well as to beleeue that there is but one God; that (as we may daily see) a man will rather indure the change of a temperate aire into an extreme hot or into an extreme cold; of freedom into bondage; and of Iustice into Tyrannye, than any alteration at all (though neuer so little) in the case of Religion: verily as who would say, it were not so natural for a man to loue his native Contrie, to be free, & to be at his ease; as to haue some one certeine religion to guyde him to saluation.

Now my meaning hath bin to lay forth this trueth after the more sorts, of purpose to take away the doubts, and to auoyde the brinks inuented anew by certaine Libertines. But for as much as there are many Ceremonies which disguise themselues in the attire of Religion to deceyue vs: it is more needfull for vs to haue sure and infallible markes, whereby to discerne the true Religion. First of all therefore let vs lay this foundation which I haue layd and settled alreadie heretofore, namely that Religion is the right Rule of seruing God, and of reconcyling and of reuniting man agayne vnto God, that he may be saued. Now mans Saluation is nothing els but his felicitie, happines, soueraigne good, or welfare: & his welfare (as I haue declared afore) is to be knit vnto God. For neither the world, nor any creature in the World can make man happye, but only he that made man. And it is a cleare case that we ought to serue him heere beneath, who is to make vs happie

The first marke of the true religion.

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aboue, and none other but him. All Religion therefore, (how godly a shewe so euer it haue to the eye,) which turneth away from seruing God to seruing the Creature, is but Idolatrie and vngodlines vnto vs. Also all Religion which causeth vs to seke our welfare anywhere els, than onely in him that is the maker of all welfare; wil bee vnto vs not onely vanitie and a thrusting of vs out of the way; but also a murthering of our selues, and a calling of vs headlong into all wretchednes. They may well haue in them an offering of first fruites, of thanksgivings, & of other seruices: but all these are but iniuries and blasphemies against God, if wee thinke our selues beholden to any creature for the things which we neither haue nor can haue of any but the Creator. Also they may well haue prayers, and sacrifices, but those prayers shalbe both vayne & vngodly being made to him that cannot here them, and which impute the gouerment of the world vnto Creatures, or to such as se them not, or can scarsly se the things that are afore them. And as for their Sacrifices, they shalbe but smokie sauours, yea full of traiterous trechery to God, in that they confesse their lyues before dead things, & make amends to Creatures for the offences which they haue committed against the Creator. Now therefore let the first marke of the true Religion which we seke, be this; that it direct vs and our Churchseruices vnto the true God the maker of Heauen and earth, the only searcher of mens hearts, which are the things where with he will cheefely bee serued; that it may distinguish it from all Idolatries, which seeke vnto wood, to stone, to the Sunne, to the Moone, to Pen, to Angells, & to all the Creatures that are in heauen & in earth. And it is not needfull to heape vp here greate numbers of proofs, or to repeat again the things that haue bin discoursed in ỳ second & third chapters of this worke. For sith there is but one God and but one Religion; there is not also any thing more agreeable to nature than to referre the same wholy to the creator. And in very deed Plotin, Porphyrius, Proclus, Iamblichus & such others; which worshipped the Angels or good spirites as they thought; sayd that their so doing (wherein neuerthelesse they were more vnexcusable) was to atteyne by degrees to the highest God.

The second marke of true Religion.

But will this sayd marke alone suffice vs? No we must not onely serue GOD, but we must also serue him aright. Now then, what is the rule of this seruice, or who is he that can set it downe in writing? That we may serue him aright, it behoueth vs to know him aright: & which of vs can vaunt of that? How many be there which after lõg studie, can but so much as tell vs what it is not? And what followeth then, but that like as ỳ wisdom of ỳ world, cannot without the ouerthrow of it self, attayn any further concerning GOD, than to say what he is not? so the same wisdome may well atteine so farre as to discerne what seruing of

God

God is false; but it can no more set downe and poynt out the true seruice, than it can attayne to the knowledge of the Godhead. The Countrey cloune shal be knowen for his labour, if he take vpon him to appoynt how his Prince is to be serued, and yet is he a man as wel as the Prince differing from the Prince, in state and calling, but not at all in nature and kind. What is to be sayd then of Man, who is but a worme, yea & lesse than a worme in respect of the euerlasting God, if he wil néeds shape him & serue him after his own fancie? The Philosopher will say ỳ God ought to be serued. And if he be a Diuine, he will passe somewhat further, & saye, that he is not serued with vapors and smokes, nor with ỳ sheading of bloud. But which of them hath euer sayd, God is a spirit & serued in spirit? And if any of them haue come any thing neere it, how wide hath he wandred away againe when he came to ỳ particular poynting out of that seruice? Of a truth, what are al ỳ worshipings of God which man hath ordained of his own head, but childish imaginatiõs, not only vnbeseeming the Maiestie of God, but also inferior to the discretion of a man? as Gamings, Shewes, Stageplayes, Runnings of Horses, Iusts, a thousand sortes of Combates, Swordplayings, Wrestlings, buffetings and such other? And what doth all this betoken, but that man mounteth not aboue man, and that when he thinketh himselfe to haye his lightest pitch, he scarce heaueth himselfe vpright vpon his feete, but neuer riseth aboue the earth? For what man is he which calling his wits about him, and loking aduisedly vnto himselfe, could finde in his heart to be honored and serued after that maner? Surely then let vs say, that loke how farre God vouchsafeth to stoope vnto vs, so farre be we able to mount vp vnto him: for his comming downe is our mounting vp. For if we cannot see the Sunne but by help of the Sunne, how well sighted so euer we be: much lesse can God be seene or knowē of vs, without the help & light of God himself. To be short, wee cannot serue God except we know him, nor know him except he vouchsafe to discouer himselfe to vs, and therefore we cannot know how to serue & worship him, further forth than he listeth to shew it vnto vs by his worde. And yet for the discouering of himselfe vnto vs, he naeth neither to drawe vs vp to his brightnes, nor to come down to vs in his maiestie. For our mynds could no more abide it than our eies can away with the beholding of the Sunne: but hee must be fayne to stoope to our small abilitie, by telling vs what seruice he requireth at our hãds, not according to his spirituall nature which we cannot possibly comprehend, but as it were through a glasse or a scarfe, according to the fleshly nature which wee beare about with vs. Thus haue we found our second marke of Religion, namely that the seruice of God which Religion is to teach vs, must be grounded vpon his word, and reuealed vnto vs by his owne selfe.

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Let vs heare what the heathen say in this case, who knowe very well that al the ladders of their Philosophie were to short to reach therunto, and that it behoued men to be inlightened and instructed from aboue. Diuinitie (saith Plato) cannot be layde forth after the maner of other kinds of seruing, but hath neede of continuall mynding. And then our wit is foorthwith kindled as with a fyre, which afterward gathereth light more and more, and mayntaineth it selfe. Finally (sayth he) we know nothing of Gods matters by our owne skill. If he which of all the auncient Philosophers saw most clere, confesse here that his sight faileth very much if it be not ayded from aboue: what may wee deeme of others? And in good sooth, in matters of Religion he sendeth vs euermore to the auncient Oracles, that is to say (according to his meaning to Gods word. Aristotle in his Supernaturals rehearseth and commendeth a certeyne aunswere of Simonides to Hieron King of Sicilie, which is, that it belongeth to none but onely God, to haue skill of the things that are aboue nature; and how we much lesse then to be skilfull in Diuinitie, and to dispose of Religion, that is to say to shewe the meane how to ouercome and surmount nature? And whereas Cicero in his Lawes sayth, that there is not any lawe among men wherto men are bounde to obey vnlesse it be ordeined by GOD, & deliuered as it were with his owne mouth: if he had bene well examined, he would haue sayde no lesse concerning Religion. It is certaine (saith Iamblichus) that we be bound to do the things that please God. But which are those? Surely (sayth he) they be not possible to be knowen of any man, but of him that hath heard God himselfe speake, or which haue learned them by some heauenly instruction. And Alpharabius the Arabian agreeth therunto in these words. The things that concerne GOD, and are to bee beleeued through holy fayth, are of a higher degree than all other things, because they proceede from diuine inspiration, and mans wit is too weake and his reason too short too attayne to them. And therefore wee reade, that they which haue ordeined & stablished any Religion in any nation, haue giuen it forth as proceeding frō God, verily because nature taught them, & it belongeth to none but to God alone, to appoynt how he shalbe serued, neither would y ordinance therof otherwise be obserued, because the parties that were to obey it, would make as great account of themselues as of the partie that should inioyne it. Thus by the diffinitiue sentence of the Philosophers, our second marke standeth firme, which will serue vs to discerne the true Religion from the inuentions of men, so as we may wel refuse for vntruth, whatsoeuer is not grounded vpon Gods worde. But in following our former purpose, let vs consider yet further whether this will suffice or no.

Plato in his second Epistle, and in his Parmenides.

Aristotle in his supernaturals.

Cicero in his first booke of Lawes.

Iamblichus.

Alpharabius in his booke of Sciences.

The thirde marke of true Religion.

We haue neede of a Lawe that proceedeth from Gods mouth: and

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what may that I pray you be, but the same which proceedeth from holynesse it selfe, namely that we should be holy as he is holy? And if we cannot of our selues know God, nor how he ought to be serued; alas how shall we performe it when he hath declared it vnto vs? The end of Religion (sayeth Plato) is to knit man vnto God. The way to bring this to passe, is to become righteous and holy, or as saith Iamblicus) to offer vnto God a cleane minde voide of all naughtines & cléere from all spot. What man (as euen they themselues confesse) could euer vaunt thereof? And what els then is Religion to all of vs, but a booke wherein we reade the sentences of our death, that is to wit our very death in deede, vnlesse that in the ende we find some grace or forgiuenesse of our sinnes? Yet notwithstanding Religion is the Pathway to life, yea euen to eternall life: a Pathway that hath a certeine ende, and which beguileth vs not. Therefore it must by some meanes or other fill vs vp the great gulfe that is betwéene endlesse death, and endlesse life, and betwéene the dwellingplace of blessednes, and the horriblenes of Hell. And therefore let our third marke be, That Religion must put into our hands, a meane to satisfie Gods Iustice, without the which, not onely all other Religions, but also euen that which conteineth the true seruing of the true God were vtterly vaine & vnprofitable. Now, mans reason hath well perceiued that some such meane was néedefull in Religion: but to knowe what that meane is, was to high a thing for mans reason to atteine vnto. In respect whereof the Platonists busied themselues very much in finding out some meane to cleanse men from their sinnes, and to knit them vnto God béeing reconciled to his fauour, and they set downe certeine degrées whereby to atteine thereunto. But yet in the end they confesse all their washings & clensings to be vtterly vnsufficient. There are which say it is to bee done by abstinence, by vertuous behauiour, by skill, or by Iupiters mysteries; and some say it is to be done by al of them successiuely one after another. But yet when they haue bestirred themselues on all sides, Porphyrius conclusion is, That they be Ceremonies without effect, & yet notwithstanding that there must of necessitie néedes be a meane to purge & iustifie men, and that the same must be vniuersal, and that it is not possible (admitting Gods prouidence as we ought to doe) that God should leaue mankind destitute of that meane. And that this remedie ought to be contained in Religion, he sheweth sufficiently in that he séeketh it in taking the Orders, and in the Consecrations, hallowings & other mysteries of his owne Religion, which in the end he letteth goe againe. But yet more apparantly doth Hierocles shewe it, who sayth that Religion is a studie of wisdome that consisteth in clensing and perfecting the life, that men may be at one with God, & become like vnto him: & that to atteyne to that cleanesse, the meane is to enter into a mans owne

Hierocles in his 14. and 15. Chapters, & in his preface.

owne conscience, and to consider of his sinne, and to confesse it vnto God. Thus farre he is very well. Neuertheless, here they stoppe ouershort euerychone of them: for vppon confession insueth but death, vnlesse God (who is the very Iustice it selfe, and more infinitely contrary to euill than we can imagine,) be appeased and satisfied for our offences, whereas in Religion we seeke for very life. To bee short, of the great number of Religions which are in the World, some haue no certeine restingpoint at all; as we reade of some people of Affrik, which worship that thing which they méete first in the morning; and that is but a vaine Ceremonie: Some haue a restingpoynt, howbeit an euill one; as for example, all they that direct vs to the creatures; & those are nothing els but Idolatries. Some doe set vnto themselues a good end, in that they aime at the Creator; but they will néedes worship him after their owne fancie; and that is a swaruing aside to superstition or rather (which worse is) a seruing of their owne fancie, & not of God. And among the residue, there is one which hath an eye to the Creator and honoureth his Lawe, and that is the Religion of the Iewes. This againe is a way that leaueth vs in the middes of our way, leading vs into the wood, but not leading vs out againe. But the true Religion in déed and which deserueth the name of Religion, is only that which hath God for hir Quotanker, his worde for warrant of hir worshipping, and a meane appointed by him to pacifie him withal; and in that onely and in none other resteth any Saluation.

An obiection. Some tell vs that Religion is nothing els but charitie, that is to say, the performing of a mans duetie towards his neighbour: and those men would tell vs if they durst, that Religion is but an instrument of ciuil gouerment. But when they haue inlarged the commendations of charitie as farre as they can, what can they (at a word) say more than we say thereof; namely, that Charitie is of such force and weight, that Religion can by no meanes stand without it? Neuertheless, to speake properly thereof, Charitie is not the marke whereby to discerne the true Religion, but rather to discerne who is rightly Religious. To the intent a man may bée happie, he must returne vnto God; therefore he must néedes serue him, that is the badge of Religion: But the godly or religious man vttereth his religion, (that is to say, that God hath touched him truly in his hart, (in that he performeth al the duelies of vnfeined friendship & godly affection towardes his neighbor who is the Image of God. Charitie therefore is nothing els but a rebounding of Godlines or of the loue of God, backe vnto our neighbor or a reflexion or sight vpon this Image. Also that a man may be happie, he must be linked vnto God; and that he may be linked vnto God, he must be reconciled vnto his fauor. Now this charitie which they speake of, is but a linking of Man vnto

Man.

Man. It is not that which maketh a man happie, neither doth the fault which hath destroyed vs all, consist in want of charitie, (I meane that Charitie which they pretend); but in rebelling against God. Therefore it boteth vs not to be at one with our neighbor, except we be at one with God. Neuertheless it is a good signe that our hart is feruent in the loue of God, as the child is in the loue of his father, when being vnable as yet to vnite our selues vnto him, we link our selues in one body & one mind to all those which beare his Image. To be short, the true marke of fire is not heate; for there are other things which are whot as well as fire: but it is a vertue that is so linked vnto it, that as sone as ye heare of fire it followeth immediatly that there is heate also but not contrariwise. Likewise Charitie is not the true religion it selfe, but a vertue which accompanieth it so of necessitie, that a man can no sooner say ther is religion in this man or that man; but ỹ it must nēds follow incontinēntly, that there is charitie in him also. And what manner of charitie? Soothly not such as they take it to be which refreyne from misdealing for feare of mans Lawe; for that is but hypocrisie: nor a desire of credit that we may haue the better speede in our affayres; for that is but a chaffaring. Nor a desire of honor whereby we be spurred to do well; for that is but a selfe loue. But it is a certeine feare and loue of God, which maketh vs to cherish & loue al those for Gods sake, which are of him & hold of him. Now what man is he that dareth vaunt of this perfect charitie, that he loueth his neyghbor as he ought, and in such respect as he ought, that is to say as himselfe, and for the loue of God? For how can we haue this charitie if Religion go not afore? And if our loue towards God be so short and feeble (as I sayd afore); what rebounding backe thereof will there be vppon our neyghbour.

Now therfore let vs conclude, That as a man hath but one end, namely of returning vnto God, so there is but one right path to leade him thither, and that is religion. And that as there is but one God, so there can be but one true religion, that is to say, one way that leadeth to saluatiō, which religion hath these three vnfallible markes whereby to discerne it; namely that it worship the true God, that it worship him according to his worde, and that it reconcile to God the man that followeth it. And now let vs consequently se which of al the religions in the world it is, that alonly is to be discerned by these marks.

The

The xxi. Chapter.

That the true God was worshipped in Israell: which is the first marke of the true Religion.

THe first marke of the true Religion, without the which it cannot rightly beare the name of Religion, is the seruing of the true God. And the true God (as I haue saide before) is the same that created heauen and earth, and all things in them; which gouerneth them by his wisedome; which maintaineth them by his goodnes; which weldeth them according to his will, and directeth them according to his glorie.

By this so notable a marke wee cannot faile to decipher the true GOD from the false Gods, and by the selfe same meane, to discerne the true Religion which beareth our first marke, from all other Religions how painted and disguised soeuer it is possible for them to be. This GOD which hath done those thinges can be but one. For seing he created all things, all the things which wee see here beneath are but creatures. Now then, whatsoeuer Religion poynteth vs to any mo Gods than one, wee ought to abhorre it euen at the verie first approche. Againe, the same GOD is also infinite and incomprehensible. For the worke cannot conceiue the workemaister, but contrariwise the workemaister conceiueth the worke. What soeuer worke therefore is made to counterfeit him or to resemble him, or to shewe him vnto vs, can be nothing els but Idolatrie and Superstition, inuented by the Diuell or by man.

Now let vs come nearer to the rabble of Religions; and we shal see there throngs of hundred thousand Gods distinguished by strange fantasticall deuices of men, of women, of beastes, & of monsters. Yet shal we not see there any whit of that which we seeke for. But there is one religiõ to be seene among al the rest, which for all the rest, beareth this marke

graued

graued in her forehead, In the beginning GOD created the Heauen and Earth: and soundeth out this speech aloud euery where, The Lorde our God is but one God; and in the middes of all the rout that barketh and biteth at her on all sides, cryeth out corragiouslie, All your Gods are but error and vanitie. Therefore without staying vpon the others, which are not worthie so much as to be looked on, we will proceede to that onely one Religion which alonly in trueth professeth the true way, and the knowledge of the place whereunto we would come. Now, to shewe the way, the end whereto it leadeth must be knowne: and the end which all of vs tend vnto, is a happie life. And to leade a happie life, is to liue in God, who is the very happinesse it selfe. And the same God (as I haue made the heathen men themselues to confesse) is but one. The Religions therefore which were not the liuery of that, but of many, cannot bring vs to the happines which we seeke: for it is but one, and to be had at the hand of that one. Which then is the one Religon that shall leade vs to the one God? Shall we seeke for it among the Assirians? They worshipped as many gods as they had Townes. Among the Persians? They had as many gods, as there be Starres in the Skie and Fiers on Earth. Among the Greeks? They had as many gods as they had fancies: Among the Aegiptians? They had as many goddes as they sowed or planted Fruites or as the earth brought forth fruites of it selfe. To be short, the Romanes in conquering the worlde, got to themselues all the vanities in the Worlde, and they wantrd no wit to deuyse others of their owne braine. What shall it auaile vs to aske the way of these blind Soules, which go groping by the Walles sides, and haue not so much as a Child or a Dog to leade them as some blinde folke haue, but catch hold vnaduisedly of euery thing that comes in their way? But yet among these great Nations, we spie a little Nation called the people of Israell, which worshippeth the maker of all things, acknowledging him for their Father, calling vpon him alone in all their needes, as (for all the small account that others made of them) abhorring all the glistering gloriousnes of the great kingdomes that were out of the way. It is in the Religion of this people, and not elsewhere, that wee shall finde our said former marke. And therefore we must seeke it onely there, and leaue the damnable footsteps of the rest, as being assured that we may more safely followe one man that is clere sighted, than a thousand that are blinde. For what greater blindnes of minde can bee, than to take the Creature for the Creator, a thing of nothing for the thing that is infinite?

Now, that the people of Israell worshipped the true God in such sort as I haue described him; the continuance of their whole History sheweth well inough. All men knowe in what reuerence the Byble hath beene had in all times among the Hebrewes. And if any man doubt

whether it be Gods worde or no; that is a question to be decided otherwise. But yet for all, that it is out of all doubt, that the Hebrewes themselues toke it to be so and that wée cannot better iudge of their Beléefe and Religion, than by the Scriptures, for the which they haue willingly suffered death. And what els doe those Scriptures preach from the first worde of them to the last, than the only one God the maker of Heauen and of Earth? As soone as you do but open the Bible, by and by ye sée there, In the beginning God created the Heauen and the Earth. At the very first step in at the gate of that booke, it excludeth all the Gods made or deuised by man from that people, to the intent to kéepe them wholy to the true God that created man. Open the booke furtherforth at all aduenture whersoeuer you list, and from line to line you shall méete with nothing but the praises of that God, or protestations & thunderings against the strange gods. God made mã excellent, who for his disobedience is become subiect to corruptiõ. Who could punish & imprison such a substance, but he that made it? He founded the world and peopled it, which afterward was ouerwhelmed by the flud, and who could let the waters lose, but he that held them at commaundement? The people of Israell found drie passage through the Red Sea; and who prepared them that way, but hée that founded the Earth vppon the déepes? Also the Sunne stode still and went back at the speaking of a word; and of whose worde but of his whose word is a déede? I dispute not héere as yet, whether these things bée true or no; but I say onely that the Hebrewes beléeued them, yea and that they beléeued them in all ages; and that they worshipped him whom they beléeued to be the doer of those things; who certesse cannot be any other, than the same of whom the first line of the booke saieth, That he made the
Iob.38. Heauen and the Earth. Aske of Iob who it is whom he worshippeth; and hée will not say it is hée whome the inuention of the Craftesman, or of the Imbroyderer, or of the proiner of Mines hath deuised; nor that is sponne, weaued, or hamered: nor that hath a Taile cut with a Razor: nor an Image turned arriuerse, nor some iuggling tricke to dazle children eies withall: for such (as we shall sée more plainly hereafter) are the gods of the heathen: (but hee will say) it is the same God that founded the earth, and stretched out his Netline ouer it, which hath shut vp the Sea within dores, and bounded the rage of his waues: which made the light and the darknes: which holdeth backe the Pleyads and vnbindeth Orion: which hath created the world, and giuen vnderstanding to man.
Psalm.104. It is he (saith Dauid) which spreadeth out the Heauens as a Curtaine, and maketh him Chambers among the Waters: which hath setled the Earth vppon hir Pillers, and chased away the Sea at one only threatening of his; which maketh the Winders his messengers, and the Ele-
Esay.48.& 61. ments his seruants. It is hee (sayeth Esay) which is the first and the

last

last: His hand hath grounded the Earth, and his right hand hath measured the Heauens. As sone as he called them, they appeered together before him: Heauen is his Seate, and the Earth is his Footestole. Yea, and besides all this, Moyses will tell vs, that streine we our selues to say what we can of him, we can say no more of him but that it is he whose name is I am that I am: euen he that alonly is, of whom all things that are haue their being, and in comparison of whome al things are nothing, whom neither words nor workes can expresse, onely in effect, and yet infinite therewithall.

Some man will say, it may be that this so great a God, vouchsafeth not to stope downe vnto vs, but hath left the charge both of the world and of men to some Seruants of his whome it behoueth vs to worship. Nay, as he is high and great in power, so is he deepe also in wisdome and goodnesse. Art thou sicke? It is he that both maketh health and sendeth sickenesse; thou seest how he was Ezechias Phisition. Wouldest thou haue Children? It is he that openeth and shutteth the bearingplace. Insomuch that he made the old age of Sara frutefull, and the barrain Anne a mother and a Nurce. Doth thine enimie vexe thee? He is the God of Hosts, whome Gedeon findeth as strong with a small army as with a great. Wouldest thou haue a prosperous wind? It is he (saith Iob) that Iob.38
sheadeth forth the Easterne wind vpon the earth, and at whose call the northwind commeth. Doth thy Husbandrie drie away with drought? It is he that dealeth forth both the morning and the euening raine; which beget the droppes of the deawe; and which maketh it to raine vppon the ground, yea euen where no body dwels. To be short, art thou afrayd of famine? He prepareth foode for the Rauens to pray vpon, and their young birds crie vnto none but him. The Lions whelpes rore vnto him for foode Psal.104.
and all things that liue in the aire, on the Land, and in the water, do wait vppon him for the supplying of their nedes. And what is all this in effect, but that the God whom Israell worshipeth, is the Creator and Gouerner of all things? The verie true God which maintaineth all things by his goodnes, as well as he made them by his power. As carefull for all things yea euen to the least, as he is mightful and of abilitie to maintein them. All the whole scripture from the one end to the other, that is to say the people of Israel from age to age, sing nothing else but that. Now if we reade ouer the old ceremonies of the Aegyptians, Persians, and Thuscanes leafe by leafe; where shall we find in them one word of the true God, but onely in reuiewing and blaspheming him: And what are all their gods but cariers of Receits; like these Dogleaches which professe but the curing of some one disease onely, or like these common craftsmen, which professe but the skill of some one craft or mystirie? But this true GOD (as I haue said) is the only one GOD. What other people haue bene

forbidden to call vpon many Gods? Nay rather, what other people haue not bin commaunded to haue infinite Gods, as a token of Religion? He is a quickning Spirit which cannot bee counterfeted nor conceiued, what other God hath said, Whereunto will ye liken me, which do hold the Earth betweene my Fingers? What house will yee build for me which make the Earth my footstoole and the Heauen my seate? And to what other people hath it bin said, Thou shalt not make any grauen Image? And what other people hath chosen rather to die a thousand times, than to breake that commandement? Insomuch that they would not admitte either painter or karuer into any of their Cities. Contrariwise, which of all the Gods of the Heathen haue not required Images? Yea and (as we read in Porphyrius) taught how they should bee painted? Much more vaine in good sooth than the men that worshipped them. To be short, the true God which gouerneth the whole world, must also (as I haue said afore) gouerne both men and their wits to his glory. And to gouerne them so, it behoueth him to knowe them; and to knowe them, it behoueth him to see them; and to see into their harts, it behoueth him to haue made them. For the father which thinketh himselfe to be the begetter of a Child, seeth not into the hart thereof; neither doth the schoolemaister see into his scholers wit, wherof he thinketh himselfe to be the framer. And much lesse can an Imaginatiue God do any of those things, hauing not made the one nor the other. What other God shall ye reade to haue said, Thou shalt not couet: or to haue required the sacrifice of the hart, or the salting of the spirit, or a hart broken and lowly mind? Who els can forbid Couetousnes and hipocrisie, but he which is able to punish it? And who can punish it, but he that sees it? And who can see it in man, but he that made man? On the contrarie part, who seeth not that the Lawes which are reported to haue bin inspired by the goddes at Rome, in Athens, and in Lacedemon extend no further than to the outward man? Insomuch that none of them (as saieth Cato) is found to haue said He that is minded to steale, but only He that stealeth, shalbe guiltie. Which is as much to say, as that they be but Lawes of men, who see not into folkes harts; Lawes of Creatures which pearce no further then the Cote or the Skinne. The people of Israell therefore are the people that serued the onely true GOD that made man, and all other people serued Gods made by men.

Origé against Celius lib. 3.

Cato in his oration for the Rhodians.

The Heathen acknowledged the true God to be in Israell.

Now this silly people (as we reade in Histories) was strangely despised and trampled vnder foote, as though all the diuels had conspired and banded themselues against that people, which alonly worshipped the true God. But what are the Heathen compelled in the end to confesse? Varro the best learned of the Romans, who made a bedroll of all the Gods, for feare (as he saith) least they should stray away: concludeth in

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the end, that those do worship the true God, which worship the onely one, without Images, and which beleeue him to be the gouernor of the whole world. Yea and (which more is) he saith that the Iewes (by what other name soeuer they call him) do worship the same God truely: and that if after their example all Images had bin forbidden, (as they were a long time in Rome) men had not fallen into so many superstitions and errors. It is not to be doubted but that he which spake so of the whole rable of false Gods that were in Rome, would haue spoken much more of them, if he had not feared men more than his Gods. And whereas some of the heathen to excuse their owne sacrilege, haue borne the world on hand that the Iewes worshiped the head of a wild Asse, because a beast of that kind had shewed them a fountaine in the wildernesse, at a time that they were distressed with thirst: Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus himselfe the maker of that goodly report, do witnesse that in the Temple of the Iewes there was neuer yet found any Penon, Pensil, Relik, or Image, neither at the time that Antiochus through couetousnes sacked it, nor whē Pompey for reuerence spared it. And truely the said Attick report of the Asses head, is scarce worth the dispose. But more rather because the Iewes rested vpon the Saboth day, which the Gentiles dedicated afterward vnto Saturne, many men haue thought that they worshipped Saturne, whereas if the heathen had asked but some Babe of the Iewes concerning that matter, he would haue taught thē that the God of Isreal neuer fled away for feare of a man as Saturne did, but that he abideth in Heauen, and that the whole earth quaketh at his presence. Notwithanding, the chiefe Monarkies of the world armed themselues in all ages against this small people: but yet the smaller that they were, the greater appeared the mightines of their God. Sennacharib King of the Assyrians had subdued all his neighbours, and intended to fill vp the Diches of Ierusalem as he had don by the ouerthrowe of other Citties. For performance where of he sent Rabsaces the Generall of his Hoste to subdue Ezechias King of Iuda. In the opinion of men Senacharibs argument was good and well concluded. If I should send thee two thousand Horses (saith he) ready furnished to battel, thou couldest hardly furnish as many men to ride them. And canst thou thinke then that thou art able to resist my whole armie? I haue conquered Aram, & Arphad, & Ana, & Aua, and Sepharnam, and what shal then become of Ierusalem, if it stand wilfully against me? But whē as he said, Consider what became of the Goddes of those Nations, supposing the God of Israel to haue bene of the same stampe: therein his argument failed, not for that (as the Logicians say) he concluded from the particular to the generall, or from that which is true simply to that which is true but in some certaine respect, but for arguing from that which is nothing at all to that which is all, namely from the vanitie of Idols, to the almigh-

Austin. in the Citie of God. lib. 8. chap. 31. Denis of Halycarnassus. lib. 1.

Tacitus, lib. 5. or (as some editions haue) lib. 2. Appiō against Iosephus.

2. Kings. 18. 19.

tines of the Creator. But what became of this victorious Monarke, & of his men, & of their Idols? Although the holy Scripture had said nothing thereof, Herodotus can tell vs it sufficiently. The Host of Sennacharib (saith he) was miserably discomfited, his state came to decay, his owne sonnes murthered him in the Temple of his Idols, the Babylonians gathered vp the scatterings of his Empire, (which more is) in a certeine Temple of Aegypt, an Image of his was set vp with this Inscription, Learne at the sight of me to feare God. What more almost saith the holy Scripture vnto vs thereof? And who can say that this was not a verie arche of victorie and triumph to the true God, against the goddes of the Heathen, in the person of that Prince which had destroyed so many of them? From henceforth the Monarchie of the Assyrians did never prosper, but the Medes and Persians came to be Lords of it, who at the first seemed to take warning by the example thereof. For they restored the Iewes home againe into their Countrie, according to the Prophesies, and gaue them leaue to build vp their Temple againe, furthering them by all meanes therein, and giuing them certaine allowances for the maintenance of their sacrifices, acknowledging in their letters to their Lieutenants, that the God of the Iewes was the true God, and none other.

ἐκ τοῦ πεπλεγμένου ἰσχύος ἐστι.

But what shall we say of the gods of Greece, who in conquering the Persians, came to take a foile in Iewrie? For Alexander hauing subdued the Persians, made men to worship him as a God; and hearing that in the mountaines of Palestine, there was a people whom neither the Assyrians nor the Persians could subdue to their Gods, for all the rigor and crueltie they could shewe; insomuch that at his owne being in Babylon, certaine Iewes that had bene conueyed thether, did flatly disobey him, when he meant to haue builded there a temple to Iupiter Bele, as Hecateus reporteth, who accompanied Alexander in that voyage: he turned head towards Ierusalem, with a venemous rancour to that poore people. But when Iaddus the Highpriest of the Iewes came before him in his Priestly attire, accompanied with his Leuites about him; Alexander cast downe himselfe at his feete and worshipped him. This *god I say whom the greatest personages worshipped thenceforth, did there worship a man that came to make supplication vnto him. Parmenio thinking this to be a very strange sight, asked Alexander the cause why he did so. It is not the man (quoth Alexander) whome I worship, but the God whose Priest he is: for I sawe him (said he) in the same attyre, when I was yet in Macedony: and when I doubted whether I might meddle with Asia or no, he gaue me courage to proceed, assuring me that by his guiding I should ouercome the Persians. Herevpon hee went vp into the Temple, and offered Sacrifice vnto GOD, in such manner as the Highpriest instructed him: who shewed him the booke of Daniell, wherein it

Hecatæus the Abderita.

*Mœnina, Alexander who vaunted himselfe as a God. Iosephus in his Antiquities lib. 11. ca. 8

was

was prophesied certeine hundred yéeres afore, that a certeine Greeke should come and conquer the Persians, which now fell out to bee bee. Wherevpon hee suffered the Iewes to liue after their owne lawes, and from seauen yeares to seauen yeares released them of all tributes, which thing he denied to the Samaritanes. Now, of all the great number of Nations, of whom he conquered many mae than he saw, where reade we that euer he did the like to any of them? And whereunto shall we attribute this déede of his, but to his bethinking him of the thing which he had learned in secret of the great Priest of the Aegyptians called Leon, namely, that all the gods whom the Gentiles worshipped, were Kings of old time, of whom the memoriall had bin consecrated by their posteritie: and therefore he as a greater King than any of them all, thought also that he might well be the greatest god of them all. But in the God of Israell he acknowledged another maner of thing: namely, that he was God of gods, and King of Kings, the changer of Empires at his pleasure, which vpholdeth Kings with his hands, not to performe their vaine attempts, but to bring to passe his owne euerlasting decrées. By the death of Alexander the Monarchie of the Greekes came to be dispersed, so as the Ptolomies gate the souereintie in Aegypt. And what greater proofe would wée haue of their acknowledging the only one God, than to sée Ptolomie Philadelph cause the Bible of the Hebrewes to be so solemnely translated at his owne charges? For what do Conquerours desire, but to giue lawes to those whom they haue vanquished: and therefore what els was this, than a receiuing of lawes at the hands of the Iewes? And séeing that the men of Israel were weaker than the men of Aegypt: what can wée say, but that the God of Israell had subdewed the gods of Aegypt And sothly, afterward when Ptolomie surnamed the bountiful had gotten the souereintie of Syria, he offered not sacrifice for his victories vnto the gods of Aegypt (which notwithstanding were very many in number, and séemed to haue giuen law to the Nations round about them): but he went to Ierusalem, and there acknowledging himselfe to haue receiued his prosperitie of the God of Israell, did consecrate the Monuments of his victories vnto him. And yet was this in the time of the greatest aduersitie of the Iewes, euen when their Countrey was forraied, and their Temple vnhallowed by their enemies and by their owne Priests themselues; that is to say, at such a time as all outward things should haue dissuaded him from worshipping of the God of that people, had not the most manifest trueth driuen him to the contrarie.

As touching the Romaines, what time they extended their warres into Iewrie, we read that they reuerenced the Temple of Ierusalem; insomuch that Augustus ordeined certaine Sacrifices to be offered there both yéerely and dayly, and that diuers Heathen princes, being prouoked by

this sending of offerings thither so carefully, followed his example in doing the like. But seeing the Romaines brought all the Gods of all the Nations whom they had conquered into Rome: how happeneth it that only this God could finde no place there? Cicero answereth, that it beseemed not the Maiestie of the Empire. But if I should appose him upon his conscience, did Bacchus, Anubis, Pryapus, and their shamefull nightwakes and mysteries celebrated in the darke, yeeld renowme to the estate of the Empyre? Nay, if he will say the trueth, they knew that the God of Israell (and none other) was the true God, and that for the harbouring of him, it behoued them to driue away all the rest: but they had so long time loaded folke with Idolatrie, that they were afrayd (as manie Princes are at this day) least they might be deposed by their Subiects in receiuing their rightfull Lord.

Cicero in his oration for Flaccus.

Yet notwithstanding (will some say) this fillie people of the Iewes were caryed away from their owne Countrey into the lower quarters of the world, scattered among other people, and parted among all Nations of the earth, at the pleasure of their enemies that had gotten the vpper hand of them. Surely Gods wonderfull prouidence is to be noted in this case, farre more without comparison, than if that people had conquered the whole world by force of armes. For by the things which the Poets haue written of them, we see in what contempt they were had of all men. But yet let vs heare the wonderment that was made thereat, not by a common person, but by the great Philosopher Seneca. Yet notwithstanding (saith he) the custome of that Nation hath so preuailed, that it is the rather receiued of the whole worlde, and they being vanquished, haue (I wote not by what meanes) giuen lawes to theyr Conquerours. Who seeth not heere a great motion of minde in this Philosopher? And what man hauing common reason, is not rauished thereat as well as he? Is it possible for Kings to haue subdued a people whome they could neuer inforce to chaunge their owne lawes? The example thereof is Iewrie, which hath beene troden vnder foote by the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romaines; and yet for all their chaunging of their Maisters, they could neuer be brought to alter their lawe. There may perchance some like constancie be found among other Nations, as in respect of their lawes: but that a people being conquered, caried away, brought into bondage, vnaccounted of, led in triumph by diuers Empyres, as the Iewes were, should not onely subdue the hearts of their Conquerours to their God, so as the Conquerours could not fasten their laws vpon the vanquished sort, but contrariwise the vanquished sort haue fastened their lawes vpon their vanquishers, the Subiects vpon their Prince, the captiues vpon their Maister, & the condemned vpon theyr Iudge: who (I pray you) would beleeue it vnlesse he saw it? And if a man see it, how can he say that

Seneca in his Booke of Superstitions.

any

any other can possible doe it but GOD? But if Seneca will vouchsafe to heare Seneca quietly, it may bee that hee himselfe shall finde a resolution to his owne wonderment. Namely, that the Gods (as hee saith) which were called inuiolable and immortall, whom the Iewes left to other Nations, were dumbe and senceless Images, disguised in the shapes of Men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some in vgly and illfauoured monsters; and that the Feends which possessed those Images, required woorse things of men for their seruice, than the horribleſt Tyrants that euer were; as that men should gash themselues, maime and lame themselues, geld themselues, and offer men women and children in Sacrifize to them. But when folke heard speaking of the true God the maker of Heauen and Earth, and that he wilbe serued with the hearts and minds of men: that woord issuing out of the mouth of a poore prisoner, caught men prisoners and ouercame their Gods. And in very deede (as wee shall see hereafter) if we reade the good authors of that time; either they speak but of the one God, or if they speake of moe Gods, it is but for customes sake and in way of condemning them. What els then were the manifold fleetings of the Iewes, but as many conueyings abroad of companies of Preachers, to shewe forth the true God; and as many Armies to destroy the Idols and to rote them out? We reade that the Coniurers which were in old time among the Gentiles, did vse the name of the God of Israell, the God of the Hebrewes, and the God that drowned the Aegiptians, in coniuring such as were possessed of Deuiles, and that the Deuilles trembled at that name. This serueth not to proue that they worshipped not other Gods, but that they knew those Gods to be of no force. Iulian the Apostata did vnderset his shoulder, to shore vp the seruice of the false Gods as much as he could. But yet durst he not deny, but that the God of Abraham Isaac and Iacob is a great and mightie God; and he sware by all his Gods that he was one of them that were conuerted to his seruice, & that he knew him to be very gratious to such as serue him as Abraham had done. Who now could euer make an Israelite confesse that any other God was good, than the same whom he worshipped? And if he be the very God, how can it be (euen by Iulians owne saying) that all the residue should not be euill, seeing that this good God condemneth them, and declareth them to be all wicked Spirites and enemies of mankinde? But if Iulian himselfe would tell vs what befell him at Antioche, when he asked counsell of his Deuilles who made all his Philosophers to quake, and all his great Sorcerers to runne away for feare: we should see well enough what stuffe they be; insomuch that euen his owne Historiographer Zosimus, is ashamed to make report of it.

Seneca in his booke of Superstition. Austin de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 6. cap. 10.

Origen against Celsus. lib. 3.

Iulian against the Galileans

Zosimus. lib. 4 Socrates. lib. 3 cap. 11.

Now, I would faine that the Heathen or their Aduocats should but shewe me one of these two things; either where any Author of the Iewes

yeldeth

yéeldeth record to any god of the heathen: or where any graue Heathen author hath condemned the God that is worshipped by the Iewes. For asmuch then as in a Chapter appropried to the same purpose, I haue already proued by all the auncient Authors, and by consent of all people, that there is but only one God: and by Varro euen now, that the Iewes do worship the same God: what followeth therof, but that al of them be Iewes in that point, and that as many as are not so, are al ydolaters and deceiued: And for that cause when Orpheus had praised God in these and such like verses alledged in the third Chapter.

There is but one perfect God the maker of all things,
Who cherisheth and fostereth all things.

He addeth immediatly,

Neuer man yet knew his incomprehensible being, sauing one of the blood of the Chaldees.

Which saying of his some referre vnto Abraham, other some to Moises: and some of the Platonists to Zoroastres the graundchild of Noe. And Apollo himselfe being demaunded by the Gentiles, what people was rightly religious from of old time: answered him thus.

The Chaldees and the Hebrewes haue all wisdome twixt themselues,
And of the true God only they the worship doe maintaine.

Whereunto agreeth this verse of Sybilles:

The Iewes are sure a heauenly race, diuine, and full of blisse.

But it will be yet much more, if we can by their owne best Authors, proue their gods to bee nothing but vanitie and leazing: which is as much to say, as that they haue not onely allowed the God of Israell, but also condemned all their owne gods.

The xxij. Chapter.

That the gods worshipped by the Heathen, were men consecrated or canonized to posteritie.

I Haue sufficiently shewed heretofore in the second and third Chapters, that there is but one God: That both Angels & Fiends are but Creatures, the one seruants, and the other slaues: That Nature & Philosophie consent together therein, notwithstanding that ouerwoted custome haue like a water streame caried folke away, & that the wise of the world haue loued better to followe the course of the streame, than to rowe

rowe against it. Yet for all that, it shall not be superfluous to see what they themselues haue written of their owne Gods, both generally of them all, and particularly of euery of them. Therefore to begin with Hermes, whom we haue heard so highly commending the onely one God: he writeth of them in these words: Like as the Lord God (saith he) is the maker of the Gods in Heauen, so is man the maker of the gods that are content to dwell in Temples, that they might be neer vnto men. Man then maketh Images after his owne likenes, whereunto he calleth spirits by Arte Magick, or els they come into them of their owne accord, and foretell vnto men things to come. But the time wil come, that all this kind of Religion of the Aegyptians shalbe abolished, and that all their worshippings shall vanish away. And in very deede (saith he) Esculapius the Graundfather of Asclepius, and Mercurie mine owne Graundfather which are worshipped at Hermopolis in Aegipt, were Men, whose worldly men, (that is to say their bodies) lie the one in Lybia & the other in Hermopolis, and vnder their names are worshipped certeine Diuels, whome I allured and drue into their Images. What more substantiall witnesse now could we produce against the Gods of Aegipt, than the very partie himselfe that made them? And what els were they then, than either men, or Diuels throwded in the Images or in the dead carkeses of men? But I procede with these two parts the one after the other.

Hermes in his Esculapius. is translated by Apuleius.

Austin de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 8. cap. 23. The Gods of the Egyptians

Cyprian concerning the vanity of Idols.

The great Highpriest of Aegypt called Leon, being asked secretly by Alexander, concerning the originall of their gods, and fearing more his power than their wrath; bewraied vnto him, that all the great gods, yea euen those whome the Romanes termed The gods of the greater Nations, were all of them men. But he prayed Alexander that he would not tell it to any body, saning his Mother Olympias, and that shee should burne his Letter as sone as she had read it. For as for the Beasts which the Aegyptians worshipped, Plutarke saith that some of them were worshipped as Planets and signes celestiall: and othersome because that when Osyris led his people to Battell, he had diuers Antesignes according to the diuersities of the Countries, as in one a Dog, in another an Ore, and so forth: which afterward through emulation were turned into Superstition. As touching the Phenicians, their next neighbours, Sanchoniation their owne Chronicler writeth, that they honored such men for gods as had beene great among them, or had inuented any thing profitable for the life of man: and that as they were long time Lords of the Sea, and conueied many companies of their owne countrifolke into Lybia and Spaine, to inhabit there: so they peopled them with their gods also. Concerning the gods of the Greekes, we read that Orphey, Homer, and Hesiodus were the first bringers of them in; and did set downe their Pedegrees in writing, giuing them names and Surnames, and

Plutake in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

The Gods of the Phœnicians. Sanchoniation translated by Iosephus.

The Gods of the Greekes. Herodotus, lib. 2.

appoin-

appointing them honours at their pleasures. Of whom Pythagoras saith, that their soules were hanged vpon a Tree in Hell, and there pinched with Serpents on all sides for their so damnable deuices. And what he himselfe deemed of those Gods, we may see in his life written by Porphyrius. For he wrote verses vpon the Tumbe of Apollo at Delphos, declaring him to haue beene the Sonne of Silenus that was slaine by Pithon, and buried in a place called Tripos, because the three daughters of Triopus came thither to mourne. Afterward againe, comming into a Caue of Ida, where he found a Throne set vp vnto Iupiter, hee wrote this inscription vpon it: Pythagoras to Iupiter. Heere lieth the greate Zeus whom men cal Iupiter. Socrates in dispite of those Gods did sweare by an Oke, by a Gote, and by a Dogge; and was condemned to drinke poison, because he taught that there was but only one God. Which is as much to say, as that he deemed lesse Godhead to be in those Gods, than in the least creatures. Yet notwithstanding, he was the onely man whom Apollo auowed to be the wisest mã of al Greece: wherin he had shewed himselfe to haue had lesse wit than those beastes, if he had deemed such a one to be wisest as had condemned the Godhead. But it is the property of the Deuill, both to abuse men and also to mocke them for their labour. They cried out against Socrates that he was a blasphemer and made him to drinke his owne death. But within a while after, the Athenians did set vp an Image of him in one of their Temples, and in a rage did put his accusers to death: [which deede of theirs made notably against themselues:] for surely they could not better haue condemned their Gods, than by their iustifying and honoring of the partie that condemned them. As for his Disciple Plato, this saying of his shal suffice. When I write vnto you in good earnest, I speake but of one God, and when I meane otherwise, I speake of many. He imployed his Gods about vanitie, because he esteemed them to be but vaine. To be short, one saies: If they be Gods, why mourne ye for them? and if they be liueless why worship ye them? Another saies, be of good cheere my Countreymen, men liued afore the Gods, and the Gods die afore men. And the Poets themselues, who made the Gods to be such as they be, take as great pleasure in the vnmaking of them, as little Children doe in playing with their Puppets: insomuch that there is no Tragedy good, which doth not baffle some one of the Gods, as Euripides (among the rest) doth in these verses:

Aulus Gellius lib. 3. cap 11. & li. 17. ca. 21.

Pophirius in the life of Pythagoras.

Apuleius and Aulus Gelius.

Thou Neptune and thou Iupiter, and all you other Gods,
So wicked are you euerychone, so fell, so farre at oddes,
That if due iustice for your deedes were iustly on you done,
Ye should be banisht out of Heauen and from all Temples soone.

You will say perchaunce that the Romanes may possibly haue some

better

better stuffe. By the originall of them which they themselues describe, we may iudge what they were. And let vs note that the writers of these things were no Greekes, which might haue bred some suspition; but they were Romanes, euen the Idolaters themselues. The first that ordained Religion among them, was King Numa; who to authorize it the more, feyned himselfe to haue had conference with a goddesse called Egeria which was a witch: and vnder that gay pretence, he bewitched the ignorant people with a thousand superstitions. A long time after, in the Consulship of Cornelius and Bebius, it happened that in the ground of a certeine Scriuener named Petilius, nere to the place called Ianiculum, there were found two Coffins, in one of the which was the body of Numa, and in the other were seauen bookes in Latin concerning the Lawes of their Priesthood, that is to say, their Ceremonies and Churchseruices; and other seauen Bookes in Greeke concerning the studie of Wisdome; whereby he ouerthrewe, not onely the gods of other Nations, but also the very selfe same whome he himselfe had instituted. The Senate hearing thereof, caused the Bookes to be burnt openly before the people; which was as much to say as that they condemned all the gods and all their Seruices to the Fire. Among many other Stories, Varro reporteth the same to: and he concealeth not that Numa vsed Waterspelling, and had communication with Diuels. And as touching the gods whome the Latins worshipped before the time of this Numa Pompilius; Varro and Caius Bassus say, that Faunus ordeined Sacrifices to his graundfather Saturne, to his father Picus, and to his Sister and Wife Fauna, whom the good huswiues call Fatua of Fate, that is to say Destinie, because she was woont to read their Fortunes; and afterward the people worshipped her by the name of Good Dame or Goddesse. And surely of no better value were those whome Aeneas brought thither, whom Virgill termeth vanquished gods, and after a sort putteth them and little Babes both togither in one Basket. Sceuola the Highpriest of the Romanes (as I haue said afore) made three sorts of gods: Poeticall, worse than the worst men, Philosophicall, whome they taught to haue beene men, howbeit that it was not good for the people to knowe it; and Ciuill, made by Princes to holde their people in awe with; for the which purpose also Varro addeth, that it is good for Captaines and gouerners to bee perswaded that they bee descended of gods, that they may the more boldly vndertake and the more happily performe their enterprizes. But who could answere better to the matter, than the Highpriest himselfe? And which are these better gods, which are no gods at all furtherforth than it pleaseth men? Varro saith likewise, that his writing of humaine things afore diuine things, is because there were Cities afore there were gods made by them, as the Painter is afore his Picture.

The Gods of the Romanes.

Titus Liuius. Decad. 4. libro vltimo. Valerius Maximus lib. 1.

Plinius lib. 13. cap. 13. Austin lib. 7. cap. 14. Lactantius. lib. 1.

Picture. How much more reasonable had it bene that the gods should haue commited themselues to the custodie of the Cities, than that the Cities shuld haue committed themselues to the custodie of the gods? Also he deuideth his gods into certaines and vncertaines. The certaine (saith he in his second booke) are as much or more subiect to vncertaintie than the vncertaine. What certaintie will be repost of the gods, if they themselues be vncertaine? But behold the godlinesse of the man. He saith he will make a Register and an Inuentorie of them: and wherefore? for feare (saith he) least they should be lost, not so much by some sacking of the Citie, as by the negligence of the Citizens, which began sore at that time to make no account of them. Surely the Romanes had bene the more excusable, if they had deified this Varro that had such a care to saue and preserue their gods. But the wise Senate thought themselues to haue prouided well for the matter, by making this ordinance, That no God should be admitted into Rome without their aduice. As who would say, that to be a God it was meete that a bill of petition should first bee exhibited vnto them, and men were to be sewed vnto for the obteinment of their voices. By which one argument of theirs they declared themselues to be more diuine than their Gods. And therevpon it came to passe that they receiued into their Citie all the Deuiles, all the Tirants, and all the filthie Rakehels of the world for Gods. As for the onely one true God the Creator of men, the founder of Cities, and the remouer of Empires; he had no name at all among them. Concerning the nature of the gods, Cicero hath written three bookes; which to speake properly, are made to ouerthrow al the gods of the Romans. For he reckoneth vp their ages, their garments, their deckings, their offsprings, their ancetors, and their alliances. He saith that their Temples are their Tombes; their Sacrifices and Ceremonies, representations of their liues; and that from the least of them to the greatest, they were all men, and all their Religions Superstitions and old wiues tales. As touching the true God, he speaketh far otherwise. For hee saith that he made all things, that he made man, that he made the very Gods themselues, and to be short, that it is much easier for him to wonder at God, than to vtter what he is; and to declare what he is not, than what he is. And whereas sometimes after the maner of the Stoikes, he goeth about to draw naturall things out of the fables of the gods; he doth it but onely to kepe the people in ignorance, and according to his owne saying in the selfe same bookes, where hauing condemned his owne gods, hee saith that yet for all that, those things are not to be vttered to the people; and his allegories are so cold, that it is to be thought that euen he himselfe laughed at them. As touching the Birdgazers he himselfe being a Birdgazer doth flatly skorne them, that is to say, euen his owne profession, yea and all such as sought coun-

Austin de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 7. cap. 17.

Cicero concerning the Nature of the Goddes, the first of his Tusculane questions.

counsell at Crowes and Rauens, that is to wit, the whole Senate of Rome. Likewise we reade that Cæsar held still the Prouince of Affricke against the forewarnings of the Birdgazes; and that Cato wondered how two Birdgazers could méete one another or looke one vpon another without laughing. And Seneca saith in his booke of Questions, that the Southsaiers were inuented for nothing els but to holde the people in awe. So little did the Wisemen beléeue the things which they themselues did to be wondered at and worshipped of the common people: And thus much concerning their Gods in generall. Senecs. Lib. 2. cap. 4. and 41.

But if wée come to the particulars, the matter will bée yet more cléere, wherein I will be as briefe as I can, because it is a matter that is treated of expressely by others. Among the innumerable rable of gods, they haue twelue of principall renowme, whose names are comprehended in these two verses of Ennius. The Godds of Greater Nations.

Iuno, Vesta, Minerua, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcanus, Apollo.

And vnto these some added Bacchus and Saturne; this latter, because he might séeme to haue wrong, if he should not be counted a God as well as his sonne: and the other, because it might come to passe, that (being a fine fellowe) he would els make some fray, séeing that Ceres is a Goddesse. To dispatch the chiefe of them quite and cleane of that doubt, Euhemere of Messene will alone suffice: who gathering the history of Iupiter and the rest, setteth downe their titles, Epitaphs and Inscriptions which were in their Temples, and namely in the Temple of Iupiter Triphillian, where was a piller set vp by Iupiter himselfe, whereon the notablest of his doings were ingraued. And this history being called holy was translated by Ennius, the words whereof are these. Saturne (saith he) tooke Ops to his wife, and Titan being his elder brother claimed the kingdome: but Vesta their mother and Ceres and Ops their Sisters, counseled Saturne to keepe his possession. Which thing when Titan perceiued: finding himselfe to bee the weaker, he compounded with Saturne, vpon condition that if Saturne had any Sonnes, hee should not suffer them to liue, that the kingdome might reuert againe vnto his Children. According to which composition, the first Childe that was borne to Saturne was killed. Afterward were borne Iupiter and Iuno Twinnes, both at one birth: of whome they shewed but Iuno, and deliuered Iupiter to Vesta to bee brought vp in secret. After them came Neptune, who was serued likewise. And last of all came Pluto and Glauca; of whome onely Glauca (who dyed within a while) was shewed, and Pluto was nurced secretlie as Iupiter was. Nowe this came to Titans hearing, who assembling his Sonnes to him, tooke Saturne and Ops and put them both in prison. But assoone as Iupiter Euseb. de præpar. euangelica, lib. 4. Euhemere as he is cited by Lactantius.

came

came to age, he gaue battell to the Titans; and getting the vpper hand of them, deliuered his father and mother out of prison, At length perceiuing that his father, whom he had set vp againe, was iealous ouer him and sought his life: he deposed him from his estate and droue him into Italy. In this only one history we see what Saturne, Iupiter, Iuno, Vesta, Ops, Neptune and Ceres were, that is to wit, men and women; yea surely euen men, and among men, but onely mere men. And yet were they the fathers and mothers of the rest of the Gods, and reigned in the Iles of the chiefe Midland Sea; and in Candy, a litle afore the warres of Thebes & of Troy. And by that meanes we see also, from whence the Poets haue fetched their fables; which are not (as some thinke) mere fancies or imaginations without ground, but disguisings of the trueth, and of the History: True in that they report deedes rightly beseeming men; vntrue in that they attribute them as to Gods, and not as to men. Saturne is taken for the father of them all. And loke what is found of the father, is to be verified of his offspring. The Historiographers therfore haue said, that his wife did hide his children from him: and the Poets haue said that he did eate them vp, because a Soothsayer had told him that one of them should depose him. To auoide the absurditie of the word Kronos which is Saturne, the Stoikes haue turned it to Chronos, (that is to say, time,) which deuoureth all things. But how will they applie all the rest of the Allegorie vnto the History? Who shall be the daies lost, and who the daies saued? What shall Ops be, and Iupiter, and Pluto? who shall bee this sonne of time, that perisheth not with the time nor afore it?

Hermes in his Asclepius

But Hermes (whatsoeuer he be) who knew this pedegree well enough, holdeth himselfe to the letter, accounting Vranus, Saturne, and Mercurie, among the rare men that were in time past. And Ennius saith, that this Vranus was the father of Saturne and reigned afore him. Now because Vranus in Greeke signifieth Heauen; the Stoikes more fabulous, as saith Plutarke, than the Poets, haue called his sonne, Time; and his graundsonne Iupiter, the Welkin or highest region of the ayre; whom Euhemere reporteth to haue ordeined Sacrifices vnto Vranus. And Ennius his translator reporteth, that he ordeined them vnto his graunfather Heauen, who died in the Ocean, and lyes buried in Aulatie. To be short, of all these writers of antiquities, such as Theodore the Greeke, Thallus, Cassius, Seuerus, Cornelius Nepos and others were: none describeth him otherwise than a man: insomuch that euen Orpheus himselfe who canonised him for a God, speaketh of him after the same maner. What reade we of Iupiter? Iupiter (saith the History) deposed his owne Father, held his assemblies in Mount Olympus, stole away Europa in a ship named the Bull, and carried away Ganymed in another ship called the Eagle: but hee forbare Thetis, because an Achilles (which should be a

man

man of greater might than his father) was to be borne of hir. Finally after he had made certayne Lawes, and parted the offices of his estate among his friends, he dyed and was buried in the towne of Gnosus. What a life is this, but the life of a man? yea and of a most wicked man, vnworthie, not to reigne in heauen, but euen to goe vppon the earth? Neuertheless, because his successors inforced men to worship him as wel as his Grandfather, yea and he himselfe in his life time had caused his Subiects, Vassalles and Confederates to dedicate Temples vnto him; by reason whereof wee see he was called by the names of Labradie, Ataburie, Tryphill, and diuers other: all things were fayne to be applyed and referred vnto him: insomuch that of a man, the Poets made him a God; of the Mountayne Olympus, they made Heauen; of a Shippe, an Eagle; and of Thetis, a Goddesse. Yet for all this, his buryall place putteth al out of doubt, and so doth the Epitaph that Pythagoras wrote thereon. For to haue a Temple in one place, & a Tombe in another and to be worshipped with prayer in the one, and to be eaten with wormes in the other, are things farre differing. Callimachus will needes taunt the Cretanes for shewing his Tombe with this inscription, Διὸς τόδε κεῖται, that is to say, Iupiter the sonne of Saturne: and yet he considereth not, that in saying that Rhea was deliuered of him among the Parrhasians, he himselfe maketh him to dye. For what is birth but a beginning of death? And therefore Sybill speaketh of the Gods in these words:

The fond vayneglory which the Cretanes vse
About their Goddes doth many a man abuse.
They be but gastly Ghosts and feends of hel,
Or graues of men in whom no soule doth dwell.

To be short, Amalthea, & hir Goate y nurced Iupiter, which were honored in the Capitoll, & all his other mysteries, represented nothing els but y trauells of his childhood & of his lyfe; as, how he was stolen away, how he was hidden, and how he was nurced: all which things are a manifest derogation of his Godhead. And Seneca taketh it to be a matter so worthie to be laughed at, that he forgetteth his owne grauitie to giue a mocke vnto it. Seeing (sayth he) that this Iupiter was so lecherous, why begetteth he not Children stil, if he be yet aliue? Is it because he is threescore yeeres old? Or hath the Lawe of Papie restreyned him? Or hath he obteyned the priuiledge of three Children? Or finally, is it come into his mynd to looke for the same measure at other folks hands, which he hath measured vnto others, so as he is afrayd least some Sonne of his should deale with him, as he himselfe delt with Saturne & After that manner did this greate Philosopher mocke at his greate God; wherein he was so much the lesse to be excused, because he worshipped him, knowing so much as he did.

Seneca in his Moralles.

The Lawe of three children

As touching Iuno, I will not stande so much vpon the Poets. Varro himselfe saith that shée was brought vp in Samos, and there married to her brother Iupiter, by whome shée could not conceiue, in respect whereof, that Iland was called Parthenie, that is to say Maydenland. There also was her famousest Temple, where shée stode in wedding attyre; and her yerely feastes are in verie déede but playes ordeined after the fashion of olde time, to represent her life, that is to wit, her mariage, her iealousie, and her incest.

And as concerning Minerua Iupiters daughter, wee read that shée was deflowred by consent of her father, who had made a promise to Vulcane, not to deny him whatsoeuer he should aske: so monstrous & lawlesse was the whole race of them. For as for Venus, whose aduoutries are mo than her children; Euhemere reporteth her to haue béene the first bringer vp of Stewes in the worlde, and that her worshippers to honour her withall, did call her ἑταιρίδας, πόρνας, καπηλίδας, ἑρμαφρόδιτους and such other, which names euen a woman that were very farre past shame would take in great disdaine. To be short, in the Temple where Cinaras King of Cyprus was buried, who was the first that intertained her; surely I am ashamed that the Heathen were not ashamed of such shamefulnes, but yet much more, that such as beare the name of Christians are not ashamed to make songes thereof in their bookes.

Let vs procéede to the rest. Neptune (as their holy Historie reporteth) had the Seacoll for his share, or (as othersome affirme) he was Iupiters Admiral, in respect whereof the Poets of our time call Admiralls Neptunes. Pluto had the gouerment of low Countries, which they disguysing turned into Hel. Mars had ỳ Leading of Souldiers in the wars, and should haue bin hanged at Athens for a murther. What maner of gods (I pray you) be these, which lãd at mens courtesie for their grace? And what is the Lawe of that Heauen, which receyueth those for Gods, whom men would haue hanged on ỳ gallowes vpon earth? Also Apollo became a Sherpheard for loue, he became Laomedons Mason. He played a few Iuggling tricks to deceiue folk withall, but in the end (as Porphyrius telleth vs) he was killed by Python, mourned for by the daughters of Triopus, and buryed at Delphos. Who euer sawe a thing more against reason, than the transforming of him into the Sonne, which is as much as to shut vp the Sonne into the earth? But yet such are the Gods of the Greeks and Romans, that is to wit dead folks, euen kings and Quéenes whome loue or feare hath made to be taken for Gods. And in good soth, they did not any thing to their Gods, which men do not at this day to their dead and to such as are of reputation. They make them Temples, Chappels, and alters, they apparell them after their age, they set them vp pensils and Penons according to their degree or trade of liuing.

liuing, they make them a funerall feast, they celebrate Anniuersaries or Peerrynds all of one sorte. Insomuch that (as Tertullian saieth) the Obitfeast differeth not from Iupiters feast, nor the wodden Canne from his drinkingcup, nor the Cearer of deadfolks frō the Bridgasers, for the Bridgasers also had to deale with the dead. And therefore wee must not think it straunge, that Alexander would nēdes be a God, sith hee knew that men worshipped such: or that Scipio Affricane thought that the greate gate of Heauen ought to be set open for him: for his argument concluded the lyke, saying. Scipio Affrican in Ennius

If men for slaughter made, to heauen admitted be,
Then should the greatest gate of Heauen be opened vnto me.

Or that the gentle Ladies Laurentia and Flora were Canonized at Rome, for they deemed themselues to haue deserued as much by their profession, as Venus had deserued at the hands of the Cyprians: Or that Caligula toke vpon him to haue Altars erected and sacrifice offered vnto him, for he was both mightie and also more mischeuous than those whome he worshipped. Let this suffice for the Great ones. And for the little ones, wee will content ourselues with Esculapius alone, whom the Emperour Iulian, that greate enemie of Christians commendeth as his sauiour aboue all the rest. Hee is (sayeth he) the Sonne of Iupiter. Then (say I) he is a man for men begot not Gods. But he came downe into the world by the Sonne, and from the Sonne vnto the Earth, for the health and welfare of men. What Author eyther in earnest or in iest, did euer so? No, but he was (sayth the Historie) the sonne of the fayre Coronis renowned in these verses. Esculapius. Iulian against the Galilæans

A goodlyer Lady was not to be found,
In all Emonis going on the ground.

This Coronis being with Child by Apollos priest, gaue it forth, for the sauing of hir honor, that she was gotten with Childe by Apollo himselfe, whereby it appeareth that hir sonne Esculapius, was not the Child of Heauen as Iulian reporteth, but (as men sayd in old time) a Chyld of the earth, that is to say a bastard. And Tarquilius a Roman writeth that he was a child found in Messine, & learned the vertues of some herbs at the hand of Chyron the Centaure, & playd ỳ Pedlar a whyle at Epidaure & that afterward being striken to death (as Cicero saith) with Thunder, he was buried at Cynosures. To be short, what miracle reade wee to haue bine done by him, more than that he shewed men the hearbes called Scorpion and Asclepiodotes? By which reason we may as well Deifie the bird Ibis for the Cliffers, or the Stag for the herbe Ditanie. But to conclude, what a beastlynes were it to leaue the Creator of all things, & to worship a mā for his knowing of some two or three of them?

Among other Nations of the world, the Aegyptians haue vpon the

lyke reasons Deified their king Apis, forbidding all men vppon payne of death, to say he was a man: and I am euen ready to shudder at the remembrance of his mysteries. Likewise the Babylonians deified their Bele, the Mawres their Iuda, the Macedonians their Cabyrus, the Latines their Faunus, the Sabines their Sancus, and the Romanes their Quirinus: that is to wit the first founders of their Townes and Cities, or the leaders of them to inhabite in forrein Countries, and the eldest of these their Gods, that is to say their auncientest Princes, they called Saturnes, their Sonnes, Iupiters, their Grandsonnes, Herculeses, and so forth. whereuppon it came to passe, that in diuers Nations there were diuers Saturnes, Iupiters and Herculeses. Afterward the Emperours deified themselues, and their frends, and some their Mynions, as Alexander did Ephestion, and as Adrian did Antinous, and some their Children, and some their wiues. Cicero being but a Citizen of Arpie, was so proude that he would nedes Deifie his daughter Tullia: he sticked not to say to Atticus, that he would make hir to be worshipped as another Iuno or Minerua, considering that she was not inferiour to them in any thing. But he came in too rough a time to make Gods. What more? Euen in one man were a thousand Gods to be found. For they made Gods of faithfulnes, of constancie, of wisdome, & of al the other vertues, and likewise of Loue, of Pleasure, of the instruments of pleasure, and of all other vices. Also of feare, paines, gastfulnes, and all passions; Likewise of Agewes, the of Hemorodes, of the Falling sikne, and of maladies & diseases; Also of Dunghils, of Snow, of Blastings, & of the very Winds, insomuch that the greate Emperour Augustus did sacrifice to the winde Circius, which troubled him in Gall. The cause of these absurdities is in two things, the one is Gods iust striking of men with blindnes for their turning away from him vnto man, insomuch that whereas they will nedes become equall with God, they fall by degrees from poynt to poynt, euen to the rasking of themselues downe vnto Beastes and Wormes, that is to say, they become inferiour to beastes. The other is, that Princes vnlightened by GOD are so desirous of vainglorie, and their Seruants are such flatterers, that the Princes perceiuing themselues to haue men at their commandement thinke themselues to be more than men, and their seruants, to be made Idols themselues doe willingly make Idols of their Princes. Hereof wee reade in the very Lawes of the Christian Emperours, that their answers are called Oracles, their persons Godheads, and their countenaunces diuine brightnesse. Who reading this can doubt, but that if such Lawiers had come in the first ages, they would haue made vs good store of Gods? Nay would God wee saw not still among vs, greate numbers of lyuely and playne speaking examples, of mans inclined disposition to the worshipping

Xenophon in his Equiuocations

notwithstanding that our Lawe in euery lyne thereof doe reproue vs for it, and after a sort twich vs euery howre by the Cote, to pull vs from it. Now therefore let the premisses be a president vnto vs, both of the vanitie of the Goddes, & of the blockishnes of men, which haue both worshipped them and made them. And so let vs commit the knitting vp of this matter to Cicero himselfe, who saith thus. The conuersation and custome of men (sayth he) hath allowed the aduancing of those men into heauen, both in reputation and in good will, by whome they had receiued any greate benefite. Of that sort are Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Esculapius, Liber, and such other, so as Heauen is peopled with mankind. And if I listed to search and ransacke the Antiquities and Registers of the Greekes, I should find at the same Gods whome we take for the greatest, haue had their orginall from among vs. And for the verifying thereof, Inquire whose the Tumbes are that are shewed in Greece, and consider with thy selfe what their mysteries and Ceremonies are, and thou hauing accesse thither, shalt vnderstand without doubt, that my saying reacheth very farre.

Cicero concerning the Nature of the Godes, in his booke of Lawes, and in his Tusculane Questions.

The xxiij. Chapter.

That the spirites which made themselues to be worshipped vnder the names of those men, were feends, that is to say, Diuels or wicked Spirites.

NOw seeing that the sayd Gods were but men, yea and not Men, but Stocks and Images of men, and that the same stocks, if they had bene any more than Stocks, should rather haue worshipped men: we must néedes say with Seneca, ỳ the men which worshipped them were become worse than stocks. But hereunto it will be answered, that they gaue answers of things to come, that & they wrought effects beyond the reache of man; which shewed that there was a lyfe and power in them, or els they had not seduced

folke so long time. This is the second part which I haue taken in hand to proue: namely, that although all the auncient Philosophers agree, that there are both good Spirits & bad, the one sort (whom we call Angels) Seruants and Messengers of God; and the other sort Diuels, enemies to Gods glory and our welfare: yet notwithstanding, the spirites which were serued in stocks and Images as Hermes hath told vs, were vncleane and mischieuous spirites. These fiends therefore (to purchase themselues authoritie) did borrow the names of men, & most commonly of the wickedest men. Yea and when they were asked what they were, they said in their owne Oracles that they were so: as for example, he that was worshipped at Delphos, said he was the sonne of Latona, Esculapius, the sonne of Apollo, Mercurie the sonne of Iupiter & Maia; and so forth, as we reade in Oracles rehearsed by Porphyrius. But what honest man will not refuse for neuer so greate gayne, to take vppon him the name of a wicked man? or rather abhorre both the name and the very remembrance of him? And who then will not conclude that those Deuils which (to winne themselues credite) clothed themselues after that sort with the cases of so wicked men, were worse than the men? Also they were drawne (sayth Hermes) into Images by Art Magicke; yea and (by the report of Porphyrius and Proclus they taught men receyts wherewith to draw them thither and to bind them there, as we read of Proserpyne, Hecate and Apollo. Of whome, one commaunded to be set her Image with Worme wood, to paynt a certeyne number of Kattes about it, and to offer vnto her Blood, Myrthe and Storax, to draw her thither. Another commaunded to wipe out the lines and figures, to remoue the fuzzimuzzies of flowers from his face, and to take the braunch of Olife out of his hand, that is to say, from his images hand, that he might withdraw himselfe. Who sees not that they made themselues to be drawne in & driuen out by things that haue no force at all, specially ouer Spirites? That is to say, that as Iamblichus also perceyued full well) their whole seeking was to deceiue vs by their comming, and to go away againe when we will not what so say; more desirous to lye, than we blockish to beleue? And when they obeied vs or pretended to obey vs, let vs see what seruice they required at our hands: verely that their Images should be wel painted & well coted, & that they might be worshipped prayed vnto & serued. Now if they were the Images of Spirites; what greater vntrueth can there be, than for a Spirit to be resembled by an Image? And if they were the Images of men; what greater beastlines (sayth Seneca can there be, than to offer Sacrifize to a stocke, & to make the Carner which made it, to eate at the second table, & to kneele downe before a counterfet of his owne making, or to make the Paynter thereof to stand bareheaded vnto it? Now then, what els were they but teachers

Porphyrius in his booke of the Answers Eusebius de præparat. euangel lib. 3. Cap. vltimo.

Porphyrius in his said booke of the answers of the Gods. Eusebius de præparat. euang. lib. 5. Cap. 6. and. 7.

Iamblycus concerning Mysteries. cap 27. and 31.

of vntruth whose intent was to turne men not onely from God to his workes, but also to themselues, and finally into verie stockes?

Apollo being asked what seruice was to be yelded to the Gods, declared that Sacrifize is to be offered to them all, as well them that dwel in the Ayre and the Fire, as them that dwell in the Sea & in the Earth: to some with white Beastes, and to some with black; to some vpon Altars, and to other some vpon bankes of earth: to some the forepartes of Beastes, and to othersome the hinder parts, and such other like stuffe. And because they would nedes playe the Apes with God in all thinges: they required this seruice after the example of the old Testament. For (as saith Porphyrius) nothing delighteth them more, than to be estemed as Gods: insomuch that the greatest of them al (whom they call Serapis & we Beelzebub) wil nedes be worshipped as the soueraigne God. But what resemblance is there betwixt them and the true God? God requireth of vs the firstlings of our fruites & of our Cattell. And for as much as he hath created them for vs; is it not reason that we should acknowledge our selues beholden to him for our corne, & for our increase of cattell? On the contrary part, these Gods require the acknowledgement of those things to be done to themselues & to their Images. Gods inioyning of vs to sacrifize brute Beastes, is to witnesse the death that we deserue by our sinne: but they beare vs on hand, that by the death of a beast we be discharged from all sins. God saith vnto vs, your Sacrifices are nothing worth, I will haue obedience and not Sacrifize: your Oblations loath me, and your Incence stinketh: the thing that I loke for is a broken and a lowly heart. The false Gods speake of nothing but of the sheading of blod, without telling or knowing why or wherefore, without end, without ground, without signification, & without comming any whit nere the heart. Now then, what are they else than slauish rogues & rebelles, indeuouring to filch away the praise of our Creator? And yet for all their disguising of themselues for a time, they be not able to conceale their owne lewdnesse any long while. For they commaund vs to sacrifize Men, Maides, and Children vnto them. Had they ordeined such things at their first comming in, who would not haue abhorred them? But when they had once wound themselues into credite by some aunswers delightfull to our curious eares, and by some iuggling trickes which semed wonderful to ỹ weakenes of our eyes: we suffered them to go by little & little whither soeuer they thẽselues listed, as though it had bin vnpossible that they should haue said otherwise than wel, or that we should haue done otherwise than wel in obeying them. According wherunto we read, that children were sacrifized to Saturne, in Candy after the maner of the Curets; In Rhodomene, the sixth daye of the moneth Geitnion; In Phenice, in times of Plague, Warre, and Famine: and

Porphyrius in his booke of answers &c. Euseb. lib. 4 Cap. 4.

The Sacrifising of Men. Euseb. lib. 4. Cap. 7. Denis of Halycarnassus lib. 1. Diodorus of Sicilie. li. 20. Porphyrius in his booke of Abstinence. Histrus and Manethon cited by Eusebius. Tertullian in his booke of Apologie.

likewise in Afrik they sacrifized men, vntill the Vicecōsulship of Tyberius, who caused the Priestes themselues to be crucified in the same Woods where they were wont to do their Sacrifizes. Also the offered the like kind of Sacrifize in Cyprus to the Nimph Agrawlis, and to Diomedes; and in the Ile of Tenedos vnto Bacchus; and in Lacedæmon to Mars. And all these abhominations are reported by Porphyrius, who thereupon concludeth, that all such gods were of the wickedest sort of Diuels. Moreouer, we reade that Aristomenes of Messene Sacrifized three hundred men at once to Iupiter Ithometes, of whome Theopomp King of the Lacedemonians was one: And that the Latins Sacrifized the tenth of their own Children to Iupiter; and that because they had discontinued ỹ doing thereof, they thought them selues to be plagued with dearth and diseases. That those false gods themselues aunswered the Charthaginenses, that the misfortunes which lighted vpon them, happened for that whereas they had vsed to sacrifize the choicest of their children, they Sacrifized none but they rascalles, Chaungelings, Bastards, and Bondlings. The like was done by the Druides in Gaullond, by the Almanes, by the Scandinauians, by the Tawricanes and others; insomuch that Chyron the Centaure had such Sacrifizes offered yérely vnto him. So farre and with so passing superstitious crueltie was the Diuels kingdome extended, that the Diuel and none other could be the founder thereof. Who can now doubt after all this, but that those gods were diuels, which were workers of such things as not onely good men mislike, but also euen wicked men cannot but abhorre? In déde we reade that one Diphilus King of Cyprus, made the Idoll of Cyprus to be contented with an Ore in stead of a Man; and that Amosis King of Aegypt appointed that in stead of the three yong men which were wont to be sacrificed to Iuno in Heliople, there should be offered three Calues: and that afterward Pallas of Laodicea was contented with a Hynd: and that Hercules in traueling through Italy, gaue them men of Hay to be throwen into Tyber, but surely it had béene more to his commendation, if he had punished those gods, than to haue ouercome the great monsters for which he is so renowmed. Yet was that custome obserued still: Insomuch that euen in Rome, euery yere the same daye that men had beene wont to be sacrificed, the altars were washed with mans blood, howbeit, about a fourscore yeres afore ỹ cōming of Christ, the Senate had cōdemned such sacrifices at Rome. Now séeing that (as Seneca saith) they required such a seruice as Busyris or Phalaris durst neuer to haue demaūded: who wil not cōclude with Porphyrius, (as great an enimie to Christians as he was) that they were all diuels & wicked fiends? Or with Quintilian, that such gods could not be but witlesse & starke mad? And whereas the Senate which worshipped them, did neuertheless cōdemne

and

Erichtho in Lucane. The godly Aeneas in Virgill.

Cæsar in his bookes of his Warres in Gaullond. Procopius li. 2 of the warres in Gothland.

Eusch. li. 4 Cap. 7

The yere after the building of Rome. 657. Plinie, lib. 30. cap. 1 Quintilian in his booke of Fanaticall things.

and abolish their Sacrifices, was not their so doing a condemning of the founders of them also? I meane of the wicked Fiendes themselues, which required those kindes of Sacrifices so instantly, and were so sore offended at the discontinuing of them? Labeo whom men take for a great maister of those Misteries, said that the good spirits were to be discerned from the wicked by this, that this latter sort became not fauourable but by manslaughters and deadly supplications, (which was a flat condemning almost of them all: and that the other sort were pacified with Plaies, Gamings, Feastes and Banquetings, Pomeries and Maskinges, and such other thinges. But if these good ones (as they terme them,) delight in such thinges as wise men shunne & fooles are ashamed of, what followeth but that euen those good ones are worse than the worst men? Let vs examine their Plaies and shewes, for it is the difference that Labeo setteth downe. The Gods being sought vnto in an extreme plague, commaunded for asswaging thereof, that they should ordaine certaine Stageplayes. Contrariwise, Scipio Nasica the Bighpriest of those fiendes, to the intent (as he saide) to eschewe the plague, forbad the setting vp of ỳ Scaffolds. Now of this Scipio or the Gods, which I pray you shal be found the wiser? The Stageplaies that were ment, were tales of loue, of adulteris, and of lecheris, interlarded with a thousand filthy spéeches, insomuch that the Husbands forbad their wiues, and the Parents their Daughters to come at them. Fooles laughed at them, and wise men blushed at them, and all men at their going away from them, did with one cõmon consent banish the players of those Enterludes out of all good companie, and declared them to be infamous persons by excluding them from all Offices, and by reiecting them from bearing any witnes. Now seeing that the serning of God is so commendable a thing; if these were Gods, why was it an infamie and reproach to serue them? The requirers of those plaies, are honored; and why then are the plaiers of them reproched; The Greeks step vp to reason against the Romanes, and say that such Gods are worthy to be worshipped, their Stageplaiers deserue to be reuerenced too. This proposition of theirs is well grounded, and apparant of it selfe. But the Romanes taking another ground as sure as that, affirme it to be vnpossible for the Comedyplayers to deserue reputation, considering what they do & say. Whereupon we are to conclude, that those Gods ought not to haue bene worshipped at al. And so hath Nasica gotten the better hand against his own Gods and their Plaies. And yet are they the selfesame Gods that were confirmed by so many Oracles, whom Zosimus that great enemie of Christians so much bewaileth, that he affirmeth the welfare of the Romane Empire to haue ended with the abolishing of them by Constantine. And what else are the misteries which he highly commendeth,

Shamefull Seruices.

Austin in his second booke of the Citie of God, Cap. 11.

Austin in his first booke of the Citie of God. Cap. 32.

Austin. lib. 2. Cap. 4. 5. 6. 13. In infinite places in the Digestes.

Zosimus lib. 2.

but

but remembrances of the whoredomes, incests, murders, and deceites committed by the men whose names those Deuils did beare? And what man is so brazenfaced, as that he will not bee ashamed of his sinne, and blushe to here it tolde vnto him? Nay who doubteth that if those men were aliue againe, they would be both ashamed and astonished at those thinges before the standers by? And who then can doubt that those Gods were of the worst sort of Diuels, which not onely take pleasure in ill doing themselues, but also doe bedaube themselues with the euil which they did not? As for example, who woulde thinke that the goodly Gossip whom they call the Mother of the Gods, but whom the veriest kaytife in the world would be loth to haue to be his Mother, could haue heard the vilanous speeches wherewith hir feast was solēnised, and not haue hidden her selfe away for shame? And if Dame Flora could haue read the Floralles of Aulcius, who doubteth that she would not haue done the like, & much more bene abashed to se so great a Clerke and so graue a Senator as Cicero, caried with deuotion to the celebrating of them? For what else, at a worde, are all those misteries, but Schooles of Lecherie, Sodomie, and Incest? And if the ende of Religion be (as Plotin saith) to become like the partie that is worshipped, what else could be the marke that those Ceremonies aimed at, than to make men ripe in all sortes of wickednes? and what readier way could there be to become Diuels in deede, than to resemble them? For whereas they say that after their spewing out of all those filthy things openly, they giue some precepts of vprightnes and modestie to their Schollers in secret: thereby their naughtinesse appeareth the more plainely to be altogither diuelish, in that they first corrupt the manners of a whole people, both by their Religious Seruices and by their example, and afterward preach of modestie and temperance to two or three, making as it were publike Sermons of all naughtines, to lay the Bridle in euery mans necke, and then (to keepe credet with a fewe that are of more conscience then the rest) rowning thē secretly in the Eare with some litle talke of vertue. For who hath euer read that any of them did euer giue one good precept, or one good example to the people, whether it were for the withdrawing of them from vice, or for the drawing of them to true vertue? And yet notwithstanding to what end desire we to haue God or his blessed Angels conuersant with vs fraile and weake men, but that they of singular good will, should induce, leade, and guide vs into the way of saluation?

The Oracles of the Gods were false, vncertaine, vain and wicked.

But their defenders reply, saying: Yet notwithstanding, they prophesied and wrought great and strange miracles. Let vs omit that it is more naturall to beleeue the partie which preacheth good thinges, without diuinations and miracles, than to beleeue the partie that keepeth

peth a schoole of euils, though he prophesie & work miracles. But in the end what were the Oracles and Miracles which they so highly cõmende? The Oracle of Delphos was one of the greatest in reputation. The beginning thereof may be an argument for the rest. A heard of Goates (saith Diodorus) was the first meane to bring it into credit. And afterward a yong wench was set there, to vtter forth the Oracles which she receiued, (as they say) by her priuie partes. And for the slaunders that grewe thereof, it was ordained that the wench should be a maid of fiftie yeares olde. By these circumstances a man may gather what maner of God that could be. To Cresus therefore being desirous to knowe what should be the issue of his warres against the Persians, the Oracle answered.

King Cresus passing ouer Haty streame,
Shall ouerthrowe the poonde and stately Realme.

Cresus gathered hereof that he shoulde ouerthrowe the Empire of the Persians, but in deede he ouerthrew his owne; which thing the Oracle had prouided for aforehand, by making the answere so doubtfull that it might be taken both waies, yet was there great reason that Apollo should haue preserued Cresus: for of singular deuotion he had greately inriched his Temple at Delphos. And vnto Pyrrhus (as Ennius saith) he answered thus.

I say the sonne of Aeacus
The Romanes sure shall ouercome

Presuming hereupon that he should ouercome the Romanes, he himselfe was ouercome of them. Also he counseled the Athenians to flie before Xerxes: and he foretold the Salaminians that they should be ouercome by the Persians either in Winter or in Sommer. Who perceiueth not by these doubtfull spæches, that Apollo knew nothing certainly, and therefore that he euer left himselfe a backedore to scape out at al assaies? And as for the cumming of these foresayings to passe; who doubteth that Themistocles perceiuing so puisant an armie to approch, deemed not as much thereof himselfe, specially seeing that afore he had heard the answer of Apollo, he counseled his Countrimen to wait for their enemies vpon the sea? And what a number of wise Senatours & good Captaines were there (thinke we) in those free Cities and kingdomes, which would haue giuen their aduice more to the purpose in that case?

Zosimus reporteth that when the Palmirenes asked counsell, whether they should obtain the Empire of the East or no, an Oracle answered them in this wise:

Go get ye hence like guilefull folke and Couseners as yee be;
The things ye now do take in hand displease the Gods I see.

And some such other doth Zosimus report, whereof he maketh greate reckoning.

reckening. But what elſe are ſuch wandering and generall anſwers, but deceitful doubts, and (as ye would ſay) ſhoes that will fitte both feete, as agreeable to folke that are furtheſt off, as to the parties that aſke the Counſell? Therefore Oenomaus a Philoſopher and Orator of Greece, hauing oftentimes (as he himſelfe confeſſeth) beene beguiled by the Oracle of Delphos, gathered a regiſter of the lies thereof and did ſet forth a booke againſt it, intituled the falſehood of Oracles. And Porphyrius who likewiſe made a collection of them, euen without adding, diminiſhing or chaungeing ſo much as one word; ſaith that vpon examining of them, he found them ordinarily falſe: and he addeth the cauſe thereof to be, That their foretelling of things is not by foreknowledge, but by coniectures taken of naturall cauſes, and of the mouings and meetings of the Starres, as hath appeared in many Oracles. For Apollo being aſked by one whether he ſhould haue a Sonne or a Daughter, anſwered, a Daughter; becauſe (quoth Apollo himſelfe) that at the time of the conception, Venus ouerſhadowed Arares. And being aſked another time whether that yeare ſhould be vnhealthfull or no; he anſwered yea, becauſe the conſtellation thereof was daungerous for the Loongs: and ſo of other things. Howe many wiſe women and learned Phiſitions woulde haue anſwered that matter better, and yet for ſo doing men woulde not haue offered ſacrifice vnto them? Nay, which more is, Porphyrius ſaith that vpon a time, Apollo of Delphos being vnable to coniecture by the Starres, deſired folke to let him alone, telling them flatly that they were importunate vpon him, he would anſwer them with lies. And that at another time he anſwered flatly, that at that inſtant the courſe of the Starres could ſhewe him nothing. Now I pray you what maner of Gods are theſe, which learne their wiſedome of the Starres? Nay, which worſe is, howe can they be ſaid to be good ſpirites, which threaten to lie, if they be vrged too farre? And in good ſoth ſuch are the anſwers which the coniured Deuils do yelde yet ſtill at this day by theſe Sorcerers and Witches; for the doing whereof, theſe ſeruantes of theirs are by all lawes condemned to be burnt, as he was that deceiued Manfred when he was to fight with Charles Duke of Aniow in the Realme of Naples, by this doubtfull conſtruction of Grammer, *Non, non Gallus ſuperabit Appulum*: which may bee Engliſhed as doubtfully thus: No the French man the Italian ſhall not ouercome. For Manfred conſidered not that in Latin two Negatiues may counteruaile an Affirmatiue. Many ſuch other like trickes there are, which we may with leſſe trouble reade in Hiſtories. And if they know not the certaintie of the things that are demaunded of them; why doe we either worſhip them or wonder at them? And if they ſpeake that which they know not, are they not deceiuers? And if they ſpeak againſt their own knowledge,

Porphyrius in his bookes of the Anſwere of Oracles.

are

are they not liers? And if it belong vnto Gods to deceiue and to lie; wherefore doe we blame our neighbours and beate our children for so doing? Nay (which more is) to lie and to deceiue in matters of such importance, where the case concerneth the bloud of so many silie Soules, & the sacking of so many poore houses; who can denie it to be the propertie of the Deuill, who euen from his first beginning hath beene found to be both a Murtherer and a lier? As for Birdgazers, I haue touched them in a word or twaine afore. The Aegyptians obserued them after one sort, and the Africanes after another; the Greekes on the right side, the Romanes on the left: and Aristotle scorned them because they determined not the time; and Plinie mocked them, because that euen by their owne doctrine, they touched not them at all which had no regarde of them. Yea and euen the greatest Birdgazers themselues, as Cato, Cæsar, and Cicero made a mocke of it. And if at any time they happened to hit right vpon a thing; it was but after the maner of our Almanackes, the flat contrary whereof who so followeth, shal commonly come nearest the truth. Neuertheless, if their Gods foresawe any Plague by naturall Coniectures, as Philosophers, Phisitions, Hunters, and Shepheards also doe; they feined themselues to be angrie at some State or Common weale. And for what cause? Forsooth for omitting of common Plaies and Enterludes; that is to say, for shutting vp the Schooles of Lecherie and Ribaudrie: Or for that they had not made their wonted shewes of Fensers and Swordplaiers: that is to say, of men that slewe one another openly to please them withal, and to make a whole State guiltie of manslaughter & murder. And if they iudged by the season of the yeare that the Plague should ceasse: Then it was the goodly Sacrifices that had appeased them, and that made men the carefuller to continue them. Insomuch that whē the Romanes had lost the bloudie battell at Cannas; it was said to be, because their Consull Varro had put a faire young boie to the Galley. And when things went amisse in the City, it was either because some Daunser or Gamboider had displeased them at the Gamings and Shewes in the Kirke, or because some Malefactor had bin conueied that way to the Gallowes. What a Godhead is that I beseech you, which is prouoked to anger by Modestie, and appeased by mischiefe? In the fauour whereof a man cannot stand, but by dealing wickedly: but is so straungely offended by the doing of Iustice?

But let vs see further whether they be any better Diuines than Prophetes. The Oracle of Delphos saith thus:

A God in sooth is Cleomede, and not a mortall wight:
The last begot of heauenly race; an Altar to him dight.

This Cleomede was one of those that pleasured these Gods, by beating one another with strokes of hand and foote: of whome we read that he:

he slew his aduersary at one blow. But of such a one as Socrates, Plato, or Pythagoras, he would neuer haue said so much.

Againe he saith thus.

Archilochus is a very Saint and seruant of the Gods: Yea verily of such Gods in déede; for he chose the wickedest and lewdest subiect of whom to make his verse. But of Theognis, or of a Phocylides which had exhorted folke to good life, he would neuer haue said so much.

Of Cypselus he said thus.

A happie man is Cypselus and loued of the Gods. If it be so: then what are Busyris, Phalaris, and all other Tyrantes? For there neuer was a greater Tyrant than hee. But the said Oracle saide also, that Iupiter and Apollo had prolonged the life of Phalaris for his well handling of Cariton and Menalippus. Now, what fitter meane can there be to make Tyrants, (that is to say, enemies of mankind in the world) than to beare men on hande that such are beloued of the Gods? Zosimus their great patron, rehearseth an Oracle which answered, that for the appeasing of an Earthquake at Athens, it behoued them to honor Achilles as a God. This was a plaine turning away of man from God to the creature. The same answered likewise to the men of Methymnus that it behoued them to worship a wodden head of Bacchus that was found by fishing in the sea. And this was a making of them more blind than the stocke it selfe. And when they were demanded concerning the maner of worshipping and seruing these Gods; they answered:

καὶ κεφαλὰς χρυσέας, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα.

That it to say:

Send you the heads to Iupiter, the lights vnto his Syre.

The dubble signification of the Greeke word φῶς Fos, which signifieth man, and may also signifie a Torch or a Light, did cut off the liues of many folkes. Which doubtfulnesse of speach the Idolcoueted, not of any intent to spare them, but to haue matter of excuse against such as made conscience to doe it. For being asked by the Athenians how they might make amends for their killing of Androgeus; hee willed them to send yéerely to King Minos, seauen bodies of either sex chosen from among them all, to appease the wrath of God; and that kinde of Sacrifice continued still in Athens in the time of Socrates. Now then, what else is all their doctrine than a seruing of the Deuill and of Creatures, yea euen with a seruice which in very déede is deuilish and horrible? All these Oracles are reported by Oenomaus a Heathen man, who sought them out: by Porphyrie our enemie, who by them would induce vs to make great account of them; who in the beginning of his booke, appealeth vnto God that he setteth not any thing downe of his owne heade: by Chrysippus the stoike in his booke of Destinie, who by those Oracles

goeth

goeth about to proue it: and by Zosimus himselfe, who maketh so great moane to see their mouthes stopped and their Temples shut vp. And surely it is not to be marueled, though the Peripatetikes putting them to triall, did vtter great greefes against those Oracles: & that the Platonistes (which went to worke faithfully) were driuen to conclude, that not onely the vncleane Spirites, but also euen their Gods whom they thought to be pure, were subiect to lying.

Let vs come to their Miracles. In the temple of Venus there was a Lampe that neuer went out; and the Image of Serapis hung vnfastened in the aire. Diuers deceits may be wrought in the like case; and it is wel knowne that the like wonders are seene euen in natural things as a Fountaine to light a Torch, and a stone to hang by yron in the aire. And they which haue the skill to vse such things, and to gether together the vertues of many into one, may wonderfully bleare the eies, euen of the wisest. As for example, it hath bene seene that some haue founde out a deuise how to burne vp one water with another; and to breake open a strong Locke, almost without touching it. And that the Fiends (which know more than we) do better serue their own turnes with the wonders of Nature than we doe, it is not to be doubted: Insomuch that the Phisition which knoweth the vertues of Herbes, maketh things of them which the Gardiner that sowed them & cherished them vp would wonder at and cannot doe. But loe here a strange case Accius Nauius the great Birdgazer of Rome, did cut a sunder a Whetstone with a Rasor in the presence of the King Tarquine. What a number of Witches are daily burned which doe much more by their familiaritie with the Deuill? For they stop a Tunne that is pearced full of holes; they holde fast a waterspout from running; and they binde the naturall abilities: and yet notwithstanding they confesse that there so doing is by the wicked spirits, and the wicked spirits discouer not themselues otherwise than so vnto them. And in very trueth, the Angels and the Fiends differ not properly in strength and power, but in will and practise: like as among men, the good men differ not frō the wicked men either in strength of bodie or in stoutnesse of courage, but in the applying of their bodies and mindes. Also it may be that the Image of Feminine Fortune hath spoken, and likewise the Image of Iuno Moneta, and such others: And that Castor and Pollux haue wiped away the sweat from the Horses of the Romanes as they traueled: And that the Ladie Claudia drewe the Shippe wherein the Idol of the Goddesse Bona was, which so many yong men could not once stirre. Let vs admit all these things to be true, notwithstanding that Titus Liuius say that he becommeth old in reckoning them vp. We stand not to dispute whether spirits can speake by Images or no: for we doubt not therof. But I say that the

False Miracles.

Spirites

Spirites which speake in them be wicked Spirites, and turne vs away to the Creature, to make vs offend the Creator. Neither do I hold opinion that Spirits cannot take bodies vpon them; nor that they be vnable to do feates farre passing the power of men: for thereof examples are to be séene, yea moe than were requisite. But the thing that I vphold is this, that the Spirites which séeke to haue the praise of a victorie obtained, or of the asswaging of a Plague, which is due but to the only one God; or which will haue them ascribed to Fortune, which is but an imagination; or to a Iuno, which is but a blocke; or to a good Goddesse the mother of the Gods, a mother whom the veriest wretches in the world (as I said afore) would disclame to be their mother, are very Deuels. And in good soth, whereas the Deuil which toke vpon him the name of that Goddesse, suffred himself to be drawne by Claudia, who had so ill report among all men: It agréed very wel to the life which the Goddesse her selfe had led, and to the miracles of the Fiendes, and to the marke that they shot at: namely, to giue the more boldnesse to Claudia to continue her lewde life, and occasion vnto others to follow her.

Also one was counted a God because he draue away Grashoppers; another because he killed Frogges, Crickets, and Flies. And hereof it came that the Chananites called their Belzebub, and the Greekes their Iupiter, by the name of Scarefly. Another (saith Zosimus) sent Birds to deuoure the Grashoppers. Admit that all these effects haue not their particuler causes: yet what miracles are they to make Gods withall? For by that reckoning, why should not those also which by certaine reciets do kill Serpents, Rats, and Fétomice, or which do moreouer driue away vermin out of mens bodies, be counted Gods? Nay, if we wil sée miracles, let vs loke vpon the doings of the onely one God, which are vtterly vnpossible, wonderful, and vncommunicable to any creature. He made the world, and he destroyed it. He made the Sea, and he drieth it vp. He made the Sun, and he causeth it to stand still. Yea and (which is yet much more) he made al these things by his word, and with a blast of his mouth he chaungeth them as he listeth. These are the miracles of the God of Israel, which haue not there like among the other Gods. And if they will deale vprightlie in disputing, they must as well beleeue our bookes for these miracles, as we beleeue their bookes for theirs.

Iupiter ἀπομύιος.

Also if we loke vpon the miracles of the good Spirites, and of the seruãts of that one God; they be not castes of Légierdemaine to dazle mens eies withall; nor nimble trickes and sleights, nor wonders to no ende, to no reason, to no instruction: but when they strike, it is to chastice men; and when they heale, it is to glorifie God. If they speake, it is to teach; and if they appeare to vs, it is to lead vs to welfare. If they foretell,

foretell, they do it as messengers from God; and if they worke miracles, they doe it as executers of his power. And they be so farre off from being angrie at a Song mistuned, or at a Gambauld misbegun in the honor of them after the maner of the Heathen Gods; that (as we reade in our Scriptures) they be offended with nothing more, than when men thanke them or honor them for the things which they ought to thanke and to worship the Creator. Markes whereby to knowe Diuels.

By the tokens which the Platonists giue vs thereof, we shal perceiue yet better whether those Gods were good Spirites or bad, Angels or Deuils; notwithstanding that that Sect was too too much ouertaken in the seruing of them. The Deuils or wicked spirits (saith Porphyrius) delight in bloudshed, in filthy and ribawdly speech, in giuing poyson, in furnishing folke with charmes of loue, and in prouoking them to lecherie, and to all vices. Yea, and they beare men on hande, that all the Gods and the very soueraigne GOD himselfe taketh pleasure in such things; either fayning themselues to bee the Soules of some deade folkes, or taking vpon them to be Gods. Which of all these tokens haue I not noted already in their Gods? Againe (saith Porphyrius) They turkining themselues as much as they can into Gods, that is to say, into Angels of light, to beguile our sence and imagination with strange vanities: Insomuch that he that is the cheefe of them, wil needes bee esteemed to bee the soueraign God. And yet notwithstanding, their foretelling of things is but by gesse, & al of them generally be subiect to lying and deceiuing. They be angry at euery small trifle; and are pacified againe with fond and vaine thinges. Neuertheless they haue beguiled some vaine Poets and Philosophers, and consequently by them haue drawen the sillie people to the worshipping of them as Gods. What is al this but a description of the verie same Gods whom hee himselfe worshipped? Likewise Iamlicus who maketh an Anatomie of them, saith thus. They transforme themselues (saith he) into good Spirites; but in deede it is but a brag whereby they pretend more than they be in deede. They make a gallant showe, and daunt men with their words. They play the Gods, and yet are troubled with light passions. But the great Witch Apuleius saith yet more. They be pacified with giftes (saith he) and wroth with wrongs. They be pleased with Ceremonies, and angred with the want of them be it neuer so little. They take vpon them the ruling of Birdgazers and Bowelgazers, and of the Oracles and Miracles of Witches and Wizards. To be short, they be vnkindly wights, passionate of Spirit, reasonable of vnderstanding, ayrie of bodie, and endlesse of time. To whom can these thinges agree but to his owne Gods? And what remayneth then, but that they were Deuels; so much the more miserable, as they be more vehement in their passions, and immortall in their nature.

Porphyrius in his second booke of Abstinence.

In his Epistle to Anebon alledged by Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 11.

Iamblicus in his booke of misteries in many places.

Iamblicus in his booke of Misteries.

Apuleius.

Now is there nothing behind but their owne Confession, and thereof we shall not yet faile. Apollo therefore as one vpon the Racke, both in many of his Oracles acknowledge the Soueraigne God, and to make the most of himselfe, he termeth himselfe one of his Angels, as appeareth by this Oracle of his alledged afore.

We Angels are a parcell of the Soueraigne God of all.

And being asked vpon a time by what name he would be called and praide vnto, he answered,

Call mee the feend that knowes all things to whom belongs all skill.

And in another;

The wittie Feend, the Harmonie and Cresset of the World.

And againe.

We Feendes which runne through Sea and Land, do tremble shrinke and shake,
To see the Whip of that great God which makes the World to quake.

Ὑμνοῦσι μὲν μυρία φαῦλα καὶ εἰς ἀδίκους. Austin in his ninth booke of the Citie of God. chap. 19.

And yet notwithstanding, the Greeke word Dæmon (which is the word whereby they termed their Gods, and which in this place I english Feend) was so odious euen among the learned men themselues who knewe the originall thereof, that they would haue bene loath to cal a Slaue so. But when as we reade further that these Gods do quake at the naming of the Stigian marris; that is to say of Hell, insomuch that euen Iupiter himself sweareth therby, and is afraid to be forsworne: what else is to be thought thereof, but that these Gods which faine themselues to raigne in heauen, are tormented in hell? Besides this, the miracles and Oracles of these Gods are come to an ende, and their Seruices and sacrifices are come to nought, and at length folke haue acknowledged the onely one God the maker of Heauen and Earth, and ruler of the whole world, to be the same whom the Iewes haue worshipped. And in that respect it is that Seneca cried out, That the Slauish Iewes had giuen lawe to the whole Earth. But who can marueil that he which made both the world and man, should in the end make men to acknowledge him to be as he is? So then, let vs conclude for these last three Chapters, That there is but onely one God; That the same was worshipped, serued and called vpon by the people of Israell: That the Gods of the Heathen were men; That vnder the names of those men, diuels were worshipped; and finally that our first marke whereby to knowe the true God, is not to be found elsewhere then in the Iewish Religion; whereupon it followeth that all other Religions were Idolatrie and Vanitie. For whereas some alledge in excuse, that the serving of many Gods may wel match with the serving of the onely one; If they be Gods indeed, that is to say Angels; they take themselues to haue wrong for they seeke nothing but the honoring of God. And if they be Deuils,

then

then are they Gods enemies; and then the worshipping of them is a rebelling against God. To be short, as little agreement is betweene the seruice of the true God, and the seruice of the Heathen Gods, as is betweene light and darkenesse; the true goodnesse and vtter naughtines; most extreame holinesse of will, (which is in him) and extreame lewdnesse of will (which is in them;) welfare and soulehealth, whereof we be desirous, and destruction and wretchednesse, which they haue purchased to themselues by their rebellion.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

That in Israel Gods word was the Rule of his Seruice; which is the second marke of true Religion.

NOwe haue we seene by the former Chapters, how blinde man is in matters concerning God, and his owne welfare; seeing that in stead of the true God his maker and Sauiour, he hath worshipped not onely the vilest and basest creatures, but also the verie enemies of Gods glorie & of his own welfare. And that ought to warne vs the more, how needful this second marke that I haue giuen forth, is in religion; namely that Gods worde is the Rule of his seruice. For surely he that ouershooteth himselfe so farre as to take, not a Starre but the verie darkenesse it selfe for the Sunne: cannot but ouershoote himselfe much more in discoursing of his owne nature, course, and vertue. And like as hee that hath missed his way at his first settingforth, the more he hasteth him the more he goeth astray: so doubtlesse he that is ouerseene in the object of Religion, that is to say, the true GOD, the more he talketh of Religion and diuine seruice, the more shall he blaspheme the name of the euerlasting, and the further shal he wander away from his welfare. The heathen (as we haue

ſéne) did worſhip the deuil in ſted of the true God; & what ſeruice inſued thereof? Playes, Fables, Combats; which were Schooles of whoredome, of Inceſts and of murder; bloodie Sacrifices, and ordinarie manſlaughters. If their godlineſſe, were ſuch, what might their vngodlines bée? Theſe extréeme miſchéefes made ſome to ſuſpect that there was an abuſe. But what did that auaile them? One ſort ſaid, ſéeing that Religion conſiſteth in ſuch thinges, it were méete to be baniſhed quite out of the World: and thereof ſprang the Schoole of Epicurus: and that is a falling from one breakenecke to another. Another ſort ſacrificed as the common people did; and held opinion in their hearts with the wiſeſt ſort. Such were Ariſtotle, Cicero and others; of whom the former bequeathed a Sacrifice to Ceres by his laſt will; and the other celebrated the ſhamefull feaſtes of the Goddeſſe Flora. What elſe is this, than a mocking of God, a deceiuing of folke of ſet purpoſe, and a betraying of their owne ſaluation? There haue béene ſome fewe who in their writinges haue let ſlip ſome words againſt ſuch vngodlines, & haue taught that there is but onely one God, and that he was not ſerued with ſuch Ceremonies. But when they come to giue a rule of Religion, at what point are they? One ſpeakes one thing and another another, euerie man after his owne fancie. They diſpute and crie out one againſt another, to ouerthrow one another. But if ye take the hotteſt of them aſide, and let them cole the heate a little; they will tel you that they be ſcarce ſure of that which they aſſure you; and that they be but the opinions of men, & therfore are diſputable on both ſides; onely they thinke they finde more likelihood of trueth in their owne, than in the opinion of their aduerſaries. To be ſhort, among al the things which the wiſe men of the world haue written here & there of the ſeruice of God, ye may hap to find ſome one good ſaying in a hundred yeares, & ſome one other in another hundred: but when ye haue gathered them altogether as diligently as ye can yet ſhal ye not be able to make of them neither Rules, nor Grounds, nor ſcarcely good Problemes. So greatly is man by his corruption, both blinded in thinges concerning God, and retchles in things that concerne his owne welfare. Yet is it ſoth (& ſo haue we proued,) that God hath ſet mã in this world to ſerue God his Creator; & that ſeruice we cal Religion. Wherupon it followeth, that euen ſince the firſt time that there was any man in the world, there hath alſo béene religion. For the duty which man oweth vnto God, is of the ſame date that man himſelf is; and the dutie which he oweth vnto God, is true godlineſſe and Religion. Again, Religion could not be the inuention of Man: for the inuention of men tending to their owne pleaſure or profit, proceed from ground to ground from principle to principle, and from experience to experience, and at the firſt are rude & afterward are poliſhed, not by the ſame man that found

them

them out, but most commonly a hundred yeare or twaine after: whereas Religion (that is to say, mans dutie toward Gods) was not so much instituted as bred with man, for his own welfare & for the glory of God. The thing (say I) without the which, God should not haue made man, and man might haue bene sorie that he had bene made; ought (euen at the first beginning) to be perfect and fully accomplished to his end: which thing Religion could not be, if it were deuised by mans braine, considering that after his fall he was striken with ignorance in his wit, and with frowardnesse and lewdenesse in his will. Néeds therefore must it be, that the rule of Gods seruice was giuen to man by God himself, who alonly is able to vtter his owne will, to make rules of his seruice, and to tell vs what things do please him. Now, true Religion is the true seruice of the true God: and the true God (as I haue proued alreadie) was not knowne in olde time elsewhere than in Israel. As for the Gods of the Gentiles, they were Deuils, and consequently their Oracles were the worde of Deuils. Whereupon it followeth that there is no séeking for the true seruice of God and for the true word of God, but onely among the people of Israell; yea and that it must of necessitie also be found there. For séeing that of necessitie there must néedes be a Religion; and that in Religion there must néeds be a rule proceéding from God according to which rule God wil be serued; and that God was serued in Israel and no where els: The Rule which we séeke must néeds be found in Israel to. For as it is vnpossible that it should be elsewhere, because the true God was not anywhere else: so is it not possible that it should not be there, forasmuch as there was one there, and that the true God also was there. Now therefore, the people of Israel had alwaies certaine bookes which we call the Bible or olde Testament, which bookes they reuerenced & followed as the very word of God, whereby he hath shewed vnto men after what maner he wil be serued & worshipped. And those bookes haue bene kept continually from time to time, euen since the creation of the world: & they haue bene of such authoritie among the true Israelites, that they beléeued not any other bookes, & for the maintenance of them haue indured wars, oppressions, banishments, remouings, deaths, and slaughters; which are such things as are not to be found among other Nations, notwithstanding that the Lawmakers of other Nations in giuing them their lawes, made them beléeue that they proceéded from the Gods, because it was a thing as good as granted among al men, that the setting downe of rules for Religion and for mans Soulehealth, belonged onely vnto God. And therefore we might well gather this conclusion, whereof the premises are proued heretofore; That there is but one true God, one true Religion, one true Rule of seruing God, reuealed by and from the true God. And that this true God was not knowne and

What and where the true Religion is.

worshipped elsewhere than among the people of Israel. Unto Israel then was the said word reuealed, and that word must néeds be the Bible or olde Testament, whereby the Israelites were taught the seruice of God. But forasmuch as we haue to doe with folke that will soner be driuen to silence by arguments, than perswaded by reason to beléeue, as though it stode God on hand to perswade them for his honor, and not them to beléeue for their owne welfare: I will by the Readers leaue, set forth this matter at large.

Marks whereby to discerne Gods word.

First of all, forasmuch as there is a seruice of God to be had; and that seruice should rather bée a misseruice than a seruice, if it were not according to his will; and his will cannot be conceiued of vs by coniectures, but must be manifested vnto vs by his word; I aske them vpon their conscience, if they were to discerne that word from all others, by what markes they would knowe it, that they might not be deceiued. This word (say I) is the rule of Gods seruice and the way of welfare. Unto this seruice is man bound from his very creation, and it is the marke whereat he ought to shote from his very birth. Will it not then be one good marke of this word, if it be auncienter than all other Lawes and Rules, than all other words, than all inuentions of men? And will it not be another good marke, if it tend to none other end, than the glorifying of God and the sauing of mankind? If (say I) it withdrawe man from all other things to lead him vnto God, and to turne him out of all bypaths? how great pleasure so euer there be in them, to lead him to saluation? May I say yet more. If we finde things in the Scripture which no Creature could euer haue foretolde or spoken; things which coulde neuer haue come into any mans minde; things not onely aboue but also against our nature; Will any man be so wilfull and so very an enemie to his owne welfare, as not to yéeld and agrée, when he séeth both the hand, the signe, and the Seale of God? In déede I vndertake a matter beyond my abilitie; but yet the higher it is, the more will God aid me with his grace. And first of al, forasmuch as the world was made for man and man for God, and man could neuer be without true Religion, nor true Religion without the word of God: I demaund of the great Nations and flourishing kingdomes that haue giuen Lawes to al the world, and among whom the liberall sciences, artes, and learning haue bene most renowmed; whether any one of them is to be found that hath had a Law set downe in writing, concerning the true seruice of the true God? Yea or one word either right or wrong that hath béene beléeued to proceéd from him, I meane from the only one euerlasting God the maker of Heauen and Earth? Also I demaund of them whether among the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes, and Romanes, a man shall finde an Historie of Religion deduced from the first beginning of the world, and continued

That the Bible is of more antiquitie thā all other writings.

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so on from time to time, and from age to age? And on the contrarie part, whether there be any Heathen man which is not driuen to confesse, that the very latest writer of our Bible, is of more antiquitie than the auncientest authors that are renowmed among the Gentiles? And whether that little which the Gentiles haue learned concerning God be not borowed from other men; and finally whether in matters of religion, they haue not walked by groping, without light and without any direction? This matter is handled at large by diuers auncient writers. Neuertheleſſe, for the ease of them which cannot reade them all, I will gather them here together in fewe words.

The Bible beginning at the creation of the world and of man, leadeth vs from time to time, and from Father to Sonne, euen vnto Christ. It deliuereth vs a diuision of men into Gentiles and Israelites, into Idolaters & true worshippers of the Soueraigne God; and their comming together againe into one after a certaine time, and by a meane appointed euerlastingly to that end by God. And the writers thereof are Moyses, Iosua, the Chronicles of the Iudges and Kinges, the Prophetes euerie of them in his time, Daniel, Nehemias, and Esdras; of whom euen these latest were about three thousand and fiue hundred yeares after the creation, and yet were they afore any Chronicles of the world were in the residue of the worlde. I desire all the Antiquaries of this time, which make so great account of the antiquitie of the Greekes and Romanes, or of an old Coyne, or of a wetherbeaten Piller, or of a halfeaten Epitaphe, what finde they like vnto that? Esdras is the latest in the Canon of the Hebrewe writers, and yet liued he afore the time that Socrates taught in Athens. And what rule of Religion was there among the Greekes of his time, who condemned him for speaking of the onely one God? At the same time were Pythagoras, Thales, Xenophanes, and the seauen Sages which haue borne so great fame in Greece, who in their whole life time had said some good words concerning maners, and conuersation among men, but as for God, they haue spoken nothing of him but dreamingly, nor deemed of him, but ouerthwartly, nor knowen ought of him but that little which they learned of the Aegyptians. Thither went Orpheus, Homere, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, Heraclitus, Democrates, Thales, Oenopis, and the residue of them to schole, as they them selues doe highly boast in their Bookes. And what learned they there but Superstition, as I haue shewed afore? And what else then could they bring into Greece? And what might their ignorance be, seeing they were counted wise so good cheape? Of the same date are the lawes of Solon in Athens, & (anon after) of the twelue Tables at Rome which the Romanes sent to seeke in Greece by the aduice of one Hermotimus an Ephesian. As touching God and his seruice, which should be the

Cicero in his second booke of the Ends of things.
Aulus Gellius in his 20 book Cap. 1.
Denis of Halycarnassus lib. 1. cap. 2.
Plinie lib. 34. cap. 5.
Pomponius ff. of the originall of Lawe.

ground of all good lawes, scarce was there one word of very Iustice in deede, further than peculiar interest required, which was very little. But shall we seeke the lawe of godlines at the hand of the Greekes and Romaines, who a three thousand and fyre hundred yeres after the Creation of the world, knew not whether there were many Gods or but only one? Ne knewe any further of Religion, than they had learned by their Trafficke into Aegypt? Who in respect of others are of so late time in the world, and (which worse is) had reigned three or fower hundred yeres without inquiring after godlinesse and righteousnesse? Surely we must hold vs to this point, that since, the verie first breeding of man in the world, there hath alwaies bene Religion in the worlde. For he was not bred in vaine: neither could there be any Religion without reuealing from God. For (as the Philosophers say of nature) God faileth not in things needful. And therefore where men haue bene so lateward, and God so smally knowne; there we shal not find them. For as for the Oracles, that is to say the sayinges of the Deuils that abused them; if they were of elder time than the people, they spake not to them: and if they were bred after them, then were they newe. And in verie trueth, euen by their own Histories, the first original of the false gods of Greece & of their miracles, toke beginning about the wars of Troy, which befell about the time of the Iudges, towards the two thousand & eighthundred yeare after the creation of the world. The great Kings of Assyria be of more antiquitie than the Greekes; for they fell into the times of the Kinges and Prophets of Israel, whereas there was not any notable thing in the storie of the Greekes afore the Captiuitie of Babylon. But how will they shewe vs any lawe concerning the seruice of God, yea or how could they haue any, seeing they forsoke the true God & worshipped false Gods? Nay, as touching those false Gods, what memorial almost haue we of them, but in the Bible, & that is of the victories which the true God had against them, & of his Conquests ouer them, which are spoken of from leafe to leafe, to their ouerthrow & vtter confusion? Contrariwise, what be the Kings of Israel, but maintainers, & the Prophets but expounders of the law of Moyses? These as publishers thereof from time to time, to the intent that folke should not forget it, which thing we see not in any other Nation; and the other as compellers of men to obserue it, as whereunto euen kings themselues are bound. But if we goe backe from the time of the setting forth of the law of Moyses; what haue the Heathen of that time to set against it? I say not one lie in respect of Godlines, but also for Iustice, & welnere for the common society of men: The Athenians wil alledge Cecrops the founder of their City, & the Thebans their King Ogyges. And of them they terme all things of antiquitie, Cecropian & Ogygian; And peraduenture they wil tel vs that at that

time

time folke bred out of the earth in the countrie about Athens; as though they spake of Muscheromes and Grashoppers. And when they saye so, what shall we looke for at their handes concerning the seruice of God & heauenly things, sith they thinke them to haue bene bred of the earth? But yet they will not deny that this Cecrops was an Aegyptian, who brought them certeine lawes for the ordering of Mariage; which is a sure proofe that they were vtterly ignorant of the law of God and man. Long time after him came their Gods and Oracles; insomuch that all the Greekish Hystorie is (as ye would say) tungryde for many hundred yeres after, like a broke that loseth himself within thirtie paces of his first spring. Among the Aegyptians and Syrians there was more forme of gouernement; but as for Religion, they worshipped the Heauens, the Planets, and the Starres, which are in very deede made for man, & for mans vse are put vnder certeine lawes by God, and therefore much lesse are those Gods able to make men subiect vnto them. And if there were any among them that knew more than others, it was the Birdgazers & the Bowelgazers, which are a kind of Witches that turned men away from God to the Creatures, & therefore in no wise directed them to Saluation. But what shal we finde among the people of Israell at that time? A Moyses that preacheth but the onely one God, and teacheth from him how he wil be serued; and a Law that setteth the bounds both of Religion and Policie; and the duetie of man both towards God & his neighbour; which euery seuenth day is read openly to all the people; which the Kings haue before their eyes, the Priestes beare about them, the fathers teach to their children, and the Maisters to their seruaunts, and which the verie walles and forefronts of their houses do shewe both to strangers and to their houshold folke. At the happiest time that ye can chose in Rome or Athens, (for I am willing to omit their barbarousnesse) what haue wee, (I say not of Religion, but of Order in Justice & state of Gouernement) that commeth any thing neere to that? Contrariwise, what law was there euer set forth among thē, which was not abolished againe ere it was knowne to the people? Or who made account of it but the Lawyers? Or who brake not the lawe afore he knewe it? To be short, where haue we read ỹ any whole Nation were al Lawyers and all skilfull in the Laws of God and men, but the people of Israell? And why was that, but because the same Law conteined the rule of welfare, the which it was meet that all folke without exception should know and vnderstand, because that naturally all men ought to tend vnto their saluation? And as touching the antiquitie of Moyses the setter forth of that Lawe among that people; I will not haue ye to beleeue me, but the Gentyles themselues. The very ground of the antiquitie of Greece (say Diodorus and Denis of Halycarnassus,) was Inachus, who

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Denis of Halycarnassus.

lined twentie Generations (that is to say, about foure hundred yéres) afore the warres of Troy. And Ptolomie of Mendese a priest of Aegypt, (who gathered his Historie out of the holy Registers of the Aegyptians) sayd that Amosis King of Aegypt reigned the same time that Inachus reigned in Greece, & that in the time of the same Amosis, Moyses went out of Aegypt with ỳ people of Israel. The same thing is affirmed by Appion the Grammarian the great enemie of the Iewes: and also confirmed by Berosus the Babylonian, Polemon, Theodotus, Ipsicrates, and Moschus, writers of the Stories of the Phenicians, cited by Eusebius and Affricanus. Eupolemus in his booke of the Kings of Iewrie sayth, that Moyses taught letters to the Iewes; the Iewes to the Phenicians; and the Phenicians to the Greekes by Cadmus. And so by that ecknoning, Moyses should be, not onely of more antiquitie in their Historyes, but also of more antiquitie than all Historyes.

Appion in the fourth booke of his Historie against the Iewes.

Eusebius li. 10. Cap. 3.

Numenius sayeth, that Plato and Pythagoras had nothinge but from the Aegyptians and Syrians, and namely from Moyses, insomuch that hee recyteth his historie almost worde for worde as wee haue it in the Bible, saying that Moyses was a great Diuine, Lawmaker, and Prophet. Also Diodorus of Sicilie sayth, that he vnderstode by the Aegyptians, (who notwithstanding were enemies to Moyses and to all his race) that he was the first Lawgiuer of all, and moreouer a man of great courage, & of very commendable life, & that the Iewes estéemed him as a God, as wel for the knowledge that he had of God, as for his authority & preheminence. And he (sayth Diodorus) gaue a Law vnto ỳ people of Israel, which he sayd he had receyued of Iah, for so do they cal the God whom they worship. And who is this God Strabo sheweth vs sufficiently where he saith, That Moyses hauing rebuked the Aegyptians for their vanities and follies, and for resembling God (who is to be worshipped and serued otherwise) by the Images of Beastes and Men; withdrew himselfe from among them that he might serue God. To be short, Porphyrius in his fourth booke against Christians, beareth this record of Moyses, that he had written the historie of the Iewes truely, which thing he had perceyued by conferring it with Sachoniathon the Berutian, who rehearseth the very same circumstances; the which he had learned out of the Registers of one Hierobaal a Priest of the God of Leuie, that is to say, of the God of Israel, and out of the Chronicles of the cities, and out of the holye bookes which were wont to be dedicated to temples. And this Sachoniathon (saith he) was somewhat after the time of Moyses, about the time of Semiramis. Now, Porphyrius giueth vs here more than we aske. For we set Abraham in the time of Semiramis, & Moyses came certeine hundred yéres after: Now then, the bookes of Moyses do lead vs vp from Sonne to Father vnto Abraham,

Strabo lib. 15

Porphyrius li. 4

Eusebius in his booke of preparation to the Gospell.

from

from Abraham to Noe, from Noe to the first man, & from the first man to God the creator, beyond whome it is not possible to passe any further, as I haue proued alreadie: and intreating of the creation wee must alwayes nedes come back againe. And throughout al this discourse Moyses telleth vs of the things that God hath discouered vnto men, and the lawes which he hath giuen after maner of a couenant, to the intent they should be his people, & he should be their God: The which couenant it had surely bin both a shame & folly for him to haue druised for that hardharted & stubborne people, whome hee burdeneth not with any other thing, but that which was notoriously knowen vnto them, and thereby they were certified of their original nativitie. Neither is it to be suspected that he wrote these things (as some list to saye) to get authoritie to himselfe and his; for he bringeth his Graundfather Leuy with an open marke of reproch expressed in these words of Iacobs Testament: Simeon & Leuy are cruell instruments, in their vanquishings, &c. Cursed be their wrath, for it was shamefull; I will deuide them in Iacob, & scatter them in Israel, &c. As who should say, he meant to disgrade Leuy & al his race: to the saying whereof nothing compelled him. Also hee reproueth Aarons idolatrie & Maries murmuring, notwithstanding that he was his brother & she his sister: and he repeateth oftentimes, that for his own fault, God had told him that he should see the land of Canaan, but not enter into it. To be short, he ordeineth & leaueth Iosua to be his Successor, whereas by reason of the authoritie which he had among that people, he might by al likelihod haue set vp his own sonnes. And yet we see ỳ naturally we conceale the faults of our parents, & corrupt their pedegrées to make them the more vertuous, & our selues ỳ more commendable by their vertue, and we be loth to acknowledge our owne faults. (I meane euen the homelieſt men of vs all) except it be among our most secret friends, & as late as we can. Much lesse can we finde in our harts to publish them to ỳ knowledge of posteritie. To be short, we be so desirous to leaue honor & estimation to our children, ỳ such as would not haue bin ambitious for themselues, cannot refraine frō being ambitious for their posteritie. Now then, what may we conclude thereof, but that hee yelded the honor of his ancestors, & his owne too, vnto Gods glory & the trueth? And although we proceed not so farre as to conclude absolutely, ỳ he wrote at that time as frō God, & not as from man: yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as in his writings he strippeth mans nature naked, ought we not at leastwise to conclude, ỳ he which made lesse account of himself & his than of ỳ truth, would not haue preferred vntrueth before it for any respect? Some miserable kaytife that is quarelous against his own welfare, wil say here, Admit ỳ Moyses, Iosua, Dauid, Esay & others were as ancient as ye list: yet how shal I be sure that those bookes also

Gene. 49. 5. 7

Obiections.

were

were as auncient, and of their writing? It were inought to answere him, How beléeuest thou that such bookes or such were Platoes, Aristotles and Ciceroes. Marry (saiest thou) because they haue bene conueyed vnto vs from thē from hand to hand? Vse thou the like equitie towards ỹ others, which as great a number of men doe assure thée to haue come frō them. But if that will not perswade them, yet want we not wherewith to inforce them. First and formost I appeale to ỹ conscience & iudgement of all persons, which knowe what it is to indite, whether ỹ style of the Scriptures bée not such and so peculiar, as it cannot by any meanes bée counterfeited or disguised. And if there bee any that will nédes doubt thereof, I pray him to make a triall thereof but in some one side of a leafe, be it in plainnesse of setting things downe as they were done, or in feruentnesse of praying, or in pithinesse of Prophesying: and he shall forthwith perceiue, that as well in the matter it selfe as in the manner of indyting, there is a certeine newe taste in sted of the old, which is peculiar to all times, so as no man can atteyne to the same naturall veyne, the same zeale, and the same efficacie, vnlesse he be led by the same hand, moued by the same spirit, and pricked with the same spurre that Moyses, Dauid, and the Prophetes were. To be short, if it be hard to father a booke vpon Plato, Herodotus, and Hipocrates, but that he which shall haue read them aduisedly, will by and by espie it euen a farre of; So is it as vnpossible to father the other bookes vppon those which haue a stile so farre differing from other writings, vnlesse a man will beare himselfe on hand, that such bastardbookes were made in the same ages or nére about the same times that those Authors lined in. Let vs sée how it may be possible to haue bene done in the same ages. Moyses published the Lawe before al the people, & he curseth the partie with death both of body & soule, which shall adde, diminish or alter any thing. He bindeth the people househould by househould, to take fast hold thereof. His bookes are deliuered to euery Trybe, they be read openly euery Saboth day, they be kept carefully in the Arke, and the Arke is kept as carefully by al the Trybes. And that this was don, it appeareth not onely by his booke, but also by the effects that insewed therof from time to time, and by the footesteps thereof which are euident euen yet among the Iewes. If it be possible for a booke to bé preserued from falsifying, & foisting what booke shal ỹ be but the Byble? which was garded by ten hundred thousand men, and copyed out, not by some Scriueners only, but also by all the people? Afterward came Iosua, who renewed the same Couenant, proclaymed the Lawe, and yéelded record vnto Moyses. Lykewise the Iudges succéeded Iosua, Samuell succéeded the Iudges, the Kinges and the Chronicles succéeded Samuell, and the Prophets succéeded thm all. These bookes followed one another immediatly and

without

without interpretation: and euery one that followed, presupposed the things to be an infallible trueth which had bene written by them that went afore; neither was there any that did cast any doubtes or reproue any of the former histories, as is found to be done in other Histories: (as for example, Hellanicus reproueth Ephorus, Ephorus findes fault with Timeus, and consequently Timeus reprehendeth them that wrote afore him:) But Iosua gathereth a certeine & vnfallible consequence of Moyses, the Iudges of Iosua, Samuell of the Iudges, Dauid of them all, and so all the rest. And to speake of the Prophets, they be not like the bookes of our Astrologers, which reforme one anothers Calculations, and controll one anothers Prognostications: But as they shote all at one marke: so they agree in one thing, notwithstanding that they wrote in sundrie times and sundrie places. Nay (which more is) wee see that the people were so sure of that Law, that from age to age they chose rather to abide all extremities, than to giue it ouer: insomuch that they defended it against the Chananites, the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greekes, and the Romanes. Who then durst be so proud and bold as to violate or impaire the thing that was held to be so holy, defended with so many liues, & confirmed with so many deathes? If yee say, the Heathen: Their intentes was not to marre it, but to make it quite away. For what profite could haue redounded vnto them of that paine: to what ende should they haue done it? or how could they haue corrupted in the sight and in the knowledge of so many folke? Moreouer, who knoweth not that ỳ scriptures were carried by the banished Iewes into diuers countryes of the world afore they came into the hands of the Gentiles, as of the Greekes or Romanes: As for the Iewes their chiefe anker and felicitie consisted in the képing of them, and the reward of corrupting them was death: and what could it then haue benefited them to haue corrupted them? Naye yet further, which of them would haue dyed afterward for a Lawe, which they knewe to be corrupted or counterfeited? And soothly we see throughout their Histories, that there passed not so much as any one halfe hundred yeeres without persecutions and warres for that Lawe.

And whereas it might be sayd, that some suttleheaded fellow among the Iewes had done it to abuse the rest: how could that be againe, seeing it was not in the hands of fower or fiue Priestes only, as the Ceremonies of the Hetrurians & Latins were, but in ỳ hands of the whole people so as one sillable could not be chaunged but it was to be espyed euen by yoong Children. Considering also ỳ we reade not of any king how wise so euer he were, that euer durst presume to ad, diminish or alter any whit thereof, whereas not withstanding, all other Lawes of the world were made by peecemeal, & Kings and Senats haue alwaies reserued to them-

themselues a prerogatiue to correct them and alter them at their pleasure, specially when they limited their authoritie, and serued not for the mayntenãce of their possessiõ. And if any man to bereaue vs of this argument, will step forth & say, that our Scriptures are as an Hystorie gathered out of the Registers of many ages, by some one author: as we se Berosus hath done for ỹ Chaldees, Duis for the Phenicians, Manetho for the Egyptians, & such others; let him tel vs thẽ (I heartely pray him,) in what age of the world ỹ Author is lykely to haue liued. If in the time of Moyses, of Iosua, or of the Iudges; how commeth it to passe that he writeth of the reignes of the kings? If in the time of the first Kings how wryteth he of the last Kinges? If in the time of the last Kings; howe is it possible that the Iewes bẽing afore that time caryed away into diuers places of the world and scattered abroade euery where lyke the members of Pentheus, should carrie and kepe with them the bokes of Moyses, which (by these mens reckoning) were not yet made, according to which boke both themselues did notwithstanding then liue, and also taught other Nations? I meane the ten Tribes by name which by thre former remouings were scattered ouer the whole Earth, whereof the marks are to apparant to be denyed. The first in the time of Achaz King of Iuda, and of Phacea King of Israel, by Thiglath Phalasser King of the Assyrians, who caryed away Ruben, Gad and halfe the tribe of Manasses: the second in time of Ose by Salmanaser, who caryed away Isachar, Zabulon and Nepthaly into Assyria: and the third anon after by the same Salmanasar, who conueyed away Ephraim and the other half of Manasses; as it is witnessed both by the auncient Records of many Countryes, and also by the Chronicles of the Hebrewes. And at that time while Printing was not yet in vse, what meane was there to disperse those bokes so sone and so farre off? Nay which more is, what will they say when they shal find the bokes of Moyses to haue bẽne kept from father to sonne, euen in ỹ vttermost coasts of Ethiopia, whither the Empires neuer came, which bokes they say they haue had there euer since the time of Salomon, that they were brought thither by the Nuñs of ỹ prouince of Saba? Thus haue I spoken inough of this matter, both for them that are contented to be satisfied with reason, (for if they do but reade our scriptures, they haue wereon to rest,) & also for those which are otherwise, for it is hard to shew him ought, which by his will will se naught. But there are yet further which tell vs that in the time of the Machabees, Antiochus abolished the lawe of Israell, and al the bokes of the Bible: & they thinke themselues to haue made a greate speake, & hard to be resolued. I leaue it to the consideration of al men of iudgment, whether it be easie for a prince though he vse neuer so great diligence, vtterly to abolish any mãner of book whatsoeuer, seing ỹ nature of man is such,

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that the more that things are sought to be plucked from him, the more he streineth himself to keepe them. But when a booke is once beleeued and reuerenced of a whole nation, not for delight of things done by men, therein conteyned, but for the saluation of man therein reuealed; for the trueth whereof men are not afrayd to indure both death and torments, as was witnessed by many in the time of ỹ same Antiochus: what diligence of man can suffice to abolish it? But let vs put the case that it was abolished in Iewrie: yea & that it was abolished throughout his whole Empire: what can yet insue thereof, seeing that the ten trybes (ouer whom Antiochus could haue no authoritie) had carryed them & dispersed them abroade to the vttermost bounds of the world? And seeing that the remouing of the other two trybes, had made them rise among the Persians and Babilonians? And that the Ptolomyes cherished the Iewes right tenderly in Egypt, giuing thē open Synagogues with franchises & libertie? And also that Ptolomie Philadelph had caused all the Bible to be translated into the Greeke tong by the threescore and ten interpreters, and had layd it vp in his librarie as a Iewell? And to be short, that the Iewes were at ỹ verie time so dispersed among the Greeks themselues, as there was scarcely any Citie which had not receyued them with their Synagogues?

But although none of all these reasons were to be had; then, if the Bible was lost and abolished, how was it found againe so sodeinly in one instant? Who could (as ye would say) cast it vp whole out of his stomack at once? Or who hath euer read that the Iewes made any mone for the losse of it, or toke any paine for the seeking of it out againe? And to cut off superfluitie of speech, whereof then commeth it, that of so many Grammarians being of opinion that they should become wise men in one day, if they had Ciceroes bookes of Comonweale to read: none of them all being more suttle-headed than the rest, hath vndertaken to counterfeit them in his name? No no: let vs rather say the Scriptures are of more antiquitie than all other writings; & the more they be so, the more aduersitie haue they indured: the rage of Tyrants hath ouerflowed them; & yet they could neither drown them nor deface them: they haue bin condemned to the fire, & yet could not be consumed. Contrariwise, ỹ bookes of the greatest men, how great authoritie soeuer they had, haue bin lost, & for al the peine that hath bin taken to preserue them, yet haue they often come to naught. The Chronistes of Emperours (say I) be perished, when the Chronicles of the smal Kings of Iewrie, & of that poore outcast people, & I wote not what a sort of banished shepheards despised of the world & despysers of the world, haue continued to posteritie in despite of the World. Therefore it must nedes be saide, that the Scriptures haue bin preserued by Gods singular prouidēce, both so long time

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and againſt ſo many iniuries of time. And ſeing they be the onely writings which onely he hath preſerued from the creation of the world vnto our dayes; ſurely they were for our behoſe. And ſeing they haue bene reiected of the world, and yet notwithſtanding do liue and raigne in deſpite of the worlde: ſurely they be from ſomewhere els than of man or of the worlde: that is to wit, Reuelations from God to man, continued from time to time for his glorie and our welfare. And ſo by this diſcourſe we agayne this poynt, that our Scriptures which are left vs by Moyſes, Ioſua, and the Prophets, are the auncienteſt of all writings, and vtterly voyd of all lykelyhood of mingling or counterfetting, and that ſith that euen from the beginning there hath bin a Religion reuealed from God, and we find none other than this to haue continued from the very Creation vnto vs, we may inferre, that the Scriptures wherein wée reade it, are of God, becauſe that from lyne to lyne they conteyne his Reuelation made vnto mankynd. But let vs paſſe from this antiquitie which is but ẏ barke of the Scriptures & let vs come to ẏ ſubſtãce of them, which wil giue vs aſſurance of the place frõ whence they come.

The Bible tẽdeth altogether to the glorie of God.

Now then, let vs reade the bookes of men as well of olde time as of our time, and what is the ſcope, the ground, the forme, and diſcourſe of them, furtherforth than they eyther expounde or followe our Scriptures: Some write to celebrate the Kings and great Capteines of their time: theſe be but vauntings of men, rumors of people, conſultations to deſtroye one another, and ſuttle deuices, to diſappoynt or vndoe one another. Good men by reading them become malicious, & euill men become worſe. And by ẏ way there muſt be ſome prietie ſpéch of Fortune, which ſwayth the battels. As for God who maketh Kings and vnmaketh them againe, who holdeth both the enterances and iſſewes of all things in his hand, there is not ſo much as one word in al a great volume. Who doubteth that theſe be bookes of men, which conteyne nothing but the paſſions, the ſubtilties, and the inueners of men? Another ſort write (as they themſelues ſay) to make themſelues immortall. They write goodly diſcourſes, to make themſelues to be had in admiration. If they chaunce to ſtumble vpon ſome good ſaying for maners or for the life of man, they turkin it a thouſand waies to make it ſéeem good for their purpoſe. They deliuer their wordes by weight, they drawe their clauſes to fall alike, they eſchew nycely the méeting together of vowels: & what greater childiſhneſſe can there bee in graue matters, than that? Yet not withſtanding, they make bookes of deſpiſing of vayngloryie, and their bookes themſelues are full of Ambition: of the byrdling of affections: and their arguments are ranckc poyſon and contention. If they happen to ſpeake of the ſeruing of God it is by Sacrificing to Diuels & to their owne Louers, & friends, as we reade that Socrates, Plato & Ariſtotle did. Who is

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be then which euen by the first line or by the opening of the booke, may not perceiue that they which speake bee men, yea and but very men in deede; considering that in all their bookes they speake but of man? Men (say I) that seeke the glorie of men and not of God: Preachers of vanitie, and not of mans welfare?

On the contrarie side, wee heare how the Scripture saith, In the beginning God made Heauen and Earth. What is ment by this enterance, but that the Reader should not in the rest of the discourse looke for the follies of men, but for the woonderous workes of the Creator? And what other author did euer begin his worke so? Herodotus beginneth his Historie after this manner: Herodotus of Halycarnassus hath spoken these things. Though he had neuer said so, it would neuer haue beene surmised that hee had spoken any thing but of man. For what is his whole booke but vanitie? Or what hath hee which is not inferiour to man? After the same maner doth Hippocrates begin his bookes concerning the nature of man; and likewise Timæus of Locres his treatise of Nature and of the Creation of the world: which Authors I alledge as auncientest of all others. But if wee goe through the whole Scripture from the one end to the other, we shall finde nothing there but that which is promised at the first word; that is to wit liuely letters, and vnpossible to be falsified, of a booke that proceedeth from God, namely his owne glorie and the welfare of man. As for the glorie of the Euerlasting, it leadeth vs to the creation of the world, and of man; to the sinne of Adam, and the corruption of Mankinde; the Flud of Noe that followed there vpon, and the confusion of Tongues: the calling of Abraham and his seede, the plagues of Pharao, and the wonders of Aegipt. What is there in all these things, that sauoreth of man, or of the vanitie that possesseth him? What hath he there which maketh him not either to stoope vnto God or to sinke vnto Hell? Againe, on the other side, what els doth that whole discourse shewe vs, but the highnesse of the Euerlasting, his mercifulnesse towards the lowly, and his iustice and iudgements towards the proude, when wee see all loftinesse of the world cast downe before him, and all the puissance of Empires giuen ouer to Catterpillers and to the wormes of the earth? After warde Moyses commeth to the rehearsing of the lawe that God gaue to that people. Whence came that extraordinarie wisedome, and why rather in Israell than elsewhere, in the time when all other Nations were so rude? And what maner of lawe was it? Soothly a lawe comprehended in ten Sentences, and yet those ten Sentences conteine whatsoeuer can belong to Godlinesse, Vprightnesse and Iustice, whether it bee of seruice towards God, or of duetie towards our neighbour: Insomuch that all the great volumes of lawes wherof the world is full, without ground, without end, notwithstanding that they treate but onely of

Iustice, are referred al to that marke, and haue not any thing more than is there. Again, all these ten sayings are vnfolded in two words: namely, to loue God with the whole heart, and a mans neighbour as himselfe. Let the Athenians shew me the Lawes of their Draco, and the Romans the Lawes of their twelue Tables; if there bee one word of true Godlinesse and Iustice in them? Let the Greekes and Romaines shew all that euer they wrote by the space of a thousand yeares; and see if yee shall finde so much thereof, as is conteyned in those two sayings onelie. And as for our Philosophers, which make so great bragges of the tenne Predicaments of their Aristotle, which are but the seede of Sophistrie and vaine babling; I aske them (at leastwise if they haue any eyes) what account they ought to make of this Lawe, which hath conueyed in so few words, both the matters of the world which are infinite, and the matters of God, which are vncomprehensible to man, together. The Israelites come to take their iourney into Chanaan vnder Moyses; they be brought in thither by Iosua; and they be ruled and gouerned there by the Iudges and Kings: And in this discourse there fall out many humaine things, many enterprises, surprises, Sieges, Battels, Victories, and Conquests. Here it behoueth vs to enter into our selues, and by our selues into the naturall disposition of all men. When we goe to giue the onset, I meane the better sort of vs; what say we? Lord, we set our Battels in aray, but thou giuest the victorie? After that maner speake the Christians at this day. Nay: but if God prosper vs, what will we say at our returne? Mary, I wonne such a Hill, I brake the Vauntgard, the enemie was discomfited by my counsell: and hereupon rise quarrels who shall haue the honor of the victorie. But as for God, we shall heare no more speaking of him, than if there were no God at all. The history writers which describe their victories, are curious in naming euen the meanest Captaines, for offending any man; and moreouer in describing of the aduantages of the places, of the sunne, of the winde, of the dust, of him that led the Soldiors to handblowes, & of the consultations of the Captaines: so as he balanceth the battels after his owne scoales; and as for mens sinnes which are the procurers thereof, he neuer once thinks of them. Seeing then that the Authors of our Bible are the auncientest of all others, whereof commeth this new kind of inditing, or whence haue they learned it, that in all their Histories they giue the glorie of the battels and of all feates of Armes alonly vnto God, both afore & after? Or whence come these ordinary words, God giueth them into our hands, God is our victorie, God is as strong in a small number as in a great? Whence also come the goodly Songs, which we shall not finde in any of the Heathen Writers: but of this, that they wrate the warres of God and the victories of the Lord, yea and euen in his behalfe which was the ower of them? If they wrote on mans behalfe,

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why wrate they not in mans vse all order of indyting? Why wrate not Moyses and Iosua, (say I) as Polybius and Cæsar wrate? Or who letted them to take to themselues the glorie of their high enterprises? Or if they wrate for Kings and by commaundement of Kings; why finde wee no commendations of Iosua, Dauid, Iosaphat, and Ezechias: as well as of Themistocles, Miltiades, Alexander, and Traiane? For what other commendation finde wee of them, than that they walked in the waye of the Lord, that they destroied the high places, that they ouerthrew the Idols, and such like, howbeit that we read of heroical and Martiall deeds done in their times? And what ought we then to conclude, but that, as all other bookes which tend to the glorie of men, and concerne but themselues or some others, are the workes of men: so these bookes, which tend alonely to the glorie of God, yea euen by the contempt of men, are the works of God, that is to say, inspired by God? As much is to be said of the Prophets, who when they speake of any succour that was to come to the people of Israel, or of any enemie that was to come sodeinly vppon them: they sayd not, your friends shall succour you, or your enemies shall runne in vpon you: but the Lord will send Cyrus to deliuer you, the Lord will arme the Babylonians to scourge you. Vaine are all your dealings if your trust be not in him: Vaine are the threatnings of your enemies, if you turne vnto him: and all this is to assure you, that all things are subiect vnto him; insomuch that euen they which thinke themselues to make warre against him, do fight for him and by him. To be short, if we inquire of them concerning the state of the earthly Kingdomes; they aunswer vs of the heauenly. If a man be combered with this present life; they teach vs the life to come. And oftentimes a man would thinke that they spake nothing materiall to our demaunds, because they answer not directly to our demaund, but to that which we ought to demaund. Let vs consider somewhat neerely of what minde the Soothsayers are, both by the Oracles of the Deuilles, and by such as make profession of Soothsaying. The Deuilles require Sacrifices for their answering to curious questions. The Astrologians are faine to take out Princes. The foreteller of things to come by Palmistrie, or by Phisognomie, or by the inwards of Beasts, or by the signes of the Skie, doe the like. And ordinarily who be more vaine and more puffed vp with pride, than those kinde of men? What iarring is there among them, what disagreement in their foresayings? Nay, which of them haue we seene, which is not a money man? or that would rather die than not declare Gods wrath to a Prince? Or that hath not soothed a Prince in his sinnes, to suche gaine out of him? Or that hath giuen the glorie vnto GOD and not to his owne cunning and skill? Or refused the honor that was offered vnto him, as a notable iniurie? Witnesses hereof may Apollonius, Apuleius, Maximus,

and such others be: who by their foretellings neuer sought other thing than Images of themselues to be set vp in Halles of Cities, and Pensions in the Courts of the most vicious and detestable Princes. And what is to be said then of these folke, who goe willingly to declare the ouerthrowe of States, and the deaths of Princes? Which forlake their apparant ease, to goe and shew foorth Gods wrath? Who of all their wonderfull knowledge yelde none other reason but this, The Lord hath said it vnto vs, nor seeke any other reward than the glorie of God, yea matched oftentimes with their owne death?

Let vs come to the Poetries of our Scriptures, and let the Heathen set theirs against them, and who will doubt but that they shall blush for shame? To omit the arte, the measure, and the antiquitie of them, which are but the outsides of them, but yet more beautifull in ours than in the Poetries of the Greekes or Romanes. For what are theirs but the vauntings of men, counterfetted praises, and discourses of Loue Songs, not manly, but vnmete for men? One singeth me the rage of Achilles; another, the wanderings of Aenæas, and a third the loue of Paris and Helen. And so farre hath this kinde of dealing passed into custome, that it seemes vnpossible for man to be a Poet, a Diuine, and an Historiographer all togither. So farre are our mirth and songs estraunged naturally from God and from trueth. What shall we say then to the Poetries, specially of Dauid, considering that hee was afore all the Poetries of the Heathen; but that those Poetries are not an imitation, but a simple affection? If we seeke there for songs of victorie, we haue of them; but they concerne the God of Hostes: If for Bridesongs, they be not wanting: but they bee of God and of them that feare him: If for burning loues; there be songs of the very Loue it selfe, howbeit kindled of God himselfe: If for Shepheards songs, it is full of them, but they concerne the Euerlasting for the Shepherd, and Israell for the flocke. The arte of them is so excellent, that it is an excellencie euen to translate them. The affections so liuely, that they quench and choake all others. If he had written in mans behalfe, had he not as good a ground as Homere had? what were his combate with Golias, his victories ouer the Philistines, his loue of Bersabee, and such others? Or thinke we that he was not subiect to the same passions or made of the same mould that we be? Or that he which wakenth vs so much, was drowsie himselfe? Or that he which speaketh of nothing but Loue and Honor, was without them himselfe? No; but in very deed it was another maner of Pulse that did beate in his Veines, than beateth in ours, & another maner of fire that burned in his marow. Which thing no man can deny that readeth his Psalmes, so liuely, so feruent, & so full of affections: howbeit that he directeth his loue and his vehement desires to another marke, as one that beheld a farre other beauty, coueted a farre

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other honor, and tasted a farre other pleasure than of the worlde. For all those bookes aime at none other marke than the honor of God, contrarie to mans nature, which robbeth God of his honor as much as can be, to cloth it selfe therewith, and coueteth nothing so much as glorie.

But let vs come to the other marke which followeth this successiuely, namely the welfare of man. Forasmuch as I haue saide, that the marke wherat man shooteth in this life, is his owne welfare: If God haue left him any word, or giuen him any reuelation, to what end ought wee to acknowledge the same to be done, but to light him in the way of welfare, and to turne him from all crossepathes and bywaies which might leade him from the ende that he aimeth at? Now let vs hardely reade all the Bookes of the Heathen, and there is none of them which busieth not our braines about Moneshine in the water, making vs to spend night and day therein, as though wee had none other resting place to seeke? whereas none other booke than the Bible doth put vs in minde of our way? Our welfare is our shootanker, and the welfare as well of one of vs as of another, is to liue immortally united vnto God. How shall Aristotle put vs in minde thereof, who leaueth vs in doubt whether there be any immortalitie or no, and which setteth our shootanker in I woote not what muzings, peraduenture vpon Logicke and naturall Philosophie, as his owne? Or how shall Plato do it, who suffereth himselfe to be caried away with the common error? Or Seneca (how high soeuer he soare with his wings:) who will haue the wiseman to play the foole, the barebraine and the Lerhor, and to giue ouer himselfe to all maner of vices, for the bringing of his affaires to passe, yea euen to his owne harme, and to the blaspheming of God himselfe? But if we hearken to the holy Scriptures, we shall perceiue from time to time, that they bee no vntrustie guides of our waies, neither such as stand doubting at the first foure waiestre, whether a man should take on the right hand or on the left, but they be sure guides, such as are able to drawe vs out of the mire, and to conuey vs through the wild Forrests of the world, not onely by leading vs by the hand, but also by seruing our turnes both for a guide, and for a Crutch, and for a path all togither. Therefore at the very first entrance they tell vs that God hauing created the world, made man of the dust of the earth, and that hee made him after his owne Image and likenesse, and gaue him power ouer all the things, that he had made heere below. And what els is this, but a teaching of man at the first word, that he is indebted to God for all things, that his felicitie consisteth in seruing God, and that he is made to another end than other liuing wights; namely for God himselfe? From hence it leadeth vs to our disobedience, and is the punishement that ensued thereupon; to wit, that by seeking our welfare elsewhere than in God, wee fell into all mischiefe. As touching the

Mans welfare.

Senecas in his exhortations.

immortalitie of our Soules, and the Prouidence of God, forasmuch as they be Schoolepoints to brawle vpon, but vndoubtedly grounds to as many as conceiue that there is a God, (which thing all men doe) and such as men ought not to doubt of or to be taught, but to practise and exercise all their life long, we sée no disputing there as is among the Philosophers. Henoch therefore indured many hard things in that froward generation, for seruing God: and by speciall priuiledge was soone taken out of this life. And to what intent, but to haue a better. Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob wayfared from place to place vpon the earth. And did they so in the hope of the land of Chanaan? Nay, who would haue indured so much hardnesse for his Posteritties sake? Or for a promise that should not bée performed till fower hundred yéeres after? Then was it because they grounded themselues vppon a better inheritance: and that is the selfesame which God meant when he said to Abraham, I am thy great reward. Moyses came somewhat nérer this promesse; for he sawe the Land, howbeit but from the top of a high mountaine. And wherefore languished he fortie yeares in the wildernesse among a thousand grudgings, at the point to be stoned euery howre by his owne countrimen, and yet was faine to dye at the instant of obteining his hope? Sothly he had séene another countrie nérer him, whereunto he aspired; and farre better (which he was to possesse in the life to come) then he forewent in this present life. The like is to be said of Iosua, of the Iudges, of Samuel, of Dauid, and of the Prophets; whose whole life was not a schoole diuinitie like vnto the Philosophers, but a continuall practise of this faith: namely, that mans chéefanker is not in this world, nor our welfare to be sought héere: but that it behoueth vs to séeke it in God, and to turne againe to him that we may inioy it. To that end tend these precepts which are giuen to men in the Lawe, Thou shalt loue God with all thine heart, with all thy Soule, and with all thy strength. To what end? To be oppressed by Pharao, turmoiled vp and downe in the Desert, beaten by the Philistines, ouerthrowne by the Assirians, caried away by the Babylonians, and troden vnder foote by all Nations? If the loue of God bring vs no better reward than so, what gaine we by being his people? Nay, it is to shew vs, that our welfare dwelleth not héere belowe; that these Hosts which welcome vs into our Inne with smiling countenance, do cut our throtes in our beds; that the reward of such as serue God, is not the world nor any worldly thing, but the verye maker both of man and of the worlde. Then followeth there another precept; namely, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. What would Carneades haue said, or rather what would he not haue said, if he had examined this Commaundement? This Philosopher being sent Ambassadour on a time from Athens to Rome, made an Oration of Iustice before Cato the Censor, whereof hee

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spake wonders. The next day he made another, wherein he proued that it was but folly and fondnesse; or that the Romaines should bee faine to come back againe to their cotages, and that all trafficke and whatsoeuer els it bee whereby Cities are made to florish, would come to nought. What is to be said then of this law, which extendeth so farre as to say, not onely, doe not that to others which you would not haue done to your selues; but also, doe that for others which you would haue done for your selues? And surely if our welfare consist in this world, what godlier lawe can there be, than for a man to loue himselfe and his owne, and to wrest all his neighbours affaires to his owne profite? And contrariwise what greater fondnesse, than to be another mans Baillie, that is to say, to procure oftentimes a mans owne losse? But the Philosopher was ignorant that godlinesse is the roote of Iustice, and that Charity is nothing els but a rebounding backe of the loue which wee owe vnto God, vpon Mankinde which is his Image. And the aiming point of this Commandement, which being restreined within one worde, spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole lawe of Israell, is none other than to shewe vs that our chiefe dwelling place is elsewhere than heere, and that whereas we loue all things heere for our owne sakes, we ought to loue other men as our selues, and our selues for Gods sake, who is our sole and onely welfare. Hereunto doe all the Scriptures guide vs, be it by authoritie of the lawe, or by example of holy persons, or by the exhortations of the Prophets: and there is not that line which twitcheth vs not by the eare, to waken vs out of the sleepe of this world; and which plucketh vs not from the scole and the table, and from the glewing vanities that sticke so fast to vs; to bring vs backe to glorie and to the enioying of God who is our welfare. Seeing then that naturally we thinke so little vpon this glorie of God; what a booke is that, which speaketh of nothing els? Seeing we be plunged so deepe in the world, and the world in vs: what a booke is that, which withdraweth vs from it euery howre? And what would become of man if he had not another spirit than the spirit of man and of the world, which biddeth battell both to man and to the world? Sothly we may well say therefore, that the Scriptures are verily of Gods inspiring, which haue so expresse resemblances of him, and so contrarie to the hand, stampe, print and writing of the whole world.

The xxuij. Chapter.

That throughout the whole proceſſe of the Bible, or old Teſtament, there are things which cannot proceede but from God.

E haue learned héretofore by peruſing the vniuerſall world, that all things tend to Gods glorie; by the examining of man, that his onely and whole welfare is to cleaue vnto GOD. Now therefore ſith we ſée that the Scriptures preache vnto vs the ſame thing that we haue read both in the world and in our ſelues; ought it not to be a good proofe to vs, that hee which made both the World and man, hath alſo made the Scriptures to rule them by? And that he which hath ſpoken to all Nations by his Creatures, hath alſo vouchſafed to ſhewe himſelfe more nérely to them by his Scriptures? Againe, ſéeing that the Scriptures commaund vs to loue God with all our heart, and that the Creatures haue héretofore declared vs to bee bound thereto; ſo as the Creatures teach the ſelfeſame thing which the Scriptures commaund: what can wee ſay but that both thoſe bookes haue one ſelfeſame author? Howbeit foraſmuch as our eyes be ſo daſeled by our fall, that the Creatures were vnto vs as a claſped booke, or as a thing written in Cyphers; God to applie himſelfe to the weakeneſſe of our ſight, hath giuen vs his Scriptures: and that foraſmuch as our wils are wholy turned from him, it behoued vs to be commaunded our owne welfare, which (were we according to our firſt creation) we ſhould couet and followe earneſtly at the onely ſight of the firſt booke. But foraſmuch as it may ſtill be ſaid, that theſe bookes are rather the workes of good men and of ſuch as feared God, than of God himſelfe: let vs ſée if they haue not in them ſome proper and peculiar marks of Gods ſpirit. I meane ſuch as no creature can bee partaker of but by inſpiration from God. For like as in his doings there are certeine miracles, wherein

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euen the wickedest acknowledge the finger of God: So in his wordes or Scriptures, there may vndoubtedly be some such thing, as cannot proceede but from God himselfe. Let vs begin at the Stile. In mens affaires we haue two sorts of writing. The inferiour sort and men of equalitie, indeuour to perswade folke by apparant reasons; for they know they haue no authoritie to giue them credite. But Princes will of their mere authority loke to be beleeued whatsoeuer they say: for they thinke they haue the worlde at their commaundement, and that they may speake what they list: and they suppose it to be some derogation to them to alledge any reason. Also in humane Sciences the case is all one. For the Phisitian is beleeued of his Patient without alledging why: but of an other Phisition he is not so. Likewise the Schoolemaister is beleeued of the Scholer, yea euen in things which were disputable for him with one of his fellowes. So much more therefore shall this rule take place in matters diuine, which surmount both the vnderstanding of the learner, and the skill of the Teacher himselfe. Againe, we see how the Philosophers doe mounte vp from things euidently knowne to things lesse knowne, and from Grounds and Principles, to Conclusions. And therefore Aristotle intending to proue that there is a God, made a whole score of bookes of it: and Plato speaking of things diuine, will haue the auncient Oracles to be beleeued, and not his owne sayings: which argueth that euen by nature men knowe well, that they deserue not to bee beleeued further forth than they make proofe, no not euen in the least things; and therefore that they be worthie to be laughed at, if they thinke their sayings to be authoritie in matters diuine. Now then, sith it is so that the Stile is such both of all men in their common discourses, and of all the Philosophers in high matters: what shall the Author of our Bible bee, whose will and meaning is to bee beleeued vppon his bare worde, euen in the things which exceede both the naturall beleefe of such as heare them, and the vnderstanding of all men which take vpon them to speake of them? GOD created Heauen and Earth: Man is falne from his originall state by sinne. If thou beest a man that sayest it, who will beleeue thee vnlesse thou prooue it? And yet notwithstanding it appeareth that hee wrote it to bee beleeued: for hee commaundeth it to be beleeued. Therefore his speaking is of authoritie, and not by perswasion. Yet notwithstanding no body is beleeued vpon his bare word, sauing in things which lie in his owne power and his owne knowledge. Whosoeuer then in things surmounting man, (I meane in matters concerning GOD and mans saluation) will looke to be beleeued of authoritie, onely because he sayes it; yea and to be more beleeued without proofe, than others vppon proofe; must needes bee the Prince and Father of man and not a man. Now, who sees not this course kept throughout

The Stile of the Scriptures.

out all the Scriptures: and yet where is there any one Syllogisme or Demonstration in them? sauing such as these which soothly bee more firme than any Syllogisme, and more needefull than any Demonstration namely. The Lord hath saide it, and it is done: the Lord hath spoken it. and he will be beléued. And what other booke find we which proceedeth after that maner howbeit that some deceiuers haue long time sinces presumed to immitate the same?

The laws and commaundements in the Scripture.

Also we haue many bookes of maners written by the Pathen. How proceed they against Vice: or how deale they with Vertue? They define, they distingnish, they dispute of the generall and of the vnderkind, of the meane and of the extreames. It is spoken (say they) from one Countermatch to another. And if they offend the Lawes of Logick, they be afraid of reproofe. The Lawes of God speake a little more plainly: He that stealeth shall pay fowerfold: He that killeth shall be punished with death. Which is as much to say, as that the authoritie of the one dependeth vpon their power, and the authoritie of the other dependeth vpon their proofe. To be short, euen our spéech extendeth ordinarily no further than our power: and therefore the Teacher speaketh after another manner than the Learner, the Prince than the Subiect, and the Senatour than the Orator. What maner a booke then I pray you is this, which speaketh to all men alike, to Kings as to Subiects, to great as to small, to olde as to yong, to learned as to vnlearned; sauing that it surmounteth the capacitie of the one as well as of the other? neither intreating nor perswading any man, but absolutely bidding or forbidding all men. Neyther (which more is) doth it say to any man, Thou shalt liue as a recluse within the precinct of thine owne house all thy life long, or thou shalt lye in continual prison; but thou shalt liue or die for euer without ende. In what other booke reade wee such commandements? Yea in what booke read we such punishments and such rewards? And if euery bodies speaking be according to the abilitie of his power; from whom is this spéech which dareth pronounce or threaten euerlasting things, but from the partie himselfe that is euerlasting? If it be a creature that speaketh it, either it is a good creature or an euill. If it be an euill creature, why forbiddeth he euill so rigorously? and commaundeth good so expressly? or (to say better) how commeth it to passe, that the marke which he aimeth at is Gods glorie and our welfare? Or if it bee a good Creature, how happeneth it that he challengeth to himselfe that which belongeth to God, and which cannot be imparted to any Creature, which is the very sinne that ouerthrew both the diuell into Hell, and man into destruction? And if it be no Creature neither good nor bad; what remaineth then, but that it must néeds be the Creator? Now what leafe is there in the whole Scripture, where we méete not with such matter? And herewithall we see that

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thing in the obseruers of that Lawe, which is not reade of any others: namely that they haue yelded their liues, and incurred the hatred and disdaine of the whole world, rather than they would breake or despise it. Verily euen in this respect and none other, that they were sure that they serued such a Lawgiuer, as not onely had power ouer the barke of man and ouer this present wretched life as other common Lawgiuers haue; but also was of power to giue either euerlasting life or endlesse death. The same appeareth yet more, in that the lawes which are giuen to men in the Scriptures, are not inioyned alonely to the outward man; but do pearce euen to the heart of man. In deed they require Sacrifices; but yet they preferre obedience. They inioyne fasting: but that is from sinne. They inioyne Circumcision, but it is the Circumcision of the heart. To be short, for a Summarie of all sinnes, they forbid lusting and coueting: which thing (as I haue said afore) is not to be found in any lawe of the Heathen. Who I pray you knoweth the very anatomie and secret conceits of our hearts, but he that made them? Or who can looke into Man, but the maker of Man? And who is he either Man or Deuill, that euer durst presume to inioyne a lawe to mens thoughts? But all these things come still to this point, that the partie which speaketh so vpon authority, threatning things that exceed mãs ability, & making a law for the things whervnto we cannot come: must of necessitie be of more power than we.

The doctrine of the Scriptures exceedeth the reach of man.

Againe, what a number of things haue wee taught vs in the Scriptures, which cannot breede of mans braine, nor come from elsewhere than from aboue? And if they cannot breede in his minde, howe can they come from his hand or from his mouth? Wee can well say there is one God: for if we enter into our selues we finde him there: and if we goe neuer so little out of our selues, we méete him euery where. But that in one Essence there should be three persons, the Father, the word, and the spirit: how can it breed in the imagination of man? Or who could euer haue thought of it? Also, from the Creatures we come to the Creator: from mouing to a rest: from nouelties to a beginning: and there mans reasoning staies. But although the first man might know when he was created: yet how could he haue knowne when the world was created? And although that by the new things therein, we deeme it to be new: who euer durst to haue limited the first day & the first houre thereof? Or how could that Chymera haue come in any mans minde? And yet in very deed we haue diuers Chymeras among the auncient writers, concerning the Creation of the world according to the diuersities of opinions that were among the Philosophers, and the diuersities of imaginations among the common people. But was there euer any afore this book of the Bible, that began his account of times or his history, at the first day of the world, though he were of opiniõ that the world was created? And saying that the

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intent of all writers of stories is to be beleeued; what els had this beginning of an history at that point beene, but a cracking of his credit at his first enterance in, if the maiestie of the Author had not serued for a warrant? Likewise, that man, to attaine to his appointed end, needed the handiworke of God himselfe; it appeareth vnto vs by the weakenesse of our nature. But that for the appeasing of Gods Iustice, God himselfe should be faine to come downe and to take mans flesh vpon him; who would say it but only God? and who could bee beleeued in that case but onely he? So is it also concerning the conception of the Virgin, concerning the promises that were not to come to passe vntill fower hundred yeares after, concerning the comming of the Messias, & such like things: which would neuer haue come in a mans head to haue written: so farre off are they from mans wit, I meane as of it selfe and without imitation. And I dare boldly say, that whosoeuer readeth the Scriptures aduisedly and with intent to marke them: shall in euery booke finde many matters, which euen by his owne iudgement had neuer come in mans minde, notwithstanding that they be spoken by wise men, who both beleeued them firmely, and ment to be beleeued in speaking them.

Prophesies sowed throughout all the Bible.

What shall wee say then to the Prophesyings or true foretellings which are sowne euerywhere in the Scriptures, that is to wit, of Gods spirit which is shed foorth from the one ende to the other, I say not in scattered leaues as the Prophesies of Sybil were, but aiming all at one point, notwithstanding that they were vttered both at diuers times, by diuers persons, and in diuers places? I omit the first Prophesie concerning the womans seede that should crush the Serpents head, and such like pertaining to the redemption of man by the Messias, because that that doctrine shall haue his proper place hereafter: and I will alledge none other things than such as are alreadie prooued and out of controuersie.

Genes. 15. Vnto Abraham was giuen this promise: Thy seede shall doe seruice in a strange Land, and be hardly intreated there fower hundred yeares: and then will I iudge the Nation whome they shall haue serued: and in the fourth generation shall they come hither againe. What Oracle did euer foretell a thing so precisely, so manifestly, and so long aforehand? And yet was that Prophesie fulfilled at the appointed time: and it cannot be laide to be a counterfeit: for Moyses in leading the people of Israell through so many turnagaines, grounded himselfe vpon none other thing. And it stood him on hand to speake of a Prophesie that was common among them, and deliuered from hand to hand, considering that he taketh it for his theam and ankerhold, both to speake vpon and to worke vpon. And soothly, as it was receiued by Abraham, so was it receiued by Moyses, and put in execution by Iosua. Iacob made his Testament in Aegypt: wherein there are as many Prophesies as words: not for his owne

owne Children only, but also for the Tribes that should come of them. Neuerthelesse I will stand but vpon one of them, Thou Iuda (saith he) thy brothers shall commend thee, and thy fathers Children shall yeeld thee reuerence. And the Scepter shall not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawmaker from betweene his feete, vntill Silo come. The effect hereof is, that the Scepter shall remaine with Iuda, and that hee shall haue soueraigne iurisdiction, vntill the time of the Messias: and so do the Hebrewes interpret it. Yet were Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie the eldest brethren of Iacobs house: and therefore his doing was against the order of nature. And Moyses who led the people of Israell out of Aegypt, was of the Tribe of Leuie. Iosua who brought them into the Land of Canaan, was of Ephraim: The Iudges were raised vp one while out of one Tribe and another while out of another: and Saule the first King chosen by the people, was of the Tribe of Beniamin, which was the yongest of all. These things therefore were a curst shaking to the Prophesie. In the meane while the Scepter passed from Saule to Dauid, from a King to a yong Shepheard of Iuda, and there was setled for euer, notwithstanding the murmurings of the ten Tribes against it, and the falling away of Israell, and the Captiuitie of Babylon. And whereas he saith, vntill Silo come, it sufficed vntill another time, that by the space of two thousand yeares, the house of Iuda reigned still in Israell, and had the eldership, together with a direct obserued pedegrè: which thing we read not of any other flocke in the world. Heere they will say, who shall assure vs that Iacob spake those things? If I should aske them as much concerning their Histories, what knowe they more of them? And what should Moyses haue gained by the deuising thereof, being himselfe of the Tribe of Leuie, and giuing ouer his charge to one of the Tribe of Ephraim, which had rather bene an occasion to make Iuda (which was the strongest of all the Trybes) to grudge against him, seeing that that Trybe had bene authorised both by Iacobs last will, and by aunswere from GOD? Or if hee did it to gratifie Iuda, why was he not afraide to displease Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie: or rather why made hee not the Prophesie to fall vpon Leuie, to authorise himselfe? Nay, what gratifying of Iuda could it yet bee, considering that Iuda was excluded from it at that time, and came not to it a thousand yeares after? Surelie (the foresaide circumstances being well weyed) eyther there was neuer any Prophesie vncorruptlie reported, or if euer any were, this must needes be it. And as touching these good Philosophers, which will haue prophesying to proceed of a coniunction of the vnderstanding which they call Possible, with an vnderstanding which they terme Separated, by meane of imagination: and that old men cannot Prophesie by reason

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of the weakenes of their imaginatiue power: what will they say here to Iacob, who was an older man than any of their time, and yet notwithstanding saw so clearely and so farre off? For if their doctrine be commonly true, and yet notwithstanding, olde Iacob prophesied: doeth it not follow that his prophesie is extraordinarie, and commeth from a higher power than the said pretensed vnderstanding: that is to wit from God? And if his prophesying was according to their rule; dooth it not followe that their doctrine is false, that is to wit, that prophesying commeth not of the force of our imagination, nor of our selues, considering that it weakeneth not with vs, but that it commeth by inspiration from God? In the blessings that Iacob gaue to his posteritie, the matter ought not to be passed ouer so lightly, where hee speaketh of the partes that should be allotted to euery of his Children in the Land of Canaan, as if he had made them himself, assigning to one the Seacoast, to another the Corne countrie, and to another the vinegrounds, euen after the same sort that they were diuided vnto them certeine hundred yeares after by lot. For how could he come to the knowledge thereof, but by him that ouerruleth all Lots? And seeing that the foretellings of Astrologie are a meane but weene necessitie and casuall as Ptolomie teacheth: and nothing is more casuall than lots, what maner of Astrologie is this, which iudgeth of lottes both so long aforehand and also so certeinly? But when as in the chapter going next afore, wee reade that Iacob in blessing the Children of Ioseph, preferred Ephraim the yonger Sonne before Manasses who was the elder, and being warned thereof by their Father, answered againe that he was not deceiued, but that the yonger brother should be the greater, and that his seede should growe to a multitude of people: what Art moued Iacob to say it, or what profit moued Moyses to contriue it? If yee say Phisnomie or Iudiciarie, the good old man was blind. But what lineaments can forshew for a whole race, or what Constellations can shewe what shall befall to whole Nations that are yet vnborne? If it be said that Moyses loued the one better than the other: The two of whom he speaketh were already dead at that time, and the people that were to come of them, were but then in comming. And yet was that prophesie fulfilled; for the Tribe of Ephraim was alwaies mightier than the Tribe of Manasses, as appeareth throughout the whole processe of their Histories, and in the end the kingdome of the tenne Trybes was grounded chiefly vpon that. And in confirmation of this word, as oft as Moyses, Iosua, the bookes of Kings, or the Chronicles speake of those two Children, the yongest is euer named afore the eldest: which thing vndoubtedly the Trybe of Manasses would neuer haue indured without taking exception to it, if they had not thought themselues to haue relied vpon the will of God, and not vpon

Rabbi Moyses vpon the booke Abubacher.

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the fancie of man. What shall we say of Moyses? He speaketh to the people continually of the Conquest of Chanaan, according to that promise, and therefore it must needes be that it was a prophesie very commonly knowne among them. And in deede Ioseph picked out a long time for it afore his buriall. Nay, moreouer Moyses deuideth the Land vnto them in mind; appointeth them arbitrators to make their partitions; giueth them Lawes to settle themselues vpon; appointeth them what orders they should kéepe there, setteth them downe the platforms of their Cities, Suburbes, and houses; inioyneth them the tilling of their grounds, the resting of the seuenth yeare, their Feastes and Solemnities, and appointeth them their Cities of refuge for casuall manslaughters. A man might say that his speaking of these things was as if a Father should dispose of his goods that he had gotten, and which hée had already in his hand. What likelihood hereof was there, at such time as they burned Brick in Aegypt or when they lingered in the wildernes? yea or at the returne of the men that were sent to spie out the Land, when they reported nothing but hardnesse to the people? I pray you, if a man should at this day part Italy or Greece among vs in his imagination, to euery of vs share and share like; would we not say according to the prouerbe, that he parted his Venison before he had caught it? And yet what a number of men haue passed the Alpes vnder the Standard? And sith it is so that Moyses entered into that Land, and those which wayted for it dyed in the way, and yet that at the time appointed, the Chananites gaue place to that people: who séeth not that of necessitie the same people were driuen by some other than man to follow Moyses, yea Moyses himselfe to take vpon him the leading of them through so many distresses; both of them being grounded (say I) not vpon mans fancie, but vpon expresse promise which they by vnfallible records beléeued to be of God? But hee proceedeth yet further. For as hee foresawe them in Chanaan afore they came there: so foresawe hee them there to offend GOD by seruing Baall after they came there. I say hee sawe them forget God, and GOD mindfull of them in his wrath: he sawe them dispersed and scattered ouer the fower quarters of the world, and troden vnder the féete of Strangers: To be short, hee sawe the Gentiles called of God into his Church in their place: yea and he sawe it so clérely, that hee foretold it to them all in his Song, which he willed them to preserue from hand to hand, as a witnesse against them and a discharge to himselfe. Though from the top of mount Nebo hee could behold the land of Chanaan to speake so fitlie therof: from what mountaine could he see the things that were yet in the reines and hearts of men as then to come, yea which lay hidden yet many hundred yeares after: or in what booke could he haue séene them and read them, but in the booke of life, that is to say in God himselfe? The words Deuter. 32.

that

that was ſpoken by Moyſes was perfoꝛmed woꝛde foꝛ woꝛde by Ioſua, without adding oꝛ diminiſhing any whit, contrarie to the ambitious minde of man which liketh not to follow another mans lure; which thing was no ſmal ſigne that Ioſua did not ſo much obey Moyſes, as God ſpeaking by Moyſes. And this curſſe that Ioſua pꝛonounceth in his booke, againſt the man that ſhould build Iericho againe, is not to be foꝛgotten: He ſhall lay the foundation thereof vpon his firſt borne (ſaith he) & ſet vp the gates thereof vpon his yongeſt ſonne. That is to ſay, he ſhalbe puniſhed with the ſudden death of all his Children. Foꝛ about fiue hundꝛed yeares after, in the time of Achab, Hiel of Bethell builded vp Iericho, the which hee founded vpon Abiram his firſt Sonne, and hung vp the gates of it with the death of Segus his yongeſt ſonne, and the booke of Kings ſaith there, it was according as the Lord had ſpoken by the mouth of Ioſua the Sonne of Nun, to ſhew that Gods woꝛd is euerlaſting, and that it neuer ouerſlippeth the time. And in very deed it lyeth ouerthꝛowne at this day, and was neuer repaired ſince that time, howbeit that the beautifull ſituation thereof might haue allured euery man, as we reade in the auncient Geographers. In the bookes of Ioſua and of the Iudges we ſee the things perfoꝛmed which were foꝛetold by Moyſes, and the comming to paſſe both of the pꝛomiſes and of the threates that were made by him. Foꝛ accoꝛdingly as the people of Iſraell did either turne away from God oꝛ returne vnto him; God raiſed vp Tyꝛants in Chanaan to puniſh them, oꝛ deliuerers in Iſraell to deliuer them. And as foꝛ the bookes of Samuell, of the Kings, and of the Prophetes; either they be pꝛophecies of effects to come, oꝛ effects of pꝛophecies foꝛepaſt. To be ſhoꝛt, in all the diſcourſe of the Bible, there is not any ſeaſon to bee found without both Pꝛophet and Pꝛophecie, as well in pꝛoſperitie as in aduerſitie: Whereby we might ſee both the heauenlines and the trueth of them the moꝛe clearlie, if we could ſet the places, perſons, and ſtate of that time befoꝛe our eyes. But out of this continuall pꝛophecying, we will dꝛawe ſome peculiar points, ſo euident as cannot be gainſaid, which will vndoubtedly be of credit among all indifferent perſons. At ſuch time as Ieroboam the ſonne of Nebath made the ten Tꝛybes to fall away from Roboam the Sonne of Salomon; to the intent they ſhould haue no occaſion to returne againe to their foꝛmer ſtate by reſoꝛting to Hieruſalem to woꝛſhippe there: hee reared an Altar in Bethell contrarie to the Lawe of God. Then came a man of God (ſaith the hiſtoꝛie) to Bethel by the commaundement of the Lord, and ſayd to Ieroboam; Behold, a Sonne ſhall be borne of the houſe of Dauid, whoſe name ſhalbe Ioſias. He ſhall ſacrifice vppon thee the Prieſtes of the Hilles that with offer incenſe vppon thee; And this ſhall bee the ſigne thereof: Thine Altar ſhall riue aſunder, and the Aſhes that are thereon ſhall be powred downe.

Ioſua.7.

1.King.16. verſe 34.

1.King.13.

2.King.22 verſe.15. 19.

This

This Prophesie was fulfilled in all points by Iosias three hundred yeres after. And when Iosias (saith the history) had so done, he saw a certeine tumbe, and asked whose it was, intending to haue burnt the bones of him that lay there, as he had done of the other priests in Bethel. But it was told him that it was the tumbe of the man of God, which had foretold those things so long agoe: whereupon he forbad any man to touch it. Now they that know how those bookes of the Kings were disposed, wil not call the history in question. For the historyes of the Kings were written by the priests and Prophets, according to the measure of ȳ time that they reigned, and were holden so holy, that it was felony to touch them. Furthermore, seeing if this Prophesie was written afore the comming of Iosias, it could not be falsified: for who could haue hit vpon his proper name? And if it were written after, and deuised vpon the euent: how came the same tumbe to be made at ȳ same instant? Or was there none other deuise wherewith to haue disguised it, without taking any further peine? Might it not haue suffised to haue said, One Iosias shall come &c. without speaking either of the death of the man of God, or of his meeting with the Lyon, or of the talke which he had with the Prophet of Samaria; but that he must take paine to be found a Lyer by the Samaritans which knew the original of the Tumb, or could at leastwise haue inquired it? But in verie deede this Prophesie which doth so set down the name, the place, & the circumstances in the doing, is such as cannot be fathered but vpon God, as vnto whom alone things absent or to come are present. And to shewe the vncorruptnes of the Scripture ȳ more clearly, it concealeth not that ȳ same man of God by whose mouth God had vttered the saide Prophesie, was slaine by a Lyon for going backe againe to eat with the Prophet of Samaria contrarie to the word of the Lorde: which doeth vs to vnderstande, that men are nothing of themselues, but onely so farre forth as they be Gods toles and instruments. Now then by what coniecture can we deeme that man to haue beene the deuiser of a lye, who to tell the trueth, sticked not to dishonor the remembrance of so great a Prophet, whose sinceritie appeared by so many circumstances?

Wonderfull is Esay in the things that he foretelleth concerning the kingdome of the Messias and the calling of the Gentiles: for he seemeth rather an Euangelist than a Prophet. Also when he threateneth Hierusalem with the captiuitie of Babylon, or cheereth them againe with hope of their deliuerance: his maner of inditing sheweth, that he speaketh as one that sawe them both; and in that respect also were the Prophets called Seers. And in very trueth, he saith not, the Lorde will do, the Lorde will call, the Lord will destroy, & so forth: but, he doth, he calleth, he destroyeth: yea and oftentimes, he hath done, he hath called, he hath de-

stroyed, and so forth; as though he spake not of things that were but onely nere the execution or performance; but of things already come to passe. After that maner did he foretel things, in the time that the people prospered and trusted in the allyance of the Caldees, and that al likelihoods were to the contrarie. But I aske of such as doubt of our Prophetes, by what spirit could Esay say; I am the Lord that doeth things
Esay. 44. & 45. in deede, which doe say vnto Cyrus, Thou art my Shepherd, thou shalt fulfill all my will: and which sayeth vnto Hierusalem, Thou shalt be builded againe; and vnto the Temple, Thou shalt be founded againe. And againe: Thus sayth the Lord to Cyrus his annoynted, whom I haue taken by the right hand to subdue the Nations before him, and to weaken the reynes of Kings. I will goe before thee, and leuell the croked wayes. I will breake open the Brazen gates, & wring a sunder the yron barres, and so forth, that thou mayst know how that I am the Lord the God of Israell which calleth thee by thy name. For loue of my seruant Iacob, & for Israels sake haue I named thee by thy name, and called thee though thou kneweste me not, &c. How many wonders shall we find in these fewe words, if we list to examine them? At the same time that the people of Israel triumphed vnder their allyance with the Chaldees, Esay threatened them with destruction by the selfe same people. This is somewhat.

But some will say that mans wisedome may reache as farre as that. Yea, but he foretelleth, not only the captiuitie of that people, & sacking of the Citie, and the ouerthrowe of the Temple: but also the destruction of the Chaldees by the Persians, and the building vp of Hierusalem and the Temple by them againe. Wel may mans skill wade into wéekes and moneths: but considering the vncertaintie of worldly matters, it can neuer wade into yéeres, and much lesse into hundreds of yéeres, and into the whole continuance of a mightie and long lasting Monarchie, as Esay doth there. In so much that he nameth Cyrus a hundred yéeres afore he was borne. And afore his Graundfathers were named in the world, hée calleth him by name to deliuer Israel. And in another place he summoneth the people of Cethim (that is to say of Macedonie) to the destroying of the Persians. And in his eight Chapter he taketh Vrias and Zacharias the sonnes of Iebarachias by name to be witnesses of his Prophesie, who were vnborne a hundred yéeres after. Let the greatest enemies of the trueth enter into their owne consciences, & tell me what humane skill or cunning there could be in those things. They cannot say here, that these Prophesies were forged by some man vpon the euent. For by the remouing of the Iewes vnto Babylon, the Lawes Prophesies and Scriptures of Israell which were common among that people, were conueied into diuers places of the world; among the which

they

they had this Prophesie afore Cyrus was borne: and being in diuers mens hands, it was impossible to be falsified. And in good sooth, sith we see that the Kings of Persia being conquerors, caused the Temple to be builded againe, it ought to be a marke vnto vs, that in the Idolatrie out of which they came, they had seene wonders of the God of Israell, & that according to Esaies saying, they perceiued themselues to be called by him. The same is to be considered of vs in Ieremy & Ezechiell, who being in places farre one from another, the one in Ierusalem & the other in captiuitie at Babylon, foretell the selfsame things, as sure Registers of one court. But Ieremie is the more wonderful in this behalfe, in that he prophesieth expressely that the people which were carryed away prisoners, should be brought home againe at the end of threescore and ten yeares, contrary to all likelyhood, & yet with such assuredness, as a man would verily haue said, that he had led them home againe by the hands into Hierusalem. And in very deede, at the threescore & tenth yeeres end, the people were conueyed home againe at the forenamed instant, as though Cyrus had bin bent of set purpose to verifie the Prophesie, or as though he had bin waged by the Prophet. And it appeareth by the ninth Chapter of Daniel, (where this prophesie is alledged) that it was common among al the people. As for Daniel himselfe, who being borne vnder the first Monarchie, seemeth rather an Historiographer than a Prophet, as in respect of the Monarchies & things that insued; (for he speaketh of the Persians, Greekes and Romanes, of the tyrannie of Antiochus, of the vnhallowing of the Temple, & of other things that were done fiue hundred yeares after his time, as of things alreadie come to passe:) like as he closeth vp the Prophesie from the creation of the world to the comming of Christ; so ought he to stoppe all mens mouthes that will speake against him. For if a man will not beleeue the Iewish Chronicles, in that they report that the Prophesie of Daniell was read vnto Great Alexander at his comming to Hierusalem, to shewe him what was foretold of him: yet is it euident and cannot be denyed, but that when Ptolomie caused the Scriptures to be translated, the prophesie of Daniel was then extant, & was translated with the residue; which was long time afore the Tyrannie of Antiochus, the which he describeth to the eye. And therfore if it could not be falsified in that behalf, as little could it be falsified in al the rest, considering that al of it doth equally & infinitely exceede the reach of all creatures, & cannot proceede from any more than one Spirite. Now then let vs looke vpō the things that are in this Prophet, & whence could hee haue them, but from him that maketh and vnmaketh kings at his pleasure? He forewarned Balthasar the sonne of Nabugodonozor, that hee should haue a fall, because he had not taken example at the chastisement of his father, but had aduaunced himselfe against God.

Ieremi.15.16. 17.18.19.20. &c.

Daniel.9.

Daniel.5

a Ram and a Goate. The Ram (sayth he) that had two hornes, is the King of Medes and Persians, because those two states went ioyntly together. The Goate is the King of Greece, and the great horne that he had betweene his eyes, is the greatest King, that is to wit, the great Alexander: and yet none of them both liued fiue score yeeres after. In the seuenth Chapter he describeth all the fower Monarchies, but specially the Romaine; which had (sayth he) teeth of yron, wherewith it brake and deuoured all the rest. And hee pursueth it so farre, that he declareth himselfe to haue had a sight in his mind, both of the breeding, of the proceeding, and of the decaying thereof. If we consider what Rome was at that time, it was then scarce hatched: and a greate while afterwarde, Alexander hauing but a smale cut ouer the Sea that is betwixt that and Greece, knewe it not. To bee short, in the ninth Chapter hee foretelleth that at the end of threescore and ten weekes, (accounting from the day that the word was vttered by Ieremie for the buylding vp of the Temple againe,) Hierusalem should be destroyed by a prince of the people that was to come, that is to saye, by an Emperor issuing frō the Cōmonweale of Rome, which at that time was not in being: which thing I could shew here to haue come to passe at the instant aforenamed, according to the prophesie. But forasmuch as this poynt perteyneth properly to the cōming of the Messias, whereunto we reserue many things ỹ may confirme vs more & more in the holy Scriptures, it shall be treated of in his peculiar place. Now then we haue here a continuance of wonderfull Prophesies, from the creation of the world euen vnto Christ, vttered and set forth a long while afore hand, & come to passe iust in their times; not generall, but marked with their circumstances; not doubtfull but such as expresse the things and persons by their names. And therfore to knit vp this matter withall, I demaund vnto what we may attribute them, but to the inspiration of God? Some in stead of holding themselues with in their bounds, will nedes ouerleape them, by denying al. But besides the reasons afore alledged, seeing that the same tyme that the Israelites worshipped their God, ỹ Nations about them had Oracles which answered vnto all questions; and that man is so inquisitiue of things to come, that if he cannot be certified at home, he seeketh euery where abroade: I would haue them to aunswer me whether this people were of another nature than all other Nations, whom we knowe to be yet still at this day more giuen to prophesyings than any other Nation? And how being so giuen therunto & not hauing aught at home wherewith to satisfie their curiositie, they could in the midst of so many miseries, bould themselues to the seruing of the one God, who alone of all others did not speake, but alonly had kept silence to all their requestes? For if it seeme strange and myraculous vnto vs to haue had Prophesies:

Daniel. 7.

Daniel. 9.

much more strange & miraculous ought it to be, to haue made more account of a God that gaue no answers at al, specially in so many distresses & oppressions, than of the Gods of the Heathen which did nothing els.

Obiections

But forasmuch as none of the men of olde time was so impudent as to deny them, but all were inforced either to wonder at them, or to alledge causes to diminish the estimation of them. Let vs examine the reasõs which they giue them. One saies that they were tyed to ỹ starrs, and yet they mocked at the diuinations of the Chaldees euery where. Now then, of so many Astrologers as were among the Gentiles, & haue made bookes therof, name me any one that hath foretold the doings, not of an Empire, but of some one man: not a hundred yeres aforehand, but a yere afore hand, sauing that the diuel now & then by Gods sufferance, hath executed the same euil which he himselfe foretold vpon the partie that asked counsell of him. But Ptolomie wil say, the foretellings of the Astrologers are a meane betwéene necessitie & chaunce: for they foresée not the euents or fallings out, but onely the inclinations or dispositions of things, & as many as promise any further, do but abuse men. What thinke we then that this Ptolomie would haue said, if he had read these prophesies, so particular, that they séeme rather storyes of things past, than foretellings of things to come. Surely he would haue said that they could not haue proceéded but only from God, as he setteth downe & déemeth very wel in lesser things: And that they which foretell particular things must néedes be inspired of God: And againe, that the iudgemẽts of such as gaze vpon the Starres, are doubtful, howbeit that they which foretell the good part, approch nérer the trueth, by reason of a certeine power that beareth sway in their Soule, although that otherwise they haue no skill at all in the arte. And in very déede, the best Astronomers haue reiected Iudiciall Astrologie, as in vain and without foundation, yea euen after they haue well tyred themselues in it. But in Israel we reade of a Herdsheard called Amos, whose Prophesies were no lesse euident for the matters they treated of, than were the Prophesies of Daniell and Esay, Auerrhoes and his followers haue a peculiar opinion of mans Soule, namely that we haue a certaine capacitie of vnderstanding, which they terme an vnderstanding in possibility, the which informeth & teacheth by the working of an vniuersall mind, which by the particular imaginations of euery man, commeth to be ioyned to the vnderstanding in possibilitie that is cõmon to al. And therefore they say ỹ prophesying proceédeth properly of ỹ Coniunction in men that haue a strong & liuely imagination. If it be so, I would haue ỹ disciples of Auerrhoes (who had so goodly an imagination) to imagine this, to shewe me some Prophesie of their maisters or of their own. Also let thẽ answer me how it happeneth ỹ our Prophets for the most part haue commonly been old

Ptolomie in his booke of the fruite.

The same thing doth Moses of Narbon say vpon the booke of Abubacher & Auampace.

old men, seeing that (after their doctrine,) old men cannot Prophesie by reason of ỹ feeblenes of their imagination? But forasmuch as these men do preach vnto vs that the world is eternal; how happeneth it that Prophesying hath not bin instilled into men by the sayd coniunction, euerlastingly cõcerning time, & in al times, seeing ỹ to become a Prophet, there needeth no more but to haue a very strong imagination: forasmuch as the seperated vnderstandings are euermore readie and disposed to the saide Coniuntion? How happeneth it also that a man being come to that poynt, Prophesieth not of all things that he can imagine? But hereby we see manifestly that this Prophesying of theirs is not an habit, but a passion that fadeth away like the sound of a Lute, when the player ceaseth to stricke. Or if they say that a man must first get him both the actiue & the contemplatiue habits, & then the sayd vnderstanding matcheth it self with our imagination, as the forme of a thing matcheth with the substance there of, whereof commeth it that Dauid being a Shepheard & Amos a Neteheard, did prophesie so wonderfully? Some wil haue it, that Prophesying is derined into man by the Starres, conditionally that he be disposed to receiue it. Hereupon they prescribe him a certeine diet; whereby he must make his body equal and euenly counterpeised by Alchimie; & afterward he must gather togither the beames of the Sky into a mirror, which they cal Alchemusie, made according to ỹ Rules of Catoptrick: and finallie he must stellifie by Astrologie as wel the man himself, as the sod that he vsethe. And they say that Apollonius of Thianey prophesied after that manner. These are toies to be laughed at rather then worthy to be answered. And let euery man consider, whether our Prophetes being Shepherds, Neateheards & vnlearned, were framed with such curiousnes, to Prophesie according to diet. May who his wittes be somewhat well wakned, he shall perceiue that they were inspired with things which the Starres could neither do, nor betoken, nor knowe, forasmuche as they bee still in the hand of the first cause, and are not come downe so lowe as to bee subiect to the second causes.

Roger Bacon in his booke of the fixe sciences of experience, and in his abridgement of Diuinitie.

The Platonists therfore come somwhat nearer the truth, specially Iamblycus and Porphyrius by name. For they say ỹ the foretelling of things far off afore hand, cannot be don neither by art nor by nature, but only by inspiration from God. Howbeit forasmuch as they speake of many gods & take the diuels for Angels it may be obiected against vs, ỹ our Prophesies proceded eyther from diuells or from Angels. But if we call to minde the Oracles of diuells, and compare them with our Prophesies, there will appeare as much difference betwixt them, as is betweene the discretion of a wise man, and the tittletattle of a fole. Therfore let vs heare what they say. The Gods (sayth Porphyrius) foretell naturall thinges by the order of natural causes which they marke,

and they foretell things that depend vpon our owne will, by coniectures taken of our doings. But forasmuch as they be swifter than wee, they preuent vs and outrunne vs, and that in such sort, that as naturall things are deceyuable, and mens cases are variable and vncerteyne: so they both, as wel the good as the bad bee subiect to lying. What els is this to say but that they can foretell nothing of vs further forth than they learne by our doings; nor of naturall things further forth than they reade them in nature, that is to say than they reade them as in a booke, howbeit with a sharper & swifter eyesight than we: but neither diuel nor Angell can reade that in the Starres which is not there; nor in men, that which men themselues knowe not, specially considering that the greatest learned men doe hould opinion that they enter not so farre. In the Starres they could not reade the names of Iosias, Vrias, or Cyrus: neither in the hearts of Iosias, Vrias, and Cyrus themselues, (who were not at that time in the world) could they reade the déedes which they were to do certeine hundred yéares after. For onely vnto God are those times present which are to come: but as for to Angells and vs there is no more of ỹ roll of time knowẽ, then it pleaseth God of his gracious goodnes to vnfold vnto vs. It followeth then by the doctrine of these Philosophers, that our Prophesies being so clére, so particular, and so neare to things a farre off, could not be inspired from many Gods.

Yet notwithstanding, al Prophesying (say they) procéeds either of art or of nature, or of some spirit, or of God himself. Of art, as by Astrologie; of nature, as when mans nature is ready to receiue the influences of the vniuersall, and of some Spirit, as by some league or couenant made with him. But of none of all these three could the Prophesies of the Hebrewes procéede, as I haue shewed euidently afore. It remayneth therfore that those Prophesies are of God, and consequently that their Scriptures are Gods word, which is nothing els but eyther those Prophesies themselues, or ỹ effects of those Prophesies. And to shut vp this Chapter, it wil not be amisse to rehearse this record of Porphyrius, ỹ the Religious sect of the Essens among ỹ Iewes, by reason of their occupying of thẽselues in those Prophesies, made a profession of Prophesying, & sildom times missed. For in déede there is greate likelyhode, ỹ if we vnderstood al the Prophesies of the Bible (which thing is vnpossible for vs, because wee cannot lay the states of all times together, we should finde there manie things which are darke to vs at this day, and yet were clére, well vnderstode, & easie, euen to the very common people, euery one in his time.

The

The xxvj. Chapter.

That the things which seeme most wonderfull in our Scriptures, are confirmed by the Heathen themselues: and a solution of their cheefe Obiections to the same.

NOw that we know that it is God that speaketh in the Scriptures; there should remaine no more for vs to doe, but to harken vnto him with silence. For seeing he hath made all thinges by his worde; his worde cannot haue said any thing which he hath not béene able to doe. And if wee crouch, and lay our hand vpon our mouth at the sight of a Kinges Seale: surely it wer more reason that we should dispose our mindes to beléeue, and our willes to obey without scanning, wrangling or gainesaying, when we see the expresse signing and seale of God in his Scriptures. Howbeit, to the intent we may leaue no cause of doubt to the Reader: forasmuch as some haue presumed to obiect, I desire that I also may haue leaue to assoyle their demaunds. Now therefore, let vs sée what is obiected against vs, as well by the Infidels of old time as of our daies. First of all, As great account (say they) as you make of your Scriptures; there is no record yéelded vnto them by any of our ancient Authors Gréeke or Latin, as Plato, Aristotle, Theophrast, and the rest of so many Philosophers, Historiographers, & Poets. This is euen as much as if a man should aske witnes of the men of Perow, concerning the Histories of Fraunce or Spayne. For in the times wherof our Scriptures speake, what were the Greeks and Romanes in respect of the Iewes, but sillie sauage people that fed vpon Mast? Or sothly it is all one, as if a man should aske a childe of the thinges that were done afore he was borne; considering that the latest Histories in our Bible, are of more antiquitie than the Schooles of Greece, or the vse of reading was in Rome. Nay moreouer, from the

An obiection concerning the witnesse of the Greekes.

The Answere.

the time that the Greeks knew there was an Aegypt, they went thither to schools, and there had communication with the Iewes, (as I haue proued already) at whose handes they reaped that little knowledge which they had concerning the true God, the creation of the world, and the fal of Man. Insomuch that Plato alledgeth our Authors vnder these words; As the authors of olde time report, or as it is reported in the auncient Oracles. And Numenius hauing espied that Plato coulde not get that skil from elsewhere than out of Moyses, termeth him Moyses speaking in the language of Athens, that is to say, translated into Greeke. The Historyes of Greece begin about the time of Cyrus. But (saith Aristobulus) the lawe of Moyses & the departing of the Israelites out of Aegypt, were translated into Greeke afore the reigne of Alexander, yea or of the Persians themselues. Which is as much to say, as that the Greekes euen from their first byspring, or at leastwise from the first time that they began to knowe themselues, heard speaking of our scriptures and were desirous to haue them. And Hecataeus the Abderite who attended vpon Alexander in his Conquests, made a booke purposely of the Iewes, which thing he did not of any of all the flourishing Nations which he had sene in his voyage. Also Herennius Philo hauing read the said Philosopher, sawe him so wonderfull in the thinges that he had learned of the Iewes, that he beleeued him to haue bene become a Iewe, and to haue bene conuerted to their lawe. Anon after, when the time of the calling of the Gentiles approched, that it behoued the Prophesies to be made known to the whole world; to rid away al suspition of contriuing them vppon the euents; God did put into the heart of Ptolomie Philadelph King of Aegypt, to make a Library, in the which (by the coũsel of Demetrius Phalareus a Disciple of Theophrastus) it was his will to haue the Bible of the Hebrewes, and therefore at his great charges caused it to be translated into Greeke. The History of this translating is set out by one Aristaeas a Chamberlaine of king Ptolomies; who with another named Andrew, was sent to Eleazar the Highpriest of the Iewes to fetch the Bible and sixe men of euery Tribe that were learned in both the languages, to translate it. And he saith that Demetrius Phalareus made report vnto the king, that these scriptures were the onely writings that were diuine in deede; and that thereupon the king asked him in his presence, how it happened that he had not those bookes sooner, seeing he spared not for any cost, and that Iewrie was so neere hand? Whereunto Demetrius answered, that they were written in a peculiar language, and therefore that it behoued him to write to the Highpriest to haue interpreters: according to which aduice, the king sent Ambassadours with letters and presents to Eleazar, (of which Ambassadours he himselfe was one): And that by the consent of all the people, the threescore and twelue

Aristobulus writing to Ptolomy Philometor. lib. 1.

Hecataeus cõcerning the Iewes.

Herennius Philo concerning the Iewes

Aristaeas concerning the translation of the threescore and Ten Interpreters.

Interpreters

Interpreters were sent into Aegypt. Yea and in this Historie (which is extant still at this day) ye may see the Copies of the letters that were written from Demetrius to Ptolomie, from Ptolomie to Eleazar, & from Eleazar to Ptolomie. And the said Aristæas addeth, that when the Bible was once translated and perused in the presence of the chiefe Pæres of his Realme, the King caused a solemne curse to be proclamed with lowd voice, against all such as should ad any thing to it, take ought from it, or alter ought in it. And afterward (saith hee) when the king vpon further reading thereof, did marvel that of so many things and so worthie of remembrance, there was no mention made by the Historywriters and Poets of Greece: Demetrius Phalareus answered him, that it was a diuine lawe, giuen of God, which ought not to be touched but with cleane hands, (as Hecatæus himselfe writeth) affirming moreover that Theopompus a Disciple of Aristotles had done him to vnderstand, that whereas some had gone about to disguise the scriptures of the Iewes with Greeke eloquence, they were stricken with amazednesse for their labor, and vpon praier made vnto God were warned in a Dreame, that they should forbeare to vnhallowe or defile those heauenlie matters, with the glosse of their owne inuentions. Yea and that Theodotus a Tragical Poet had told him, that because he intended to haue intermingled some matters of the Scriptures with his Tragedies, that is to wit, by drawing grounds of his Poetries out of the Bible, as other Poets had done with the warres of Thebes and Troy: he had sodainly forgone his sight, which was afterward restored againe vnto him vpon continuall praier and long repentance. And this befell iust in the same time that the Greekes and Romanes did but begin to deale with Philosophy. Also Numenius the Pythagorist, whom many prefer before Plato, made so great account of the Scriptures, that his booke of Welfare, of Number and of Place, and his booke intitled The Lapwing, were ful of texts alledged out of Moyses and the Prophets with great reuerence: And he is the same Philosopher whom Plotin had in such estimation, that hee vouchsafed to write a Commentarie vpon him. But I would that the Greekes should but shew me the like record of their owne writings and of their owne lawes, not in our bookes, but euen in their owne bookes; and I beleeue that no indifferent person would refuse that offer.

Eusebius in his eight booke of the preparation to the Gospell.

Orgines in his fourth booke against Celsus.

Here followeth another obiection: Namely that the Scriptures, haue a simple, bare, and grosse stile: but if they were of God, they would speake farre otherwise. I demaunde of them, whether mens stiles ought not to be according to the persons that speake, and whether the grace of eloquence consist not in obseruing seemelinesse; as namely whether the eloquence of a Subiect, ought not to differ from the eloquence of a king; the eloquence of a child, from the eloquence of a father;

An Obiection concerning the stile. The Solution.

and

and the eloquence of an Aduocate, from the eloquence of a Iudge; or whether by the Rules of Rhetoricke, that which is eloquence in the one, shall not be folishnes in the other? Therefore if the Lawyer or Aduocate will pleade eloquently, he must moue affections: to the intent he may moue other men, hee must first moue himselfe. The Iudge must vtter his words gravely, and he must also bee vnflexible and vnintreatable, without mouing and without affection. The King must simply and absolutely commaund; for he is both the voice of the Lawe, and the rule of the Iudge. But if either the King come to perswade, or the Iudge to debate cases; then must the one put on the state of an Aduocate, and the other the state of a subiect, and lay aside the state of a King and Iudge. What then I pray you shall become of the lawe of God the King of kings, who is infinitely further aboue the greatest Monarches, than the greatest Monarches are aboue their meanest Subiects; and who exceedeth alike both the Iudges & the parties that are to be iudged? We would haue him to vse Inductions as Plato doth, or Syllogismes as Aristotle doth, or prettie sleightes as Carneades doth, or outeries as Cicero doth, or fine conceits as Seneca doth. We would haue him to vtter his wordes by weight, that they might fall in iust measure and sound; and to interlace some farre sought wordes, some allegoricall matters, and some strange deuises wherewith common vse is vnacquainted. If we should see a Kings Proclamations set forth in such a stile, which of vs would not by and by note it as smelling too much of the Inkehorne; and which of our eares would not rather glowe at it; than like of it? Surely then, the simpler that Gods Lawe is, the better doth it beseeme the euerlasting; considering that the simpler it is, the more it resembleth the voice of him that can doe all things; yea and (which more is) the simpler it is, the better doth it fit all people. For the Lawe that is ordained for al men without exception, ought to be as an ordinary foode, or rather as a common kind of bread applied to the taste and relish of al men. But what will you say if the Scriptures haue in their lowlinesse more statelines, in their simplicitie more profoundnes, in their homelinesse more allurance, and in their grossenesse more liuely force and sharpnes, than are to be found any where else? We reade in the first chapter of Genesis, God created heauen and earth; God spake, and the waters were seuered from the earth; Hee commaunded, and the earth brought foorth hearbes. There is not so very an idiot or so simple a man, but he can vnderstand these thinges, I meane so farre as is requisite to his saluation, yea and consent at the very hearing of them, that the things must nœds be as it is said there. But if a man wil wade déeper into the matter as how God hath in all eternitie chosen (as ye would say) one instant whereat to begin this worke, without stuffe or matter to worke vpon;

and

and how he made it by his only bare word: they be such bottomles deps, as will make euen the stoutest afraide, and inforce the wisest to stoupe to the skill of the lowly and little ones, so excellent is the simplicitie of the Scripture, both to instruct the lowly, and to confound the proude both at once. In our Bible we haue Historyes, & in historyes what desire we? A truth: for that is the very substance of thē. Now what greater proof of trueth can there be, than simplicitie? A stile or maner of inditing that setteth down things past before our eies, as if they were presently in doing? What greater token would we haue thereof, than (in our reading) to feele the verie same affections which those felt of whom we read: Let the hardest hearted men, and the most vntoward in the world go read the Historyes of our Bible, as how Isaac was led to be sacrifized, how Ioseph became knowne againe to his brethren, how Iephthe was vexed with the making of his daughter, or how Dauid was greeued at the death of Absalon: and (if they will say the trueth) they shall feele a certaine shuddering in their bodies, a certaine yerning in their hearts, and a certaine tender affection all at one instant, farre greater than if all the Oracles of Rome or Athens, should preach the same matters whole daies together. Let them read the same stories againe in Iosephus; to whom the Emperour Titus caused an Image to be set vp for the elegancie of his historie, and they shal finde that after his inriching of them with all the ornaments of Rhetoricke, he shall leaue them more colde and lesse moued, then he found them. And that is because that in very deede, true beautie desireth no painting; but the more naked it is, the more it allureth; and (as Iewellers and Lapidaries say) the fairer that any Precious Stone is, the lesse doth it neede both of Gold and of workmanship. And lothly to set vp our Scriptures vpon high words, is nothing else but to set vp a well proportioned tall man vpon a Scaffolde, which diminisheth somewhat of his naturall proportion, and yet addeth not any whit to his stature.

Also in all our Scriptures we haue Prophesies, and in those Prophesies we haue threatnings, exhortations, & vehement speaches. And it is in such matters, that the Orators are wont to thunder and to mounte vp to their loftie speaches. In this kind, the Latins make great account of Cicero. But I repose me to al such as haue read both of them with like Iudgement, what comparison there is betweene him & Esay? betweene his flattering insinuations with childish excuses of ignorance, and the enterances of Esay, lively, graue, and full of maiestie? Betweene his long Periods to the which he herkeneth so deuoutly; and the others cutting words which are the thunderstroths doubled, to daunt the stoutest stomack that is? But among al the Greeks, Cicero himself wondereth at Aeschines against Demosthenes in a certaine place, where he laieth open his

Cicero in his Tusculane Questions.

his iniuries, and passions against him, in deede more like a bedlem than a man in his right wits. And what eloquence, what force, or what pearcing hath that place (I beseech the Readers with all my heart to reade both the one and the other) in comparison of this beginning of Esaies? Hearken ye Heauens (saith he) and giue eare thou Earth; for the Euerlasting hath said, I haue nourished Children and brought them vp, & they haue rebelled against me. The Oxe knoweth his owner, and the Asse his maisters cribbe: but Israell hath not knowen me, my people haue no vnderstãding; Ah sinful people, people loden with iniquity, to what purpose should ye be chastised any more, sith ye heape sinne vpon sinne? The whole head is sicke, and all the bodie is full of sores. From the sole of the foote to the crowne of the head, there is not any sound part. What abundance of kindnes, and eloquence, of humilitie and hautinesse, of reasons and affections, is there in these fewe wordes? And how much greater should we finde them in their owne Language and in their own accents? Truely some great learned men of our time (which thing I thinke not to be any abatement of their commendation) haue vndertaken to make Paraphrases vpon this Prophet & others, full of goodly sentences, and humane eloquence, which haue serued fitly to giue him the greater grace. And if our Rhethoritians finde fault with those similitudes as ouer homely: I would haue them to tel me to what vse similitudes serue, but to make things clere; and what is the meane to make matters clere, but by taking similitudes from things best knowen? And what manner of ones were the Metaphors of the Romanes, but at the first rude & homely, and afterward taken from wars, and in processe of time taken from pleading & oratorie, according as they grew to be more corrupted? And what else are the similitudes of Cicero himselfe in his treatise of old age, but likenings taken from husbandry and Vines, because he himself delighted in those things? To be short, when it commeth to the pursueing of a similitude euidently, to the setting downe of a Desolation liuely, to the reproouing of vices sharply, or to the promising of deliuerance brauely: our Prophets do set forth euery thing so naturally, so presently, so forcibly, & so liuely; as that it appeareth manifestly that they had the persons, the places, the times, and the things themselues whereof they spake, all present before their eies: yea & that maner of inditing is common to all our Prophets vniuersally. Of al these things I require none other witnesses, thã our verie despisers of God themselues, whose contempt of our Scriptures, which they neuer had leisure to read, entereth for the most part vnder this colour, that some maister of Arte which neuer read any more than his Cicero, ne can skil to discerne what becometh either others or himself, hath skorned the things which he hath not the skil either to peise or to praise. From such people (say I) springeth

Osorius the Portugale.

and the

the contempt of our Scriptures, specially in Italy; who being out of their Schooles are not able to say one word to the purpose, no nor scarcely so much as simply to talke. Politian (saith Viues) did altogether despise the reading of the Scriptures. Therefore let vs see what he commended. He spent his whole life in scanning whether a man should pronounce Vergilius or Virgilius; Carthaginenſes, or Carthaginienſes; Primus, or Preimus: and if he had any further leisure, hee spent it in making some Greeke Epigram in the commendation of Lechery and Sodomy. A graue iudgment sothly for vs to set our mindes vpon. Another called Domitius Calderinus, turned young men from the reading of the Scriptures: but what goodly matter toke he to occupie himself withal? Forsoth he passed his life in making a Comment vpon Virgils Priapus, a booke which all men that haue any peece of manhood in them are ashamed euen to speake of. But what greater proofe of the praise of our scriptures would we haue, than that such persons do dispise them? Contrariwise, Marsilius Ficinus, and Iohn Earle of Mirandula the honour of Italy & of his age for skil in all sciences, hauing read all the good authors in the world, came at length to rest themselues in our Scriptures, and were in the end out of liking with al others; but as for these they could neuer haue their fil of them. If there were no more but the affirmation of the one, and the deniall of the other; vnto which of them I pray you ought we rather to yelde? Nay, I dare say, and I wil maintaine it among al such as know what it is to speake to the purpose, and accordingly as may best beseem euery man; that our scriptures are written in such wise, as may most fitly beseeme both God and the author of them, and the matters that they treate of, and the parties to whom they be spoken; and that a more seemely stile than that cannot be imagined, either for God; (for he is our Prince; and it beseemeth not Princes to perswade): or for the matters; for they be holy and graue, & graue matters (as saith Aristotle) should not be painted: or for the parties to whom they be spoken; for they were folke of al sorts without exception; and like as all of them were bound to beleeue and obserue them, so was it behoffull that all should vnderstand them.

Obiections concerning the vncredible nes of things in the Scriptures.

But now enter they into the matter, of them. The Scriptures (say they) doe tell vs things vnpossible and vncredible: more like the fond fables of Poets, than the reports of sound Histories. I would haue them tell me to whom they be vnpossible, and to whom they be vncredible: seeing they father them not but vpon God the maker of Heauen & Earth, to whom al things are alike easie? The Poets say that Iupiter thundreth aboue, and, that Neptune turmoyleth the Seas, & roweth vp the earth: and we know that both Iupiter and Neptune were men as we be: and therfore we say iustly that they report fables; for they father things vpon

men

men which are aboue the abilitie of man to doe, and which surmounte the power of al Creatures. But when things that are impossible to Creatures, are reported of God, whose power is infinite: although men doubt whether they were done or no; yet can they not deny but that he was able to doe them. And if their suspecting of them bée because they read ỳ like things in their own Fables; I haue proued already, ỳ these things were written long time afore they had either writers of Histories, Poets, yea or any writing at al. And therefore they ought to thinke that their Fables were deuised vpon our Histories, and their Leasings vpon our truthes. For like as a man hath béene afore his portraiture, good Coyne afore counterfeit Coyne, a true Seale afore a forged Seale, and a true Copy afore a forgerie: so also was the true declaration of things afore Fables: according to this rule of the Philosophers, that euil hath not any being of it selfe, but in another thing, ne is properly a substance, but a corruption of a substance. Therefore we beléeue not the Fables of Homere, nor the Inuentions of Euripedes and Sophocles made vpon the battel of Troy; and yet we denie not but there was a Warre of Troy. As little also do we beléeue the Romanes vnthy vaunt of the twelue Péeres of Charles the greate the King of Fraunce; and yet we doubt not but there was a greate Charles that did great thinges in his time, and had great store of Noble Parsonages in his seruice. To be short, had there neuer béene any Dog, Horse, Beare, or Lion in the world; neither Poets had fained, nor Painters painted vs any Cerberus, Pegasus, or Chimera. Likewise, had there not bene a trueth of things whereupon the Poets made their Fables, we shoulde not haue had at this day any Fables in the World. Let vs come to particularities. In all the whole Scripture there is not a more wonderfull thing, than the Creation of the world and of man: And if we admit those two pointes, nothing ought to séeme straunge vnto vs in the residue of the Bible. For all the miracles which we wonder at, are but sparkes of the infinite power which vttered it selfe at that time in the creating of all thinges. Nowe I haue proued already both by liuely reasons, and by witnesse of the auncient writers, that the world and all things therein were created, and that they were created by the onely will of God, at such time as pleased him; and that it cannot be otherwise imagined. Vpon this trueth haue the Phenicians and Aegyptians fashioned their Fables; saying that in the beginning there was a darkenesse, and a spirituall Aire, and in an infinite Chaos; that this spirit couered the Chaos: and that of the coniunction of them twaine, was bred a certaine Moath, that is to say, a certaine slime, whereof all liuing thinges were ingendred. It cannot be denied but that this was a mistaken Copy of the holy and native Copie written by Moyses.

The Creation of the world and of Man.

Concer-

Concerning the creation of Man, the Aegyptians say he was created both Male and Female. Hereupon Plato gathereth that he was a Man-woman or Herkinalson: and the Scriptures had said that God had created them Male and Female. So befalleth it properly to a Portraiture that is drawen by another. That which is taken at the liuely Image loseth a little of his nature. That which is taken at the Patterne, loseth somewhat more; And so from one to another, they varie in the ende so farre from the very originall, that a man can scarsely finde any resemblance thereof. The fall of man hath bene proued of me by many reasons, and approued by al the Philosophers, & euen by the very feeling of our corruption, all men are inforced to confesse it. But Moyses is the onely man that setteth vs downe both the History and the cause thereof. Hereupon the Emperour Iulian quarreleth, thinking it strange that a Serpent should speake, which is no more but that the diuel spake by the Serpent. And what is there herein, which befell not daily among the Gentiles? diuels, to deceiue men, spake to them from out of Images. The Fend of Dodon spake out of an Oke: Phylostratus saith that an Elme spake to Apollonius of Thyaney: A Riuer (saith Porphyrius) saluted Pythagoras. Euen Iulian himself and his Philosopher Maximus, hard the diuel speake in diuers voices & in diuers maners: & in al this geare there is thought to be no straungenes at al. For seeing that the diuell of himselfe is not visible to our eies; must he not be faine to put on a borowed shape? And if he borowe one, why should he rather take some other shape than the shape of a Serpent? And if he speake; why should he not speake as well by the mouth of a Serpent, as of another liuing wight? and as wel of a liuing wight, as of a thing that hath no life? May further, this creature hath a manifest figure, in that it traileth vpon the ground, & liueth of the dust: & in that we by our winding away frō God to the base and earthly things, are brought to the same point at this day.

The fall of Man.

We read of the men of the first age, that they liued seauen, eight, or nine hundred yeares: which thing some thinking to be incredible, haue imagined that those yeares were but moneths, notwithstanding that in the history of the vniuersal Flood which insued, the moneth is set down to be of eight and twentie daies, and the yeare to be twelue monethes, and that otherwise we must be faine to admit, that they begat Children at lesse than ten yeares of the Sunne. And yet is that one of the griefes which they conceiue against our Scriptures; as who would say it were not as easie vnto God to extend our liues vnto ten thousand of yeares, as to a hundred, to God I say who hath made both the life it selfe, and the yeares, and the worlds of yeares. Yet notwithstanding Manethon the Aegyptian, Berosus the Chaldean, Moschus, Hestiæus, and Hierom, who wrote the Storyes of the Phenicians, doe confirme the saying of

The age of the first men.

Moyſes concerning the firſt men. Alſo Heſiodus, Hecataeus, Acuſilaus, Hellanicus, and Ephorus agrée thereunto: affirming that they were ordained to liue ſo long time, as wel for to ſtudie the Sciences, as to inuent the Handicrafts; and ſpecially for the finding out of Aſtronomie, becauſe (ſay they) if they had liued leſſe than fiue hundred yeares, their obſeruations had bene in vaine, becauſe the great yeare continueth ſo long. To be ſhort, the matter was ſo cléere, and ſo common in all auncient Hiſtories, that Varro palleth it not ouer as a light thing, but laboreth to yéeld a cauſe thereof.

The generall Flud.

For the punihment of mankind there ſlowed a general Flud. What Nation hath not beléeued it, and what Author hath not ſpoken of it? Among the Aegytians, Phenicians, Greekes, and Romanes nothing was more common. And becauſe they had heard that it befel in the primetime of the worlde, and were ignorant in the accountes of the times; euery writer of Hiſtories did ſet it downe in the time which he thought to be of moſt antiquitie: as for example, the Thebanes referred it to the time of Ogyges: the Theſſalians to the time of Deucalion, and ſo forth of others. Moreouer, in Braſilie, in the newe Spayne, and in the Florida, the beléefe thereof is common, and all of them impute it to mans ſinne, and to the wrath of the higheſt powred out vpon mankind. But let vs come yet to more particular points. God commaunded Noah to make an Arke for the ſauing of himſelfe and his houſholde, and for the preſeruing of the ſéede of the worlde there. And he reckoneth vp vnto vs al the whole length, breadth and depth therof: which is a proofe that he had the truth it ſelfe, whereof the reſidue had but the fame. Yet notwithſtanding, Alexander Polyhiſtor, and Abydene do write, that Saturne foretold vnto Xyſuthrus the Flud ere it came; and that he made him an Arke, to ſaue all kinde of Cattell with him: That he preſerued his holy writings by ingrauing them in certaine pillers at Heliopolis in Aegypt, and ſailed in his Arke towards Armenie: that after certain daies he ſent forth certaine Birds, which found no drie ground: that at the end of certaine other daies, he ſent out certaine other Birds: and that in the end perceiuing drie land, hée came downe out of the Arke in Armenie, where (by their ſaying) the remnants of the Arke are diligently kept by the Inhabitants, who helpe themſelues with it in many diſeaſes. And their taking of Saturne is according to the maner of the Greekes, who ſurmiſed the Iewes to haue worſhipped Saturne, becauſe they kept holy the ſeuenth day. And it may be that Xyſuthrus may in the Aſſyrian tong betoken as much a Noe, who in diuers places had diuers names as we read. Neuertheleſſe, this difference ſerueth vs for a proofe, becauſe we ſée it is not a ſimple ſuppoſall, but a firme tradition from the father to the ſon. The ſame thing is reported by Beroſus, not the counterfet Beroſus, but the

Alexander Polyhiſtor.

Abydenus alleged by Cyrill in his firſt booke againſt Julian.

Ioſephus in his firſt booke of his antiquities, cap. 3.

the same Berosus whom the auncient writers alledge; and by Ierom the Aegyptian, Mnaseas the Phenician, and others. Yea and they adde further, that the place where Noe came downe out of the Arke was called Saleh Noah, in Greeke ἀποβατήριον, that is to say Noes comming downe; and that it was a certaine Mountaine called Baris or Paropanisus, which according to their language at that time) semeth to come al to one. Also Plutarke speaketh expressly of the Done that Deucalion sent out of the Arke to seeke drie land: and Phauorinus and Stephanus speaks of the place where the Arke rested; which cannot be vnderstood of any particular flud of Thessalie, which doubtlesse was contriued out of the other vniuersall flud. Now therefore not knowing what to replie in this behalfe, they picke a quarrel at the measure of the Arke, Imagining it hard for God to doe that which they themselues can not doe. But besides that the Arke was a figure of the Church whereinto all Nations should one day be gathered and saued; Origen sheweth to Celsus the Epicure by the Geometricall Cubit, that it was of a marueilous greatnesse and capacitie. And Bureon a Mathematicke declareth expressly in a booke, what it contained sorte by sorte. To be short, sith we reade that the Flud was vniuersal, considering that that could not be but by Gods appointment, who notwithstanding intended to saue those that were his: the sight of such a myracle ought to make all the residue credible, without alledging of measures in a power which is without measure. For whereas some will néeds impute that Flud to a certaine great Coniunction of Planets which was at that time; I send them to the Earle of Mirandula, who not onely, proueth that there was not then any greate Coniunction at all, but also that although there had bene one, yet they coulde not assigne it to the named point; but rather that by their owne rules the Coniunction was such at that time, that it betokened rather an vniuersall burning than an vniuersal drowning of the world.

In his treatise that beastes are capable of reason.

Iohn Picus Earle of Mirandula against Astrologers.

At the going away of this Flud, the Scripture telleth vs of a Ham or Cham which discouered the shame of Noe his father. The Chaldees say it was Zoroastres, who woulde with his Charmes haue made him barren. The Greeks after them fained their Iupiter Hammon to haue gelded him. Thus turned they the historie into a fable. Likewise Iaphet is none other than the Iapetus of ỳ Poets, who toke the renewing of the world after the Flud, for the verie first creation thereof. Then followeth consequently the confusion of the tongues. It is a verie cléere case that languages are to no vse, but in respect of the diuersitie of them; insomuch if that there were no more but one in al the world, it were mére fondnesse to knowe any moe than that. Therefore like as reason hath led vs to one first man, so ought it also to leade vs to one first language; which was but one alone, like as there was but one man alone with

Cham.

The confusion of tongues or languages.

his wife. If the diuerſitie of them conſiſted as now, but in propꝛietie of phꝛaſes and foꝛme of woꝛdes, it might be ſaid that they had bene altered by pꝛoceſſe of time. But it is wel knowne that there are many Languages, whoſe verie oꝛiginall woꝛds are farre diuers and vtterly vnlike one another, ſauing in ſome fewe woꝛds that haue bene bꝛought out of other Countries by Trauellers and trade of Marchandiſe, which haue euerywhere retained ſtill the ſame names they had in the place from whence they came. Ye wil ſay then that men inuented them when they conueyed Inhabiters abꝛoade to people other Countries. But what a vanitie had that bene? What life of man could haue ſuffiſed to do it? What benefit could haue inſued of it, either to the inuenters themſelues, oꝛ to their followers? Nay, who ſeeth not that it had bene a publike miſerie? not a knowledge, but an ignoꝛance; not a pleaſure, but a hell to poſteritie? Certeſſe, we ſay therefoꝛe that reaſon leadeth vs to that which the ſcripture ſaith; namely, that at the beginning there was but one language: That the diuiding of languages came not of men, but that the diuiding of men came of the diuiſion of Languages: & that it was not a deuice of men (who at that time were ſuffitiently occupied in the nedful knowledge of nature, and in the finding out of pꝛofitable Arts & Sciences) but a punishment caſt of God vpon mankind. Let vs ſee how the auncient wꝛiters do further theſe reaſons. The common opinion is (ſay Abydenus and Alexander) that men being bred of the earth, and truſting in their owne ſtrength, woulde needes in the deſpight of the Gods goe reare a Tower vp to the Sunne, in the ſame place where Babylon now is: and that when they had raiſed it verie high, the Gods ouerthrewe it and caſt it downe vpon their heades with a great winde: and that at that time began the diuerſitie of Languages: whereupon, the Hebrewes called that place Babel. Of theſe thinges ſpeaketh Sybil alſo in her verſes in the ſelfeſame termes. And Heſtiæus & Eupolemus do adde, that the Pꝛieſtes which ſcaped frō thence, gat themſelues with the myſteries of their Iupiter (the ſame was either Nembrod oꝛ Iupiter Bele) into the plaine of Sennaar, frō the which place men departing by reaſon of the confuſion of tongues, began to ſeuer themſelues abꝛoad to people the reſt of the woꝛld. Here it pleaſeth Iulian to fall to ſcoffing. For (ſaith he) a great fort of ſuch globes as the whole earth is, being heaped one vpō another, were not able to reach halfway to the Sphere of the Moone. But the reaſon of this enterpꝛiſe of theirs is euident, namely ỹ their intent was to haue had a refuge againſt ỹ height of the waters, if any flud ſhould come againe, that is to ſay, to make a bank againſt Gods wꝛath, which it had bene better foꝛ thē to haue pacified by pꝛaier. And this pꝛide of theirs is not to be thought ſo ſtrange a matter, conſidering how we read in the hiſtoꝛies of ỹ Greeks, that one Xerxes ſent letters of defiance to

Alexander Polyhiſtor. Abydenus. Sybilla. Euſeb. lib. 9. cap. 4. de præpar.

Geneſ. 11.

to the Sea: and in the Histories of the Romanes, that one Caligula vndertooke a quarrell against Iupiter. And Iulian himselfe was not a whit wiser, when he would néeds take vpon him to impeach the kingdome of God, by prohibiting the Christians to reade Poets. And whereas Celsus will néeds beare himselfe on hand, that the said Historie was taken out of the fable of the Aloides: all men know that Homer was the first Author of that Fable, who came a long time after Moyses. And in good sooth, these particularities of the confounding of Tongues, of the dispersing of men abroade, of the place where it befell, of the naming of Phaleg who was borne at the verie time of the diuision, and such other circumstances; do euidently shew that Moyses speaketh not at rouers: whereof there is also this further proofe, that the Originals of Nations according to the dividing of houshelds at that time, are not read of in any other Author.

As vaine also is this saying of theirs, that the burning vp of Sodom is taken from the tale of Phaeton, which is in déede as far from it as Heauen is from the Earth. For euen at this day there are yet still to be séene the remainders of Gods wrath, noted by Strabo, Galen, Mela, & others: namely the bitter Lake wherin nothing can liue; the banks thereof lined with Bitumen; the stones stinking & filthy; the trées bearing fruits faire to the eie, but falling to Cinder & smoke in the hand; which things we read not of to haue béene séene any where else, and yet in a valley most beautiful to behold, where stood at that time fiue Cities, or according to Strabo thirtéene, which were al consumed with fire for sin against nature. And Iosephus saith that the image or piller of salt whereunto Loths wife was turned, was to be séene there euen in his daies. These are the greatest wonders of the booke of Genesis. The residue thereof consisteth in the History of Abraham and of his children. As for the Princes of those daies, we haue neither pedegrée nor history of them among the heathen writers: & therfore it is the more to be wondred at, ý they haue spoken of our shepherds. For Berosus saith that about a ten generations or descents from the vniuersal Flood, there was among the Chaldees a great man that excelled in Astronomie. And that by him Berosus ment to betoken Abraham, Eupolemon declareth: for he saith that in the said tenth generation, Abraham was borne in Camerine a towne of Babylonie, otherwise called Vr or Caldeopole; who inuented Astronomy among the Chaldees, & was in the fauour of God, by whose commandement hee remoued into Phenice, where he taught the course of the Moone, of ý Sun, & of the Planets, whereby he greatly pleased the King: notwithstanding that he saith he had receiued it from hand to hand from Enoch, whom the Greeks (saith he) called Atlas, vnto whom the Angels had taught many things. Also he rehearseth the Battel that was made by Abraham for the

Sodom. Galen in his booke of Simples. Pausanias in his Eliaks. Solinus in his Polyhistor. Tacitus in his last booke.

Eusebius. li. 9. de præpar. Cap. 4. Eupolemus in his booke of the Iewes. Abraham and his race.

recouery of Loth, the intertainment of Melchisedek, the ouerthwartes that Abraham indured for Sara his wife in Aegypt, and the plague that God did cast vpon Pharao to make him to deliuer her to Abraham againe. And Artabanus in his storie of the Iewes reporteth almost the selfe same thinges; adding, that of Abraham the Iewes were called Hebrews wherein the nérenesse of the names deceiued him. Melon in his bookes against the Iewes, wrote that Abraham had two wiues; and that by the one of them which was an Aegyptian, he had twelue children, among whom Araby was parted, which euen in his time had twelue kings still: (Those were the twelue Sonnes of Ismael the Sonne of Abraham by Agar the Aegyptian, which are set downe by name in Genesis.) And that by the other (which was a woman of the Countrie of Syria,) he had but onely one sonne named Isaac, who likewise had twelue Sonnes, of whom the yongest was called Ioseph, of whom Moyses (saith he) descended. Also Alexander setteth forth Abrahams sacrifice at length & the children that he had by Chetura. And in his historie he alledgeth one Cleodemus a Prophet, otherwise called Malchas, whom he affirmeth to agrée with Moyses in the historie of the Iewes. Againe, Hecatæus the Abderite hauing bene in Iewrie, did purposely make a booke of Abrahams life, which thing he had not of his owne maister King Alexander. To be short, that which Orpheus saith of a certaine Chaldee vnto whome onely God manifested himselfe, séemeth to be spoken of Abraham. For he had béene conuersant in Aegypt, where the renowne of Abraham was so great, that euen in their coniurings they made expresse mention of the God whom Abraham had worshipped. The same Alexander writeth the fléeing of Iacob for feare of his brother Esau; his abode in Mesopotamia; His seauen yeares seruice; his marying with two Sisters; the number of his children; the rauishing of Dina; the slaughter of Sichem; & likewise the selling of Ioseph; his imprisonment, his deliuerance for expounding of dreames. His authority in Aegypt; His marying with Askeneth the daughter of Petheser the highpriest; His two sonnes by name which were borne of her; the comming of his brothers into Aegypt; the Feast that he made them; the fiue partes which he gaue to Beniamin (whereof this Historiographer intendeth to yelde a reason) the comming of Iacob and of his whole houshold into Aegypt; of what age euery of them was; and how many children euery of them had. And so he bringeth vs downe from Noa to the Flud, from the Flud to Abraham, from Abraham to Leuie, and from Leuie to Moyses; howbeit euer among with faultes in reporting the things done, with differences in accounting the yeares, and with some additions of small importance here and there; which serue to shewe that he had not those Histories immediatly out of the Bible, but out of some other bookes which he had séene elsewhere.

Artabanus in his Historie of the Iewes.

Melon against the Iewes.

elsewhere. The selfesame things did Theodotus conuese into his Poetrie: and likewise Philo Biblius, Nicholas of Damasco, Aristæus, and others. Of whom this latter made a peculiar description of the storie of Iob, how he was tempted as wel by the diuel as by his neighbours; affirming him to haue bene the sonne of Esawe dwelling in the marches betwæne Idumea and Araby, which thing he could not haue red in the Scripture. To be short, the places which beare the name of Abraham both in Damasco, in Chaldee, and in the land of Chanaan; and of Ioseph in Aegypt, together with the Wel of wonderfull antiquitie neare to Ascalon, do giue vs assurance both of their abode in Palestine, and of their remouing into Aegypt. And Manethon the Historiographer of Aegypt setteth vs downe their originall, and their comming downe into Aegypt, terming them in his language Sepeherokings, which was, because that as we reade in the Scriptures, their wealth consisted in Cattell. But of all these auncient writers we haue but fragments, such as we could gather together out of the auncient Authors.

Now let vs come to Moyses. Alexander saith that he was the son of Amram the sonne of Elat, the sonne of Leuie, the sonne of Iacob, and so forth: that is to say, a naturall Israelite and not an Aegyptian. But let vs heare Artabanus concerning his first comming vp, and the discourse of his whole life. He saith that Meris the sonne of Kenephris King of Aegypt, being vnable to haue children, adopted a childe of the Iewes called Moyses, and instructed him in the lawes; who afterward gaue letters to the Aegyptians, and was reputed of them as a God and named Mercurie: That Kenephris being enuious of his reputation, sent him into the warres against the Ethyopians, with an armie of Iewes vntrained, to the intent that both he and they might haue perished together: And that Moyses demeaned himselfe so wisely, that the Ethyopians being ouercome, had him in such estimation, that they receiued Circumcision of him: That at his returne, great countenaunce was made vnto him, howbeit that he perceiuing it to be done vpon an euill minde, withdrew himself into Arabie, where he maried the daughter of Raguel a King of that Countrie: In the which meane time, the King of Aegypt that had oppressed the Iewes with so many toyles and (to the intent he might the more safely kill them) had appointed them a certaine Liuerie; died very suddenly of a Leaprosie. These things are not reported by Moyses; for he wrate not any thing to the aduancement of himselfe, but treated altogether of Gods victories, and not of his owne. But in the selfesame Author there followeth the calling of Moyses. This Moyses (saith he) was occupied in continuall praier to God for the deliuerance of the people: And one day as he was earnest in praying, there issued a fire out of the earth, where was not any fit matter to burne,

Artabanus concerning the Iewes.

and a voice told him that he should deliuer the Iewes and bring them into their Countrie. Whereupon without raising of any force, hee by the counsell of his wiues father, declared the will of God to the King, who by and by committed him to prison. But the prison doores were opened vnto him by miracle, and he went to the kings bedside, and summoned him againe to obey God. And when the King had asked him the name of the God, Moyses told it him in his eare, whereat he fel into a swound, but Moyses raised him vp againe by the hand, and the Priestes that made a scoffe at it died out of hand. He declareth afterward that the King required signes, and that Moyses turned his Staffe into a Serpent: That he smote the riuer of Nyle and made it to ouerflowe: That he strake it againe, and it returned within his bankes: That therupon the Priests of Memphis, were commaunded to doe the like matter vpon paine of their life, and that they by Arte Magike brought forth a Dragon, and chaunged the colour of the riuer: by meanes whereof the king became so proude, that he hardened his heart against the Iewes: That then Moyses smote the earth with his rod, and the earth brought foorth first venemous Flies, next Frogges, then Grashoppers, and afterward other straunge thinges: Whereupon (saith this Historiographer there hath growen a custome of keeping and reuerencing a Rod in their Temples euer since, because they holde opinion that Isis is the Earth, which being striken with that Rod, brought foorth those thinges. In the ende there was (saith he) such an Earthquake ouer al Aegypt, that the King determined to let that people goe. But in this point the Priestes disagree. For the Priestes of Memphis say that Moyses marking the tide passed the Sea at a low water. But the Priestes of Heliople say, that the Kinges intent was to pursue the Israelites to recouer the Iewels which they caried away with them out of Aegypt, and that Moyses being warned of God strake the Sea, which gaue place to him and all his people, and that the Aegyptians were partly destroied with thunder and lightening & partly drowned in the same waters. When they were passed the Sea, they liued thirtie yeares in the wildernesse and were fed with a certaine Snowe, which GOD did raine downe vppon them from Heauen. And this Moyses was a man of a tall stature, browne, with long heire on his heade and a longe bearde, and a countenance full of maiestie; and when he did all this worke of his, he was fowrescore and nine yeares olde. Wee reade the same thinges written by Demetrius and Eupolemus Greeke Historiographers, who doe adde many particularities moe: and Manethon nameth the King Tethmosis vnder whome these thinges were done. Also Numenius the Pythagorist saith, that he had reade the life of Moyses in Histories worthie of credite: and he rehearseth howe he was taken out of the water; howe hee was

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brought vp in ỹ Court. that afore he was Circumcised, he was called Iehoiachim, howbeit that by report of such as professed the knowledge of mysteries, he had a secret name in heauen, to wit Melchi; that he wrought great miracles before the King of Aegypt, & that certaine Magitians called Iannes & Iambres would haue don ỹ like: which are things ỹ are not set down in our Scriptures, but must nèds be had of them out of the holy Registers of Aegypt. And in very déd, in ỹ Coniurations of the Aegyptians, they vsed these words to the Deuils, The God of Israell, the God of the Hebrues, the God that drowned the Aegyptians with their King in the red Sea; which sheweth euidently that the matter was commonly knowen and out of all doubt. And I remember not any Author that denieth Moyses to haue conueyed the people of Israell out of Aegypt with great myracles. For sothly it had bin a miracle of all myracles, to haue made them to suffer so many aduersities without myracles. But yet some Authors haue attributed those myracles to Magicke and othersome to naturall reasons. There is (sayth Plinie) a kind of Magicke, which dependeth vpon Moyses and the Cabale; but yet had Magicke neuer so great scope (sayth he) as vnder Nero, neither was it euer found to be more feeble and vaine. And in trueth, what likenesse is there betwéene the Illusions of a Magician, which vanish away in the twinckling of an eye, and the leading of a mightie great Nation through the Sea, and (which more is) the mayntayning of them from hunger and thirst so long a time? But yet hath the Scripture prouided against this slaunder. For no lawe els in the world doth so expressely forbid Magick, as doth the lawe of Moyses: and the Cabale whereof Plinie had hard speake, is further off from such doings, than either Arithmeticke or Grammar. And wheras others doe report, that Moyses marked the ebbing of the water that he might passe the red Sea: surely they make the counsell of the Aegyptians very grosse witted, in casting themselues away so rashly. May I say further, that if it had beneso, the waters that drowned the one people would not haue spared the other. But euery man knowes that the Gulfe of Arabie is not subiect to such tydes as those are: and though it were, yet cannot the like cauill take place in all the residue of the miracles that are attributed vnto him. As vnméete also to be admitted, is the slaunder of Iustine the Historiographer & others, that Moyses was driuen out of Aegypt because he was a Leaper and that he caried all the Leapers of the Realme away with him. For it is a clére case by record of all auncient writers, that the people whom he caryed away, was a straunger in Aegypt: and when he himselfe rehearseth openly the benefites which that people had receiued at Gods hand, You knowe (sayth he) that there hath not ben any sickneſſe or disease among you, since the time you came out of Aegypt.

Secundum Mystas.

Origine against Celsus lib. 4.

Moyses his myracles.

In steede of Cabala, Plinie hath locabela.

And

And on the contrarie part he menaceth them with Plagues, Byles, and Botches of Aegypt, if they offended God. Insomuch that wheras in any other ancient Lawes, there is no mention made of any order for them ẏ, are infected with the Leaprosie: in this Law (as though God had meant to preuent that slaunder) they be separated from the companie of men, their clothes are to bee layd away, their houses to be scraped, & certeine other things are to be done, which is a sufficient proufe, that those which gouerned that people and had authoritie ouer them, were no Leapers.

Exod. 12

The number of the children of Israel.

This people went out of AEgypt and the scripture saieth that they were Six hundred thousand men on foote, besides women and Children. Heere agayne they crye out: They were but threescore and ten when they went into Aegypt, and how then is it possible that they should be so manie at their going out? I will not alleged eny miraculousnes, though the Scriptures declare that that people increased very greatly, in so much that it termeth them by the word Frye, as though it spake of Fishes. But I beseeche them to make somwhat a nearer reckoning, not with the largest, but after the ordinarie maner, what number might rise of threescore and ten persons in foure hundred yéeres or thereabouts, which was the time that they were in Egypt, & they shal finde their full number afore they come to two hundred & fiftie yeeres. After the same maner do we sée that Threescore households of Arabians, passing into Affrica in the time of the diuision vnder Calis, had peopled it throughout in lesse than three hundred yeres: insomuch that euen at this day, the Prouinces beare the names of Beni Megher, Beni Guariten, Beni Fensecar and so forth; that is to say the children of Megher, of Guariten, and of Fensecar. And there was not that Familie which peopled not some one Shire or other. Also the West Indyes which haue not bin knowē vnto vs aboue one hundred yeares, wil within one hundred no be peopled with Spanyards. To be short, Viues saith, he saw an honest man in Spaine, which had peopled a village of a hundred houses with the issue of his own body, so as ẏ names of kinred failed. And this present yere there dyed a noble Ladie in Germanie, which had séen a hūdred & threescore children borne of her self & hers; and yet the one half of her children dyed afore they were maried: and those that are maried are of age to haue manie mo. Their saying therefore bewraieth a manifest ignorance, like as theirs doth who being ignorāt of progressiō in Arithmetick, will easely bargaine for a horse or some other thing, to giue euery day double for it during a whole moneth, beginning with a penny: who by ẏ time that they come but to the middest of the moneth, begin to perceiue that which no reason could haue beaten into their heads afore, namely that al the goods they haue, are not able to serue the turne.

Iosua. After Moyses succeeded Iosua, who brought the people into the promi-

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sed Land, so as the Chananites did partly flée before him, and partly were made tributaries vnto him. He that shall reade the voyage of this people from iourney to iourney, and consider the bounds and coasts of their portions; will by & by iudge the truth of the storie. But yet Procopius in his historie of the Vandales, leaueth vs a notable marke thereof in these words. All the Country (saieth he) which lieth from Sidon to AEgypt, was in old time called Phenice; and they that wrate the History of the Phenecians, report that in old time it was all vnder one onely King. In these coastes dwelt the Gergesites, Iebusites and other nations who at such time as they sawe the great army of Iosua comming towards them, remoued into Aegypt. But with in a whils after, because that Country could not beare them, they passed into Africke, where they buylded many Cities and peopled the whole Countrye euen to the Pillers of Hercules, and their language is halfe Phenecian. Also in Numidy (among other Cities) they builded Tinget, the seat whereof is very strong, where are two Pillers of white stone to be seene nere vnto a great Fountain, wherein are grauen these words in the Phenician tongue: we be those that fled from the Robber Iosua the sonne of Nun, Such (saith he) is the original of those Nations, whom we call at this day Mauritians. And Eupolemus saieth that Iosua Prophesied a hundered and ten yéeres, and placed the Tabernacle in Silo. From thence he leapeth to Samuel, and from Samuel to Saul, whom he affirmeth to haue bin anointed at Gods commandment, and so to Dauid, whom (taking the one for the other) he calleth the sonne of Cis.

Procopius in his second book of the warres of the Vandales.

Saule. Dauid.

But betweene Iosua & Saul, we haue the time of the Iudges, in the storie of whome some haue marked, that the mightie deedes of Hercules are fayned out of the doings of Sampson, and the bowe of Agamemnon out of the bow of Iephtha. Dauid (saieth the same Author) subdewed the Ammonites, Moabites, Itureans, Nabatheans and other nations that extend vnto the Riuer Euphrates, and made the King of Tyre and the Phenicians tributarie to him. Afterward an Angel called Nathan shewed him the place where the Temple should be builded, for the which he prepared workemen and rigged forth shippes at the Citie of Melan in Araby & sent them to an Ile of the red sea called Vrphen, frō whence he fetched great quantitie of Gold, Copper, Cedar wood and such other things. Notwithstanding (saieth he) the Angell would not that he should build the Temple, because he had bene steined with bloud in the Warres, and so that worke was reserued to Salomon his Sonne, who came to ỳ Crowne at ỳ age of twelue yeres. And of how great riches Dauid was, it may appeare by his tombe wherein after the customs of those times, he did lay vp great treasures. For about an eyghthundred yéeres after, Hircanus being assailed by Antiochus ỳ godly, toke 3000

The scriptures of the Prophet.

Iosephus libr. Antiquitat. Cap. 16. & lib. 16. cap. 11. & of the Iewish warres lib. 5. cap. 2.

Talents

Talents out of one vault to content him withall. And within a while after, Herod opened another vault and found as much there. What notable things read we of Salomon? First his building of the Temple, which is described (saith Iosephus) as well in the Chronicles of the Tyrians, the Competitors of the Iewes, as in ours. And in their Treasurie are kept the Letters of Salomon to Hiram King of Tyre, & Hirams letters vnto him; which make mention of the great number of Carpenters that Hiram sent vnto him: of the order that Salomon toke for the finding of them by impost, and of the Contribution that euery Prouince made to that end; which things are reported at length by Eupolemus also, and likewise by Alexander Polyhistor, Hecatæus the Abderite, Dius a Phenician, and diuers others, yea, and that so particularly and with such care, as that there is not that measure, vessel, tole or instrument of the Temple, which they haue not noted, which thing wee read not that they haue don in the behalfe of any of their own Temples. Yea & the Tyrians do note the very yere & the day therof in their Chronicles; to wite, that it was an hundred fortie & three yeres & eight moneths afore their building of Carthage. Secondly, the Scripture maketh great commendations of Salomons wisdome; insomuch that the Quéne of Saba came from a farre to se him. And we reade in Plutarke, that it was a custome among the Kings of old time, to put questions one to another, to trye the abilitie of their wittes, and that a certeine praise was appointed for him that wonne the victorie. And Dius an Historiographer of the Phenicians, rehearseth the Riddles and Questions that Salomon sent to King Hiram, saying that it cost Hiram very much because he was not able to assoyle them, vntil at length he found a yong man of Tyrus named Abdemon, who deciphered vnto him the most part of them. And as touching the Quéne of Saba who came from the Ile of Meroe to se Salomon, the Chronicles of Aethiope report that her name was Makeda; and that she had a sonne by Salomon, which was named first Meilith, and afterward Dauid, whome she made her Heir of that greate Empire which we now adayes do call Prester Iohns Land. Likewise it reporteth that she caried with her twelue thousand Iewes, of euery Trybe a thousand. And because the noblest men of that Countrie, do vaunt themselues to be of the blood of Israell; although they haue receiued the Gospell, yet do they reteine Circumcision; not that they thinke it necessarie to saluation (say they,) but to keepe stil the prerogatiue of their blud.

Salomon.

Iosephus in his antiquities. li. 8. ca. 2. Euseb. lib. 9 ca. 4.

Plutark in his feast of seuen sages.

Iosephus li. 8. cap. 2.

The historie of Ethiop. Makeda.

What remayneth yet further? The Sailing of Salomons Shippes, which lasted three yeres and that seemeth vnto them incredible. And so by that rule, let vs alwaies be at this poynt neuer by our good willes to beléeue that which we vnderstand not. But who is he at this day whom

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the Spaniards & Portingales haue not persuaded that: Specially the Portingals, which are a yere & eight monethes a making their voyage, notwithstanding that they haue both the vse of the Compasse, and better knowledge of the Seas, & more certaine Harborroughes, & a shorter cut. And surely it is not to be passed ouer lightly, that the gold ꝑ was brought home by the said Nauigations, is called in Hebrew in the dual number Paruaim, as if a man would saye, brought from the Perous, or from the Indies as wel the East Indies as the West Indies, as a certaine lerned man of our time hath noted. So is the wood Brazill called by the name of the countrie of Brasil from whence it is brought: and Mechoachan ꝑ drug, by the name of Mechoacan the countrie, and so forth of other things. For as touching the Nauigation to the Indies by the red Sea, it was ouer common, both to imploy so much time about it, and also to make so great a matter of it. 2. Chron. 3 Gilbert Genebrand in his Chronologie.

In the Histories of the Kings following, the chiefe things that are to be marked, are the three remouings away of the tenne Tribes of Israell, the first vnder Phacea the Sonne of Romelia & Oseas Kings of Israel, by Tiglath Phalassar & Salmanasar Kings of ꝑ Assyrians. The maner whereof was that the Israelites were caried away into farre countries, (specially the best sort of them,) & other Nations were placed there in their stead. For the Israelites were conueyed thence into Media, and reteined the vninhabited Countries to dwel in, & of them came partly the Cholchians who in the time of Herodotus caused themselues to be circumcised; and partly the Tartarians, who about the yere of our Lord 1200, ouerwhelmed the earth like a waterflud vnder the leading of Cingi, & afterward did set vp the Empire of the great Cham. And in verie deede they were Circumcised afore they euer heard of Mahomet: and they yelded willingly to go to his Law, so much the rather because it seemed to hold of theirs. And the word Tartars or Totars signifieth Remnants or Leauings in the Syrian tongue. Verily euen among the Hordes of the Tartars, in the furthest part Northward, there are which haue reteined still the names of Dan, zabulon and Nepthaly: and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that there be so many Iewes in Russie, Sarmatia, and Lituania, and so the nerer to the Tartarians still the more. The same hath no lesse likelihood of trueth concerning the Turkes. For the worde Turk in Hebrew, signifieth banished men, & is take in way of reproch. And it is very likely, that Mahomet to eschue ꝑ offending of those so great Nations, which at that time began to awake, held still Circumcision, and the Cleansings, and the Ceremonies of Moyses Lawe. The remouings of the ren Trybes. 1. King. 15. 2. King. 17. 4 Esdras. 13 Herodotus li. 4

As touching the remouing away to Babylon, which was peculiarly of the trybe of Iuda: Alexander Polyhistor saith expressely, that in the time of Ioachim King of Iuda, Ieremie was sent vnto them from God,

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to foretell them of extreme calamitie, because they worshipped an Idoll called Baal; Ioachim commaunded him to be burned quick; and that Ieremie said further, that the king of Assyria should make them labour to digge a Channell to saile out of Euphrates into Tygris: and that vpon that hope Nabochodonozor putting himselfe in Armes with all his power, spoyled Samaria, toke Hierusalem, and led away Ioachim prisoner. The same thing is witnessed by Diocles, and likewise namely by Berosus the Chaldean, who saith that the saide captiuitie indured three score yéeres and ten. Alpheus addeth that Megasthenes an auncient Author writeth, that Nabuchodonozor at his returne home, was stricken with madnesse, and dyed crying incessantly to the Babylonians, that a great mischiefe was néere them, which all the power of their Gods could not stay. For (quoth hee) a Halfeasse of Persia shall come and make vs his thralles. The man that he spake of was Cyrus; who (as Alexander Polyhistor and Hecatæus the Abderite do witnesse) builded vp the Temple of Hierusalem againe.

The Deliuerance by Cyrus.

Iosephus in his Antiquitie lib. 8. cap. 4.

As concerning Sesakes voiage against Roboam, Herodotus speaketh euidently enough, albeit that he name him not, declaring that he crept vpon his belly to Aegypt, Syria, and Palestine. And the storie of Sennacherib is there vnder that selfesame name, and how he was slaine at his comming home, and that an Image was set vp vnto him with this inscription, Learne by me to feare God, for a memoriall of Gods iudgement against him. Moreouer, Menander an Ephesian made mention in his Tyrian Historie, of the great Drought that was in the time of Achab, and of the abundance of raine that was obtained by the prayers of Helias: after the imitation whereof, the Greekes fained the like of Aeacus. And Iosephus witnesseth that he had read the storie of Ionas in many Commentaries; the which is rife in remembrance yet stil among the Arabians of Affrike. And as touching the greatnes of Niniuie, it is described fully alike in Diodorus.

1. Kings. 14. Herodotus li. 2.

1. Kings. 18.

Diodorus li. 3.

The token that God gaue to Ezechias by making the Sunne to retire backe certeine degrées, was registred in the Chronicles of the Babylonians, and of the Wisemen of Persia; the which token (some say, & not without some ground) was giuen so vnto him, because he delighted in Astronomie, and had reformed the Hebrewe Calender. But many auncient bookes are lost, which might tell vs much more of these matters. Neuertheless, I would faine haue these controllers of our Scriptures, to tell mee if they haue any Historie among the Heathen, that hath moe witnesses of the trewnesse thereof, than the Historie of the Iewes. And whether any, euen of the greatest Empyres of the worlde, be so confirmed by the Histories of friends, as the Historie of that little Nation is confirmed by his enimies.

Esay. 38. Denis in his Hierarchie.

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And whereas they obiect, that we see no such myracles in our daies: I will proue vnto them in another place, ỹ the like haue bene seene, since which haue proceded from the same power. But it is enough for me at this time to put them in remembrance, that if true myracles had not bene wrought in the world, we should not haue had so manie false myracles among the Heathen. Nay I say more, we should not haue see much as the very name of Myracle, which could not haue bene giuen at the first, but to things that excede the abilitie of man, yea and of all other Creatures, as things rightly worthie of that name.

Now remaine the Absurdities which they will nedes find, because they vnderstand not the reason. That law of yours (say they) stands talking of Beastes, of Pastures, of Oxen that dosse with their hornes, and of such other things. These are to base things for the word that proceedeth from GOD. Why say they not likewise, that they were to base things for God to create? And wherefore are Lawes made, but for the benefite of man? And although they might seeme vyle in respect of God, can they deny them to haue bene profitable in respect of men, at that time when men for the most part lined by grazing? But of these nice fellowes I would know what the Lawes of Plato were, and what the Lawes of the twelfe Tables were, at such time as the Romanes were Tilmen and Graziers? or what the Lawes of Venece were, when they were but Fishers? Yet doe we reuerence those Lawes for their antiquitie: insomuch that if we find but some old fragment of them, we thinke we haue a Iewel: the Emperours of Rome being in their cheif glorie, raced no out of their Digests the Lawes that begin thus, If Cattel: nor the Venetians their Statutes of Fishing: nor the Frenchmen their ordinances of Hunting and Hawking; which might in manie Countries seeme matters to be laughed at in our daies, and yet there were euen then which caryed them into other Countries, as necessarie to appease strifes in their due time and place. To be short, as long as Rome was champion ground, it made Lawes against the harmes of Cattell. But when it fell once to building, it made Lawes for Gutters, Chanels and Sinks. When it began to seeke the ruins of other men, it made Lawes of Battell, of Warfare, and of the sacking of Cities. And when it liked to destroy it selfe, it made Lawes of Rebellions, prescriptions and banishments: All the which were alike behouefull and necessarie in their times: and the first Lawmakers were no lesse honored than the latter: howbeit that the state of the Common weale was worse and more corrupted in the latter time than in the other, because that whereas in the former times it had to do but with the repressing of Beasts, in ỹ latter times it had to deale with the bridling of men worse than wild Beastes, or to speake more truely, men that were become wood beastes themselues.

Obiections concerning Absurdities.

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They adde, God (say you) created al things: and yet not withstanding Moyses denounceth some beastes to be cleane & some vncleane. Whereto may these be good? They ought to consider, that oftentimes the things which of themselues are cleane, become vncleane by the abuse of them, like as the thing that is good and wholsome by nature, becommeth euill and vnwholsome by excesse or surfeiting. And in that respect hath Moyses bin prohibited among many people, and there are fewe which haue not abhorred some Beastes or others: after which manner wee see that at Rome, such as had murthered their fathers or their mothers, were put into a Sacke with an Ape, a Cock, and a Viper, and cast into the water; a thing whereof it were vneasie to yeeld a reason. But the saide law of Moyses, not being vnprofitable, ne tending any higher than this present life, did not without cause put a difference betweene brute things. For if we loke well to it, it denounceth all those brute things vncleane, whereby the Aegyptians made their diuinations or toke their foretokens, as the Wolfe, the Fox, the Dragon, the Hare, the Sparehauke, the Kyte & so forth. And that was to make the people of Israell to abhorre the vanities and abhominations of Aegypt; like as if a man would keepe his children from fire, he would prohibite them euen the Chimney. And because those abuses were knowen among them, the end & aiming point of that Lawe, was the redresse of them. And therefore vpon this poynt, I desire our despisers to suspend their iudgement in the things they vnderstand not. For as in that time no fault was found with this difference in the Lawe of Moyses, so should no fault be found with many others at this day: if we could set before vs the same time againe. I omit concerning the things that liued vpon pray; that ouer and besides that men toke foretokens at them, they had this doctrine in them without much stepping aside from the letter, that men should not take away one anothers goodes. And as touching the Swyne, it is wel knowen that for the inuention of Tillage, which he shewed to the Aegyptians by wroting by the ground with his groyne; they worshipped him as a God, in consideration whereof he was declared to be abhominable: besides the which thing, there appeared this euident allegorie, that men should not bemire them selues in the dirt and dung of this world.

Origen against Celsus lib. 4.

As for the Sacrifices, I haue touched them heretofore, and will treat of them more at large hereafter, for although they did put men hourely in remembrance of death due for sinne, and of the neede of a sacrifice to cleanse away the same, namely of the sacrifice of Iesus Christ then to come, which should serue for the cleansing of all mankind. But admit that God to bring vs to obedience, had listed to giue vs Lawes whereof we could not conceiue the reason? What is it more than many Princes and Lawmakers haue done, as Plutarke saith? Or than we our selues do

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to our Children and Seruants? And yet who will thinke it méete that they should aske vs a reason why we do so? Surely I desire no more, but that they which come to our Scriptures, should yéeld at least wise the like regarde that they yéeld to Homer or Virgill. If they find in them any darke sentences; they say they will marke them with crosses & leaue them to Grammarians to martyr themselues withall. Therefore let them not thinke it straunge, that God hath left such things in his Scriptures, to humble the minds of vsuines withall. If in the Poet they meete any Solecismes, that is to say, incongruities of spéech; by and by they be elegancies or figures. Let them consider in the Scriptures also, that the thing which they think doth disagree at the first sight, wilbée found verie fit of him that vnderstandeth the figure. To be short if a Poet haue spoken a word that seemeth needlesse or without reason; the Schoolemaister turneth it into all senses to find some sence in it: the Scholler is out of patience if his Maister find none: and the Scholler will rather find fault with his Maister, and the Maister with his owne ignorance, than confesse any imperfection or ouersight in the Poet. Now then if in these bookes confirmed with so manie Miracles and proceéding from so great authoritie, we meete with things which to our fleshly wit séeme vnprofitable or absurd; it were good reason that wée should bée the more diligent and hédfull in serching them and in turning them into all senses. And if in the end of all this, we find not wherewith to satisfie vs; let the hearer confesse his dulnesse of vnderstanding, and the teacher acknowledge his owne ignorance; and let vs pray God to vouchsafe to inlighten vs with his Spirit.

Now I thinke I haue sufficiently shewed, by the antiquitie, the stile and the matter, by the ende also and by the particularities of our Scriptures; that they be of God, and that they cannot proceéde from any other than him. By antiquitie; for they bée the first of all writings, and God hath bin reuealed in them euer since there were any men. By their stile: for they instruct the lowly, and pull downe the high minded, speaking with like authoritie to all men. By their matter: for their onely treating is of Gods doings and of his communicating of himselfe to men. By the marke whereat they aime: for they tend not to any other thing than Gods glorie and mans welfare. And by their singularnesse: for there are things without number, which cannot bee bred in the minde either of man or Angell. The absurdnesse which wee suppose to be there, is but a séeming so to our ignorance: and the impossibilitie which to our séeming is in them, is but in comparison of our disabilitie. The truth of them is witnessed vnto vs in Histories, at least wise if the case so stand that Gods worde haue néede of mans recorde. Yee that is the Childe of GOD knoweth his fathers voyce: but yet it may be that for the better

confirming of him, my writing hereof shall not bee in vaine. Who so refuseth that, no man can perswade him thereto: but yet shall this serue to conuict him; and (by Gods helpe) a great sort which as yet haue had their eares so dulled with the noise of this world, that they haue hetherto but ouerheard it, shall hereafter incline both their eares and their hearts thereunto. Now I beseech the almightie who spake the worde and the world was made, to speake effectually in our dayes, and that the worlde may beleeue him. And because the marke that beleefe shotes at, is the welfare of man: let vs see what welfare we finde in this world; which is our third marke of Religion, and shall be the matter of the Chapter next following.

The xxvij. Chapter.

That the meane ordeyned of GOD for the welfare of mankinde, hath beene reuealed alwayes to the people of Israel; which is the third marke of Religion.

NOw remaineth the third marke of true Religion to bee examined: which is, that it teach the true and onely way ordeyned of GOD for the saluation and recouerie of mankinde; without the which (as I haue shewed already) all Religion is vnauailable and vaine. Howbeit forasmuch as this Doctrine importeth the welfare of the world, and I haue interlaced many things by the way, which may dim the remembrance thereof: Let vs heere call againe to minde how needfull this marke is in religion. And soothly it will bee one further marke of the heauenlines of our Scriptures, if we find that they teach vs the necessitie of that onely meane, and also direct vs to it from the beginning forth on from time to time. We haue read in the booke of Nature, that Man is immortall: that his happinesse is not heere beneath, but

The needefulnesse of this third marke.

but in the endlesse life: that the blessednesse of that endlesse life, is to inioy God aboue: and that the meane to atteine thereto, is to serue and honour him here beneath with all our heart. But the same booke hath taught vs also, that by sinne we be faine from our originall: that we bee faine from Gods fauour into his wrath: that wee be infinitely departed away both from seruing him and from sticking to him: and consequentlie that we be gone astray from the happinesse which we should seeke and cannot finde elsewhere than in him. What remaineth then for vs, but vtter despaire? And whereto serueth the said endlesse life, but to be turned into endles death? And the euerlasting happines wherunto we were created, but to our euerlasting griefe? vnlesse some word be left vs at hand to saue vs frō our shipwrack: I meane vnlesse God do make vs some way, both to appease his wrath, & to come againe into his fauour. In this extremitie therfore we mēt with Religion, which directeth vs to the true God. But what els is that, thā a sending of an offender to his Iudge: or a laying of straw to the fire? considering that God is infinitly good, that is to say infinitly contrarie to euil, and if contrarie to euill, then also vnto vs, whose thoughts, sayings & doings are altogether euill. The same Religion hath set vs downe the Scriptures, wherin we read the will of our Creator: but what haue we yet found there? That mankind is corrupt from his roote, and as it were rotten at his Core: That all the imaginations of mans hart are alwaies vtterly euill: and yet notwithstanding, that God commaundeth vs to loue him with all our hart, & our neighbour as our selfe: behighting to them that do it euerlasting life, and to them that doe it not, euerlasting death. Which of vs feeleth not a striuing in all his members against the will of God? And consequently who is he that ought not to feele a very Hell, when he entereth into himselfe and into the scriptures, to reade his arreignment and condemnation? And so what is Religion but vanitie, and what is the Scripture or Gods word but a hartbiting, if we find not there the charters of grace and remission, which reconcile vs to God, and knit vs againe vnto him, and by that vniting doe restore vs the happines whereunto we were created? So falleth it out, that God cannot be disapointed of his purpose, and that the religion which he hath graued so deepely in mans heart, cannot be in vaine. Needs then must it be, that in the true religion and in the Scriptures we must find out grace and the meane thereof, which is the third and chiefe marke that we seeke.

Let vs expresse this Doctrine yet plainlier, for it is the verye knot and forme or inshape of all Religion. The happinesse of man is to bee vnited vnto God, and the way to be vnited vnto him, is to sticke vnto his will. The first man being created frē and capable of good, disobeyed GOD. and by his disobedience became a bondslaue to sinne. So was he farre remoued from God and from his owne welfare, and (had not grace step-

ped in) he had béene in extreame miserie, which we call Hell. Of this Rebell are we all borne, and his flesh hath begotten vs both fleshly and bondslaues of sinne as he was. By Nature then we can looke for none other than the wages of sinne, which is death; neither can we haue any other inheritance than our Fathers, who hath left vs nothing els to inherit but damnation. Now let vs sée what we our selues haue brought to this decayed succession. In stead of discharging our Obligation, wee runne on further in arrerages: and liking well thereof, wee dailie increase our debt. For none of vs all dischargeth himselfe to Godward, of the things which he requireth of vs iustly in his Lawe, and therefore we continue still behind hand. Nay, there is none of vs which offendeth not the Lord infinite wayes dayly in thought, worde, and déede, by meanes whereof we plunge our selues in euer déeper and déeper. Now then, though we found not our succession so decayed; yet doe wee our selues make it such by our excessiue debts and continuall offences; which in effect is all that we can bring thereto. And against whom sée wee these offences? Euen against God, against our father, against our maker; all which is a great aggrauating of our fault: namely, that the Child should rebell against his father, or that a thing of nothing should turne awaye from his creator; yea and (which worse is) take wages of the Deuill to fight against him. The crime is so out of all measure great, that it cannot nor ought not to be inhaunced. But were there no further matter than this, that forasmuch as God is infinite, the offence is multiplied according to the person against whom it is committed: our offence against God cannot but bée infinit, and consequently so must our punishment be too. Now therefore we poore wretches subiect to infinite paines without number, which by our continuall misdéedes do daily multiply the infinitnesse of our punishments still euen to the vttermost; haue néede of a remedie. And what shall that remedie be? Gods mercie? Nay, mercie may not be contrarie to his Iustice. What then? Gods Iustice? No, wée haue néede of mercie. By what meane may God execute his Iustice without disanulling his mercie; or exercise mercie without preiudice of his Iustice: so as both of them may be verified, as well that God is infinitely gracious, as that he infinitely hateth all euill, both together? If he shewe mercie absolutely to an infinite offence, where is his Iustice? Or where is his vniuersall gouernment, whereby he yéeldeth good to the good and euill to the euill? Yea, and where is our owne Iustice become, which is but a shadowe of Gods? Againe, if he execute mere Iustice, what shall become of Mankind after this life? Or rather, why hath he mainteined him euer since his first fall, that his Iustice hath not deuoured vs of all this while, vs I say in whom is not any thing which burneth not before his wrath? It remaineth then, that to appease his wrath and to make way to

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mercie, which wrath of his is nothing els but a iust intent to punish, and which mercie of his is likewise but a iust intent to forgiue: there must come some satisfaction betweene GOD and Man, without the which there would be (as yee might terme it) an vtter emptinesse in the world, whereunto nature it selfe cannot agree. But what a depth is heare yet still, considering that the fault is infinite, and the punishment must be proportionable to the faulte, and the satisfaction likewise to the punishment, that is to say, that satisfaction infinitely infinite is required at our hands? Let man offer the whole world vnto GOD: and what offereth he but that which he hath receiued of God, and that which he hath lost by his disobedience? And sith God hath created this worlde of nothing, how should a thing of nothing multiply so infinitely, as to satisfie for an infinite offence? Let Man offer himselfe: what offereth he but vnthankfulnesse and disobedience, blasphemie and froward deedes? That is to say, what shall hee els doe but prouoke Gods wrath more and more against him? Nay, let the very Angels step in, the Creature to pacifie the Creator: the thing that is finite in goodnesse to couer an infinite euill: the indebted in all respects, to discharge another more indebted: and what els will this be, than a couering that (as the Prophet saith) cooth but halfe couer: and a plaister infinitely too little for the sore? Surely, let vs say therefore that God himselfe must be faine to step in betweene his Iustice and his mercie, and as he created vs at the first, so to create vs newe againe: and as he created vs then in his fauour, so to acquit vs now from his wrath: and as he vttered his wisdome then in creating vs, so to imploye the same now againe in repayring vs: and sothly so much the more (if more may be) because that in our creation nothing resisted the goodnesse of the Creator, whereas in our reparation our naughtinesse withstandeth him as much as is possible. Out of one bottomlesse deepe we goe still into another: but God be praised, they be the deepes of his grace. Who then (say you) shall be this mediatour, God vnto God, Infinite vnto Infinite, and able both to discharge the bond, and to allwage the infinite punishment? Heere let vs bethinke vs againe what hath beene sayde afore in the fifth and sixth Chapters. I haue declared there, both by reason and by record of all antiquitie, that in God there are three persons or Inbeings in vnitie of one essence, and that the same are eeternall and coequall in all respects: The Father as the ground and Welspring: the Sonne, as the euerlasting word and wisedome of the Father: and the holy Ghost as the bonde of kindnesse and loue, whereby the Father and the Sonne are linked together: and I pray the reader that for the refreshing of his memorie, he will vouchsafe to reade ouer those Chapters againe vpon this point. Needes then I assure you must one of those three persons step in betwixt Gods wrath and

One mediator God and man.

our infinite fault. And fith it is so, which of them should rather do it than the wisdome, considering that the case standeth vppon the new creating of vs againe, and that we were created by the same at the first? or than the Sonne, séeing we be to be adopted, that is to say, to be admitted to an inheritance? Nay moreouer, it behoued this Mediatour to stey in for euer. For inasmuch as the world was created for man, and man is faine away from God: neither the world nor man now after his fall, could haue abidden before God one moment of an howre. Behold in the maner of this mediation, there is againe another incomprehensible Mysterie, howbeit such a one, as when it is once reuealed vnto vs, wée déeme it impossible to haue bene otherwise. We haue God infinitly iust, and Man infinitely sinfull. The infinit Iustice due to so infinite offence, could not bée satisfied, but either by infinite punishment, or by an infinit reparation: and this infinit reparation could not procéede but from him that is infinite, that is to wit from God himselfe. It behoueth then that our Mediatour be God, and of his gracious goodnesse such a one haue we. But this infinite Godhead is not to recompence our disobedience otherwise than with obedience; nor our vndesert, otherwise than with desert; nor our stubbornesse otherwise than with lowlinesse: neither againe is he to purchace vs grace, but by punishment; or life, but by death. And to the intent he may obey, he must abase himselfe; to deserue, he must serue; to become lowly, he must stope downe beneath himselfe; to suffer, he must become weake; and to die he must become mortall. Certesse we say therefore, that it is conuenient and behouefull, that our Mediatour should be both God and Man, Man, to bée borne vnder the Lawe; God, to performe the Lawe: Man, to serue: God, to set free: Man, to humble himselfe to the vttermost; God, to exalt himselfe aboue all thing: Man, to suffer; God to ouercome: Man, to die; and God to triumph ouer death. Nay moreouer, forasmuch as he submitteth himselfe willingly to such things, for our sakes say I, and not for his owne: néedes must his obedience become a discharge for the disobedience: his desert a discharge of the vndesert, and his lowlinesse a satisfaction for the stubbornnesse of them that beléeue in him: yea and moreouer, a purchace of obedience, desert, and lowlynesse vnto them: so that loke what is due to his obedience, that is to wit, loue; to his desert, that is to wit, reward: to his humilitie, that is to wit, honor; to his sorowe, that is to wit, ioye: to his death, that is to wit, life: and to his victorie, that is to wit, Triumph: the same is purchased and giuen by him, and imputed and made due at Gods hand to all such as honor that great benefite, and call vpon the father in his name. From this point we may procéede afterward to other conditions and circumstances requisite in the Mediatour God and Man, séeking him alwaies as may be most conuenient and agréable, both to Gods Iustice, and to the office and

dignitie

dignitie of the Mediatour. It is necessarie for our welfare say I, that the Mediator should be man, to beare the punishments of men, and to reconcile mankind. And if he were not a man; then like as we should haue no part in him nor he in vs: so should he not anaile vs any whitte, neither in way of satisfactiō, nor in way of desert. Wherefore it is therfore that he should be borne of our race, and that he should be flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, to the intent that as in Adam we be al become bondseruants to sin; so in him we may be deliuered & set free from the reward of sinne, which is death. Againe forasmuch as he was to ouercome sinne, it behoued him to be without sinne; and forasmuch as it was for him to make vs cleane, it behoued him to be without vncleannes. For we know that al of vs are conceiued in iniquitie; and borne in vncleannesse and corruption; & therfore it behoueth him to be such a man, as is conceiued after an other maner than man is. And this after so many wonders aught not to be counted a wonder: for he that deriued woman out of man without help of woman, can also deriue man out of woman without helpe of man. To these particularities we shall come time enough hereafter, and it sufficeth at this time, that Gods Iustice & mans offence haue euen by humain reason directed vs to a very necessitie of a mediator God & man, able to discharge man of euerlasting death against God, and to purchase him the souereign felicitie of life. And this is it that I meant in the beginning of the Chapter; namely that this marke is so of the very substance and inshape of religion, that religion without that, should be vtterly vnanailable & vaine.

Man borne without Corruption.

The Heathen seeme to haue perceiued this necessitie by many examples. They knew that man was created to liue for euer, and that he could not inioy that benefite, but by turning againe vnto God. But in this they fell short, that they considered not that from vs to God the way is vnpossible to man, if God himselfe be not our way whereby to come thither. It may be that they haue heard, that it behoued a man to die for the sinnes of the world. And therupon the diuell did put in their heads to sacrifice men, and so to lay the sinnes of a whole citie or countrie vpon the back of some one poore wretch. And loke who was the greatest offender of all others, and whom they had vowed to the gallowes for the multitude of his misdeeds; him did they put to the pacifying of Gods wrath towards them. Such are the accustomed apish toies of the diuell. But how shall he that is in Gods displeasure, appease his displeasure? And what shal the worst do, if the best can do nothing? The Emperor Iulian could not tel how to rid his hands of this necessitie in his disputations against the Christiās. By reason wherof, perceiuing that there must nēds be a meane betweene God and man for the cleansing of mens soules, he bare himselfe on hand, that Esculapius the Sonne of Iupiter was manifested to the world by the liuely ingendring of the Sonne, and that he shewed himselfe first in Epidaurus, and

The opinion of the Heathē concerning the cleansing of mankind.

afterward in diuers other places, to heale mens Bodies and to amend their Soules: Which is a proofe, that the impossibility of the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, which is pretended by some, seemed not to him to be vnpossible, forasmuch as the Incarnation of Esculapius the sonne of Iupiter, God (in the opinion of Iulian,) and the sonne of God, seemed to him not onely possible, but also come to passe. And in verie deede, why should it seeme strange that he which hath knit the Soule of man being a spirituall substance, vnto his body being an earthly; should be able to vnite himselfe vnto man: But I haue shewed afore that this Esculapius was a man; and that the spirit which abused his name, was a diuell, and that both of them were wicked creatures. And moreouer, who euer beleeued or set forth this Fable of Esculapius, but onely Iulian? May verily, Porphyrius hath outgone all antiquitie in this behalfe. For hauing laid this foundation, That the souereigne welfare of the Soule is to see God, That it cannot see him vnlesse it be first cleansed from the filth thereof, and therefore that by Gods prouidence there must be some meane procured to cleanse mankind: when he commeth to the seeking of it out, he saith, That the Artes and Sciences do well cleare our wits in the knowledge of things, but they cannot so cleanse vs, that wee may come vnto God. And whereas many men deceiued themselues in seeking this cleansing by Magike and Theurgie: he said that imagination and common sence might well be helped thereby in the perceiuing of bodily things: but they atteined not to the purging of the vnderstanding of the Soule, neyther could they make a man to see his GOD or the trueth it selfe. Againe, whereas some Philosophers sought this cleansing in the mysteries of the Sonne, and of Iupiter, that is to say, in communicating (as they surmised) not with Deuils, but with such as were esteemed to be good Gods, he declareth that there was as small likelihood thereof in their mysteries, as in the mysteries of the rest: and moreouer that those things extended but to very few men, whereas this cleansing ought to be vniuersall to the benefite of all mankind. In the end, hauing reiected all other clensings: his conclusion is, that the beginnings onely & none others, can worke and bee the meane to worke this vniuersall Cleansing. What he meaneth by the Beginnings, the Platonistes can tell well enough: and I haue declared it by many sentences of his in my fifth and sixth Chapters: that is to wit, the persons or proprieties that are in God, whom Porphyrius calleth expressely the Father, the vnderstanding of the Father, and the Soule of the World. He could not almost haue come any nearer vs, vnlesse he should haue met iumpe with vs: and surely he seemeth to haue had this of the Chaldees, from whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to haue receiued many diuine Oracles concerning this matter. But it is enough for vs that we haue gained these points of him, That there must of necessity be

Saint Austin concerning the Citie of God, lib. 10. Cap. 9. & 23. & 32.

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some meane ordeined of God for the cleansing and saving of mankind: That none can worke that Cleannesse, except it be some one of the Beginnings, that is to say, except it bee God himselfe: and that he never met yet with any Sect in all Philosophie that setteth forth the meane thereof. Therefore it standeth vs on hand to seeke it; not in Philosophie, but in our Scriptures. For seeing they bee of God, and are revealed for the welfare of Man, they ought to direct vs to the only meane of the Salvation which wee long for: And like as Religion was bred and borne as soone as Man; as I have said afore; so must it needes be, that the meane of Salvation was revealed as soone as Religion, and set forth in the holie Scriptures from time to time. And if we finde it so; it will be an infallible testimonie, both of our Religion, and of our Scriptures together.

The Mediator promised in the Scriptures, from the one end of them to the other.

Let vs then begin with the Creation of man. The Scripture sayeth, that as soone as he was created, God gave him this Lawe: If thou eate of the tree of the skill of good and euill; thou shalt die the Death. That is to say, If thou turne away never so litle from the obeying of me, thou shalt fall into my displeasure, and from my displeasure into endlesse death. By and by after, man is seduced by the Serpent, that is to say by the divell, and breaketh the Lawe of his Creator: by meane whereof he is in his displeasure, and by sinne is become subiect to endlesse damnation. Now seeing that this man was alone: & that the world was made for him: what should have followed but the utter destruction of the world out of hand, and the burning of man everlastingly in Gods wrath? But see how Gods wisdome stepped in for the saving of man, and for the preserving of his owne worke: and sinne was no sooner bred, but the scripture immediatly sheweth vs the remedie thereof. I will set emnitie (saith the Lord to the devell) betweene thy seede and the womans seede. Gene. 3. Hir seede shall crush thy head, and thou shalt bite it by the heele. That is to say, I will cause one to be borne of the womans seede, which shall subdue the divell: and the divell shall do his indevor to trip vp his heeles by tempting him all maner of waies; but he shall treade the divell vnder his feete, and make him to yeld vp his weapons, that is to wit, Sinne and death. Now, who seeth not that to overcome the divell, it behoveth him to be God: and that to be borne of a Woman, it behoveth him to bee man, that is to say both God and man, as I have said afore? Here beginneth our controversie against the Iewes of these later times, who holde opinion that the Messias or Christ, whom we vphold to be the Mediator betweene Gods Iustice and Mannes sinne: shalbe some greate Emperour that shall deliver them from bodily oppression: whereunto I have answered at large heeretofore. Howbeit, they cannot denie, but that by the death which GOD threateneth to Adam for his transgression,

Christ is a spirituall King, contrary to the opinion of the Iewes of our time.

Let the reader beare in mind once for all, that the word Messias in Hebrewe, & the word Christ in Greeke,

Rabbi

signifie both one thing, namely the Lords Anoynted.

Rabbi Moyſes Ben Maimon vnderſtandeth a ſpirituall death, that is to wit, the death of the Soule wounded with ſinne and forſaken of hir life which is God: and that by the venome of the Serpent, he meaneth ſinne it ſelfe, which ſhall ceaſſe (ſaith he) vnder the Meſſias; and that the ſame is alſo the Interpretation of the auncient Cabaliſts: and likewiſe that the Synagogue of old time vnderſtood the ſaid text to be meant of the Meſſias, as the Interpretation of the threeſcore and ten Interpreters, and the ancient tranſlation of Hieruſalem it ſelfe do giue vs cauſe to beleeue. For (ſaieth this Latter expreſly) ſo long ô Serpent as the womans Children keepe the Lawe, they kill thee: and when they ceaſſe to doo ſo, thou ſtingeſt them in the Heele, and haſt power to hurte them much. But whereas for their harme there is a ſure remedy, to heale it, for thine there is none. For in the laſt daies, they ſhall cruſhe thee all to peeces with their Heeles, by means of Chriſt their King. Now if the death be ſpirituall, and the enemy ſpirituall, & his weapons ſpirituall: how can it be denied that the battel betweén him & the Meſſias who is to vanquiſh him, is likewiſe ſpirituall, his power ſpirituall, & his kingdom ſpirituall? Moreouer what were Adam, Henoch, Noe, and Abraham benefited by this promiſe; if it extend no further than to temporall things? Which of vs would indure here a thouſand miſeries, vnder pretence that certeine thouſands of yeres hence, we ſhould haue an Emperour borne which ſhould be redouted euery where? Now like as the ſcripture begimneth with the promiſe of the Meſſias, that is to ſay of the deliuerer of our Soules: ſo doth it ſhewe euidently, that it aimeth not at any other mark then that. For leauing the great States of the world, and the breeding of kingdomes and Principalities, which are things whereon Hiſtories ſtand ſo curiouſely: it leadeth vs directly to the birth and offſpring of Abraham, whereof the Meſſias was to be borne. And vnto the ſame Abraham doth God repeate this promiſe oftentimes; that in his ſeede al nations ſhould be bleſſed; that is to ſay, that one ſhould be borne of his ſeede, by whom Saluation ſhould be profered to all nations of the Earth? And againe, that in Iſaac the ſeede ſhould be called vnto him: which thing ſurely is not ſpoken of the poſteritie of his Sonne Iſmaell, notwithſtanding that God told him that his fleſhly poſteritie ſhould be verie flouriſhing. But this preface which the Lorde maketh, ſhall I hide any thing from my ſeruaunt Abraham &c. ſheweth euidently how it is a myſterie that paſſeth all vnderſtanding of man, and whereunto Abraham had no leſſe right than his ſeede. From Abraham this promiſe paſſed by hand to Iſaac, from Iſaac to Iacob, and Iacob left it by his laſt will to his children with theſe words: The Scepter ſhal not be taken from Iuda, nor the lawgiuer from betweene his feete, vntill Silo come: and vnto him ſhall the Nations reſort. Which words were ſpoken to Iuda by name, becauſe the ſaid holie ſeede was

The Thargum of Hieruſalem

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to come of his flock. And that the same saying was meant of the Messias: the Thargum of Hierusalem and the Onkelos which are bookes of chiefe authoritie among the Iewes, do assure vs. For they translate it thus, vntill Christ or the Anointed comes: whereunto is added this; to whom the Kingdome belongeth. And the schole of Rabbi Sila being demaunded in the Talmud, what should bee the name of the Messias; answereth, Silo is his name: for (say they) it is said, vntill Silo come. Albeit now that the said kingdome be other than a temporall Dominion: yet is the text formall in that place. For the Iewes wait that the Messias or Christ should come of the Tribe of Iuda, and that at the time of his comming the Scepter and the Lawgiuer should both be taken from Iuda. Surely the thing that Israell loked for as then, was not to subdue other Nations seeing that Israell himselfe was not to reigne at that time. And wretched had the hope of other Nations bene which loked for him also according to this text, if his comming should haue bene but to spoile them and make hauocke of them. But he was to reigne, yea euen ouer all Nations, yea and to the benefite of all Nations. His reigning then shall be according to the first promise, namely ouer mens soules, the which he shal deliuer from the bondage of sinne and the tyrannis of the Deuill. In the Lawe of Moyses, the sacrifices and Ceremonies doe represent vnto vs the satisfaction which Christ was to make for the sinnes of the people by the sacrificing of himselfe. But specially the Passeouer Lambe, the Sacrifice of the red Cowe, the sending of the Scapegoate into the Wilderneſſe, and the raising vp of the Brasen serpent for the healing of diseases, were all of them Memorialles for the people, to put them in minde both of the comming of the Messias, and to what ende hee should come. For whereas wee reade that the doore postes of the houses were besmeared with the bloud of a Lambe, to the intent that the destroying Angell should not touch them: that the Ashes of a Cowe without spot were kept for the sinnes of the Congregation: That the Highpriest laying his hand vpon a Goates head, acknowledged the sinnes of the people ouer him, and the Goate went away with them into a place vninhabitable, to the intent (as ye would say) hee might neuer be heard of any more: and that as many as beheld the Brasen serpent, were healed incontinently of the stinging of serpents: seeing that the things which were imployed to those purposes, could not of their owne nature serue thereunto: wee must needes conclude, that they were signes: signes (say I) of spirituall and inwarde matters, like the Scripture it selfe, which is spirituall, and serueth for the inward man: That is to wit, That the Deuill hath no power ouer those which are reconciled to God by the sacrifice of the Messias who is charged with their sinnes: & that those which haue an eye vnto him, are by and by healed of the Serpents deadly

The Talmud in the Treatise intitled Sanhedrim, in the Chapter Melee.

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king. And whereas some thinke it straunge that so great a thing, should be figured by so vile and base things: the figure is the more profitable, and the lesse dangerous in that it is so. For had so high things beene figured or foretokened by things approching to their highnesse: men might haue bene deceiued by them, and haue taken the figures for the things themselues, and so haue rested vpon the gainesse of the sheath, without looking into it. As for example, if in stead of the Goate, they should haue Sacrificed the man of greatest reputation in the Congregation: men, being giuen to yeld too much vnto man, would haue mistaken him for the very mediatour himselfe. But when the figure of our reconcilement vnto GOD, and of the forgiuenesse of our sinnes, is taken at a brute beast which hath nothing sutable thereto, sauing that he is giltlesse and capable of death: wee be taught that it is but a figure, and that it behoueth vs to wade into the thing it selfe: and that so much the more, because those Sacrifices are so solemnely and so expressely commaunded to posteritie, as things which for the welfare of mankinde, ought to bee alwayes in remembrance, or rather present before mens eyes.

Midrach Thehilim. A tradition of the Hebrews.

But yet the Hebrewes held opinion that Asar, Elcana, and Abiasaph the three sonnes of Chore mentioned in the first Chapter of Exodus, were authors of diuers of the Psalmes that are gathered into the second booke of Dauids Psalter, and so is Moyses also of some one or two in the third booke; whereby they comforted the Fathers in the wildernesse, assuring them of the comming of Christ. Vnto Dauid (who was of the Tribe of Iuda) God himselfe confirmeth the said promise, telling him that the blessed seede should come of him. I will raise vp (saith he) thy seede after thee, which shall come out of thy loines: his kingdom will I stablish for euer: I will be to him for a Father, and he shall be to mee for a sonne. And although this may seeme to be meant of Salomon Dauids sonne, who was in deede but a figure of Christ: yet notwithstanding the often repeating of these words eternally, euerlastingly, and for euer, giueth vs to vnderstand, that it cannot be verified but of the thing figured, that is to wit, of the eternall or euerlasting King. And in very deed Dauid speweth well in his Psalmes, that he hath looked further with the eies of his minde, than to his sonne Salomon. For in the second Psalme, Thou art my sonne (saith the Euerlasting,) this day haue I begotten thee. I will giue thee the Gentiles for thine inheritance, and the vtmost coastes of the earth for thy possession. And in the fine and fortith Psalme, speaking of the mariage of this Sonne, with an extraordinarie prefate, Thy throne O God (saith he) is from euerlasting: and the sceepter of thy kingdome is a sceepter of righteousnesse. And in the seuen and fortith: The Princes of the Nations are assembled together (saith hee) to bee the people of the GOD of

2. Samuel. 7.
1. King. 5. 6.
1. Chron. 25.
Psal. 89.

Psalm 2. & 45 & 47. & 67. & 72.

Abra-

Abraham. And in the threescore and seauenth; Thou shalt iudge folke righteouslie, thy sauing health shalbe knowne to all Nations, and thou shalt direct the Nations of the earth. And this latter clause is shut vp with this woorde Selah, which the Hebrewes are not wont to vse, but in some profound mysterie. To bee short, in the threescore and twelfth Psalme, after he hath saide. All Kings shall worship him, and all Nations shall serue him: He addeth, for he shall deliuer the poore that cry vnto him, and the distressed that hath no helpe. Yea and which more is, All Nations shall report themselues to be blessed in him, and they shall also blesse him. Dauid is full of such sentences, which shewe that hee speaketh of a King, howbeit of another than Salomon his owne sonne. For Salomons kingdome extended not much further than his fathers, neither did the Nations meete togither vnder him: and as for his kingdome, it ended with his death, and within a day or twaine after was rent in peeces. And therefore the auncient Synagog did alwayes vnderstand those texts to be meant of Christ, who was to be borne of the seede of Dauid, as we may perceiue by the Chaldee translation, which interpreteth them to bee spoken concerning the same partie. Howbeit sith it is not said in any of the Psalmes, Reioyce thou Israell, for thou shalt reigne ouer the Gentiles: but, Reioyce ye Gentiles, be glad ye Nations and Kings, for I will giue you a King: surely it is euident that the ioy which he reporteth to be so great, is not for that they should haue a Iewe to be their king, for euery Nation had leuer to haue one of their owne countrie: or for that this King should haue a soueraigne Monarke aboue them all to controll them, for euery of them had leuer to reigne by himselfe alone: but rather because this King should bee of a farre other nature and qualitie than all other Kings, namelie a King of soules, a deliuerer of men from the bondage of sinne, and a spirituall Monarke. Also the Song of Songs is an erpresse poetrie concerning the vnion of Christ and his Church, and hath bene so vnderstoode of the Iewes, as it appareth by the Chaldee Paraphrase thereof which we haue. As for the Prophets, we find nothing els in them almost line by line, but foretellings of Christ to come, of the Nature of his kingdome, of the calling of the Gentiles, of the stablishing againe of godlines, and such other matters; as well to put the people then present in remembrance of them, as to prepare the aftercommers to receiue them. Insomuch that if the Prophets speake of the returne frō Babylon, of the establishing againe of the kingdome, of the building againe of the Temple, and such other things: by and by within two or three verses, ye shall see them caried away to the spirituall kingdom of Christ, and to the true temple which is the church: as though they had meant to say vnto vs, that we must not rest vpō these temporall things which are but shadows: but remember that we be men

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and that our welfare consisteth not in liuing, in gouerning, and in reigning hẽr, but in seruing God that we may be united vnto him, and ruled by him, howbeit not so as we should reigne in the world, but that God should reigne in vs by the Scepter of his word, and by the power of his spirit, and be obeyed of vs. It shall come to passe (saith Esay) that in the latter dayes the hill of the Lords house shalbe set vp vpon the toppe of the mountaines, and that all Nations shal come flocking to it, and many folke shall say, Come, let vs goe vp to the Lords hill, and to the GOD of Iacobs house. This text is spoken manifestly of Christ and of his reigne, and of the blessing that was to be shed out vpon all Nations by him. But let vs reade further. He will teach vs his waies (saith he) and we shall walke in his pathes. The Lawe shall come from out of Sion, and the word of the Lorde from Hierusalem, He shall iudge among the Heathen, and reproue the Nations. They shall turne their Swords into Culters, and their Speares into Sithes. Heere is no speaking of wars, of fighting or of force: but the Lawe of Gods worde, and of teaching. And in the fourth Chapter, At that day (saith he) shall the Lords braunch be much made of, and glorious, and whosoeuer abideth in Hierusalem shall be called holy. If this glorie were not expounded, some would thereby behight here a triumph. But at the same time (saith hee) the Lord will washe away the filthines of the daughters of Sion, and cleanse away the bloud of Hierusalem from the middes thereof, by the spirit of iudgement and the spirite of burning. It is then a glorie, yea and a true glorie, but yet a farre other glorie than the flesh vnderstandeth. Now the Iewes vnderstand this Texte of the Messias: for whereas the Hebrewe hath Braunch: the Chaldee Interpreter hath translated it the Lords Anointed or Christ. In his nineth Chapter he saith that he shalbe called the Prince of peace: (and the Chaldee Paraphrast hath translated it the Christ or Anoynted of peace:) and that his kingdome shalbe increased, and that there shall bee no end of his reigne, and that he shall execute Iustice vpon the throne of Dauid for euer. If hee shalbe a Prince of peace, where shall warre become? And if there bee no warre, what shall this increase of his kingdome bee? What doth he shewe vs apparantly in his eleuenth Chapter. A blossome shall spring (saith hee) out of the stocke of Isay, and a braunch shall growe out of his roote. The spirite of the Lord shall rest vpon him, the spirite of wisedome and vnderstanding, the spirite of counsell and strength, the spirite of knowledge and of the feare of the Lord. He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and kill the wicked with the breath of his lippes. The Goate and the Lambe shall dwell together, and the Leopard with the Kid. The Earth shall bee full of the knowledge of the Lorde as with an ouerflowing of the Sea, and the Gentiles shall inquire after the

Esay.1. Micheas 11.

Esay.4.

Esay.9.

Esay.11: He had said afore, that the high Cedars should be cast downe, that is to say the great Princes. And against those Cedars he setteth expresly this litle branch of the roote of Iesse, or Isay.

the roote of Isay, which shalbe set vp as a Standard for people to resort vnto. The Conquests then of this Emperour shalbe of mens Soules; his tributes, their worshippings; his armour and weapons, the spirit of the Lord: his peace, the vniting of all folke together into one Church in the fauour of their Maker. Also in the fiue and twentie he saith thus: He shal destroy death for euer, and take away the veile that hideth the face of all people. And in the fiue and thirtie, The eies of the blind shall bee opened, and the eares of the deafe shall be vnstopped. And in the two and fortie and the nine and fortie: He shalbe no outcrier nor loude of speech: his voice shall not be heard in the streates. He shall set iudgment on the earth, and the Iles shall wait for him. He shalbe a maker of leagues among people, and a light vnto the Gentiles. Some shall come from the North, and some from the South: so as the land shall be too narrowe for them. The Kings themselues shalbe fosterfathers to my people, and Queenes shall bee their Nurces. Which of all these things can be vnderstood otherwise than of a spirituall kingdome? On the contrary part, let vs see how the same Prophet speaketh of Cyrus the great Emperour, which was to deliuer Israell by the force of armes out of the hands of the Chaldees. I haue taken thee by the right hand (saith the Lord) to make Nations subie& vnto thee, and to weaken the reines of Kings: to set open the doores vnto thee, and to vnlocke the gates against thee. I will breake open the gates of brasse, and burst a sunder the barres of yron. I will giue thee the hoorded treasures, and the things that lie hid in secret places. What likenesse is there betweene this manner of speaking and the other, and consequently betweene the deliuerances or the deliuerers themselues? But in the two and fiftie and three and fiftie, he taketh away all doubt. Behold (saith he) my seruant shall behaue himselfe happely, and be exalted and aduanced very high. As how? He shall bee despised of men (saith the Prophet) and thrust out of their companie. A man full of sorowe and heauinesse shall he bee, and euery bodie shall hide his face from him. Hee shall bee wounded for our misdeedes, and smitten for our sinnes. The chastisement of our peace shal lie vpon him, and by his stripes shall wee be healed. And he saith afterward, Although there was not any vnrighteousnesse in him, yet was it the Lords will to breake him with sorowe. And because he shall giue his life for sinne, the will of the Lord shal prosper in his hand, and he shal see the labour of his Soule, and inioy it. For by his knowledge he shall make many righteous, and he shal take their iniquities vpon him. Now this text is interpreted expressly of the Messias by the Chaldee Paraphrast. And in the Talmud, Rabbi Iacob being asked the name of the Messias, saith hee shall bee called Leaprous: and there he bringeth in this text to prooue it. By which reckoning his life should be but languishing and paine, sauing that he tryumphed

This Iesse or Isay was Dauids father.

Esay.25.35 42 49.

Esay.52.53.

In the Talmud in the treatise intiled Sãhedrin in the Chapter Helee.

phed ouer the Deuill and Death, and that we vnderstand it spiritually. To bee short, in the fiue and fiftie he is called the Law giuer of the Gentiles: and in the nine and fiftie, The Redeemer. And in the threescore and one, The Phisition of the helplesse, and the Proclaimer of the acceptable yeare of the Lord: And in the threescore and twe, The Sauiour, and the league or attonement which he bringeth to the people; not that he Loueth it, but that he is holy; nor that he giueth lawes to other Nations of the earth, but that hee hath the worde of GOD in his owne mouth and in the mouthes of his seede; sauing that in the kingdome of his Christ, GOD will giue a better place to straungers then to them.

Esay.55.59. 61,62.

As for all the other Prophets, like as they shote not at any other marke, so haue they not any other voyce. Nevertheless we will content our selues with a few of their sayings, which shall giue credit to all the rest; and so much the more, because their writing was commonly both at sundrie times, and in sundrie places. We haue seene how the Messias was promised to the issue of Dauid and to Dauid himselfe. Thus therefore doth Ieremy speake thereof conformablie to that which wee haue sayd heeretofore. I will rayse vp a braunch vnto Dauid (sayeth the Lord) and he shall reigne as King, and prosper, and execute Iustice and Iudgement vppon Earth. And if yée aske the Prophet what manner of prosperitie this shalbe: It is (saith he) that in his dayes Iuda shall be safe, and Israell shall dwell without feare, and the name whereby he shalbe called, shalbe the Euerlasting, our Righteousnes; that is to say the Iustifier of vs. For (saith he) the Lord hath said it. Dauid shall neuer want a Successer sitting vppon his Throne, neither shall there euer want a Priest of the Priests the Leuites to offer sacrifice before mee: Neither is it any more possible for you to breake this couenant; than to breake the couenant that I haue made with daye and night. Nowe, the Iewes cannot denie, but that euen by the recorde of their owne Paraphrast, this texte is meant of Christ, and yet notwithstanding that there hath not wanted a Successor both to Dauid and to Leuie; and that both the Kingdome and the Priesthood are come to an end: and therefore that hee speaketh heere of another Kingdome and of another Priesthood: Likewise sayeth Ezechiell, I will set a shepherd ouer my flocke, which shall feede them, namely my seruant Dauid. I will bee their GOD, and he shalbe their Prince among them. I will enter into a Couenant of peace with them, and make noisom beasts to ceasse from the earth. I will raise them shortly a plant of Renowne, and they shall no more be the iesting stocke of the Gentiles. And if we aske, how? They shall no more be defiled (saith he) with their Idolles, nor with their abhominations, nor with their misdeeds: but I will saue them from all their sinnes, and make them cleane,

Iere.23.30.33.

Ezechiel.34. 37.

and

And they shalbe my people, and I will be their God. And that this text also is meant of the Messias, the Iews cannot deny. For in their very Talmud they say that the Messias is called Dauid, because he was to be borne of Dauids race, and they alledged this present text and others for the same purpose. Daniell in his second & seuenth Chapters expounding Nabugodonozors Dreame, treateth of the fowre greate Monarchies, which should rise vp in the world euery one in his time: the which are betokened there, vnder these fower Mettalls, Gould, Siluer, Brasse, and yron. But when the Dreame representeth vs the stone hewen without hand, which striketh the Images vpon feete and breaketh them apeeces it is asmuch as if it had told vs, that the kingdome of the Messias shal seeme to be of smal stuffe, without stay and without force of man: and yet that it shal indure for euer because it is set vp by God. And therefore whereas he addeth in another place, That all People, Nations and Toungs shal serue that kingdome, it is to be vnderstode of another kind of seruice than the ordinarie. But in his fifth Chapter he sheweth wherin the same peculiarly consisteth. It is (sayth he) in bringing disobedience to an end, and in sealing vp sinne, to cleanse away iniquitie, and to bring righteousnes into the world; to close vp prophesying and visions, and to anoynt the holy of Holyes. Yea and it is so little meant that Hierusalem should be the seate of that kingdome, that it was to be destroyed anone after by the Romanes. The number of the Children of Israel (sayeth Ose) shalbe as the sand. And where it hath bin sayde, you be not my people; there it shall be sayde, ye be the people, of the liuing God: which is as much to say as that many people should become Israelytes. And this shall be done (sayeth the Lord) not by bowe, nor by swoord, nor by battel: but because I will shewe mercy, and saue them by their Lord God, and marry them to me of my compassion. Iewry (saieth Ioel) shallbe inhabited, euerlastingly, and Hierusalem from generation to generation. Yet had they greate ouerthrowes afterward, yea euen in the Prophets owne time. But yet he addeth, I will wype away the bloud from those whom I haue not yet cleansed, that is to wit, the Gentiles, and the Lord shall dwell in Sion. Then speaketh he of another Iewrie and of another Syon, that is to wit, of the spirituall one, which is the Church. To the same end tendeth Amos when he saieth, I will set vp the Tabernacle of Dauid againe, and stop vp the breakes thereof, and amend the decayes, that he may possesse the remnant of Edom, and of all other nations. And Micheas sayeth that many Nations shall come to the Lords Hill, and talke there one with another, saying as followeth; namely that the name of the Lord shall be called vpon ouer them, and that the Law shall come out of Syon and the word of the Lord out of Hierusalem, which shall teach them

Talmud in the treatise intytled, Sanhedrin, in the Chapter Helec.

Dan. 2. 7.

Osee. 1. 2. 3.

Amos. 9.

Micheas

his waies. And to the intent we should not thinke, that whereas Micheas saith that the name of the Messias shal shortly be magnified to the vttermost parts of the earth; Israell shall triumphe after the maner of the world: The Assyrians (saieth he) shall not ceasse to com into our Land, & to walke vp & downe in our Palaces. That is to say, the good & vertuous folke shall not ceasse to be persecuted for all that: but yet howsoeuer they fare, Idolatrie shalbe ouerthrowne, as he saieth afterward, and the Anoynted shall reigne through the power of the Lord, and hée shal be our peace. And Sophonie foretelleth to the same effect, That God wil starue all the Gods of the earth, so as euery man shal worship in his owne place throughout all the Iles of the Gentiles: that is to say, That Hierusalem shal not be the only place to worship in, but rather that God will haue euery place to be a Hierusalem. In Zacharie the Lord hauing saied I will make my seruant Branch to come, addeth immediatly, and I wil wipe away the wickednes of this land in one day. And hauing said, He shall reigne vpon his seate: He addeth forth with, that the Highpriest also shall sit there with him. That is to say that Christ shalbe both King and Priest. He saieth in deede, Bee glad thou daughter Sion and triumphe, for thy King commeth: But see here with what furniture, A righteous Sauiour and a lowly, sitting vpon an Asse, euen vpon an Asses colt, which is the Chariot of Ephraim and the Horse of Hierusalem, and the bowe of warre. He shal speake mildly to all Nations, and yet shal he be obeyed from the one side of the earth to the other. If there be no greater triumphe than this, what needeth so great ioy? But hee expoundeth him selfe in these words following. Thou shalt be saued by the bloud of thy couenant, and I haue let out thy prisoners from the waterlesse pit. Now, that this text is meant of Christ, it appeareth by Rabby Samuel and Rabby Ioseph in the Talmud. And Rabby Selomoh ben Iarchi (as great an enimie as he is to vs,) expoundeth it not otherwise. Againe, In that day (saith he) a Welspring shalbe opened to the house of Dauid, and to the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, to wash away their sinne and their filth; and I will roote out the names of the remembrance of Idols from the earth saith the Lord of Hostes. All this is nothing els but the clearing of men from their sinnes, and the abolishing of Sathans reigne. To be short, Malachie telleth vs of Christ, That hée shall bring vs an Attonement betweene God and vs. And of the Ambassadour whom God meant to send afore him to prepare his wayes, He saith, that he shal turne the hearts of the Children to their Fathers, and the hearts of the Fathers to their children. By the preparation of the Ambassadour, wée iudge of the Office of his Maister: namely that his comming is properly to reigne in our Soules, seeing his Ambassadour prepareth them for him, exhorting vs to turne away from our sinnes.

Sophonie. 2.

Zacharie. 3. & 9. 13.

In the treatise Sanhedrim cap. Halee.

Now

Now of this long but yet nedeful discourse, wee gather two things. The one against the Gentiles, which is, that the meane of cleansing mankind hath bin promised and preached euen from the fall of Adam, and that the same promise is from time to time brought to our remembrance by our scriptures: to wit that it is done by Christ, who was to bee borne of the womans sede by Abraham, Iuda, Dauid, and others. The other is against the Iewes of our time, who loke still for a Christ to come: which is, that the deliverance promised by him, is not meant of the Tyranny of some earthly Prince ouer vs: but of the Tyranny which the diuel exerciseth in our Soules by the vnrighteousnes of sinne the reward whereof is euerlasting death. The Gentiles of old tyme yelded vnto these texts, when they had once imbraced the spirituel kingdom of Christ: & it may be that if we had to do with the Iewes of elder time, the matter should soon be dispatched. For al the forealledged Texts haue bene vnderstood of the Messias and of his reigne, both by the auncient Rabbines and by the Chaldee Paraphrasts. Moreouer it is very manifest, that the Cabalists who wrate long time afore the Talmudistes, and who (as they say) do pearce into the very Marrowe of the Scriptures, whereas the Talmudists doe but grate vpon the barke of them: haue vnderstode that the cleansing away of sinne and the beating of the contagious venome which the Serpent did shed into Adam, and by him into the whole offspring of man: was to be wrought by the Messias, Yet for al this notwithstanding al the forecastes of mans wit, we want not some euen of the newer sort of writers, which haue vnderstod it after the manner afore said. The exposition of Salomons ballet vpon these words A Grape of Copher, makes this allusion *Eschcol Haccopher*, That vnto the Church, Christ is a man of full attonement, who shall be borne of the Children of Abraham, & shal make satisfaction for sinnes in such sort, as he may say to the measure of Iudgment, It is enough, that is to say, he may stay Gods wrath & punishment, and God (sayth he) will lay him to gage & deliuer him for those that are his. And vpon the fourth Chapter where it is written thus, A thousand sheelds hang there, that is to say, in the Tower of Dauid, the saide exposition hath these words: Often haue I (saith the Lord) taken my people in protection, for the desert of one that was to come after a thousand generations. And I haue made them to succeede one after another, to bring the Sheeld at the last vnto him, which is the onely desire of my Children, and shall defende them better than a thousand Sheelds. Also the Rabbines say, That the Creatures which are growen out of kinde by Adams fall shall bee set in their perfect state againe by the Sonne of Perets, and according to their accustomed fondnesse, for proofe thereof they bringe in a Text of Ruth and another of Genesis, where this worde *Toledoth* is

The Iewes of old time looked for a spirituall King. Misdrach Hasirim.

Ballet. Cap. 1. vers. 14. & cap. 4. vers. 4.

Rabbi, Barachias in his Bereschith. Rabbi. Misdrach. Exod.21.

written very plainly, that is to wit, with two *vaus*. And as touching the sayd Sonne of Perets, euery man knowes among them that it is the Messias, whom they looked for to come of Iuda by his sonne *Perets. Concerning the calling of the Gentiles, the Talmud maketh this Comparison, That the horse shalbe set in the stal of the halting Ore. Which words Rabbi Iacob & Rabbi Selomoth expound thus, namelie ý for as much as ý Iewes shal haue forsaken ý Law, God wil put the Gentiles in their place, and yet not driue them away afterward, though the Iewes turne againe vnto him: which is a thing very farre off from the Monarchie which they imagine as oft as there is any speaking of the calling of the Gentiles. To be short, the notablest of their Rabbines are ashamed of the feastings and extraordinarie pastimes, which the Iewes behight themselues at the comming of the Messias, and conclude with Rabbi Moyses ben Maimon, of whome they report that since Moyses himselfe vntill this Moyses there was none so like vnto Moyses) that the felicities and pleasures of that time, ought to be vnderstood according to this saying of Esayas, that the earth shalbe as it were ouerflowed with the knowledge of the Lord, and that euery man shalbe occupyed in seeking and knowing of GOD. But Rabbi Hechadosch sayeth yet more plainly, that the Messias shall by his death saue Adams race and deliuer mens Soules from Hel, and therefore shall bee called Sauiour.

Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrim, cap. Helec.

Esay.11.

Reasons against the Iewes of our daies.

Let vs yet further by reason ouercome the willfull sort, if it bee possible. They hold it for an Article of their faith, both by Scripture and by tradition, that there shal be a Messias, He that denyes that (say they) denyes the Lawe and the Prophetes, and is condemned to Hel fyre. And therfore (say they) he that denieth the comming of the Messias cannot be saued. If he which is to reigne in Israell and to giue them prosperitie, be a temporall King: what skilles it me greatly whether I knowe him & beleeue in him, or no? or what ioy can it be to me, sith I cannot see him? May rather what a griefe is it to me that I shall not see him, and what a paine is it to pyne away in wayting for him? Againe, what goodnes is it in God to haue foretold vs it, if by beliuing it we fare neuer the better, & yet must vs euerlastingly for not beleeuing it? In the Articles of their faith, they beleeue in the only one God. There is greate reward in beleeuing well. They beleeue a blessed life. As it is the Soule that beleeueth, so doth ý reward redound vnto her. And euen so is it with all other things which are no Articles of faith, further forth than a man hath benefite by beleeuing them. But as for this Article of the Messias, what boteth it Abraham, Moyses, so many Kings, so many Prophetes, & such a number of people, if ther were no further secret in it? Why was it foretold so carfully by the Prophets? Why was it so oft repeated,

It is the 13. article of the beliefe of the Iewes. Rabbi Moyses ben Maimon.

no

no lesse in the prosperitie than in the aduersitie of that people, & no lesse vnder the good Kings than vnder ỳ Tyrants? Nay, which more is, why was it more, yea farre more carefully repeated to those which were not at that time when he should come, than to those which were to be borne in his time, if the Messias be not certenly more than simply a good King and the prosperitie another manner of prosperitie than any is on earth, and the ioy another maner a ioy than is conceiued by the sences? And yet for all that, vnto a Iewe it is an Article of faith, and of the necessitie of saluation. We say therefore, that the Messias is not a King of temporall delightes, but the King of Saluation and welfare.

Againe, they beléeue that the Scriptures are of God, and that they teach them the way to Saluation. Now the ordinarie voyce of them is against the Pompe, the brauery, and the vanitie of the world: saying that God will turne them into sorrowe, mourning and dung. Herewithall, the same Scriptures turne vs away from all other delights, to talke of that, and from all honor & reputation, to the atteynement of that kingdome. Who seeth not therfore, that this ioy which the Scriptures do so much commend, is of another kind, than the ioy which they discommend, and that the kingdom which they make vs to couet, is to be possessed in heauen and not on earth? Be glad O Daughter Sion (say the Prophets) reioyce thou Hierusalem, sing ye nations and peoples. And wherfore? For certeine thousand yéres hence, there shall rise vp a great King in Israell. What greater fondnesse can there be than this? He shall make a good peace say they: what passe I for that, if I my selfe be in warre? He shal open the Prisons: what is that to me, if I in the meane whyle do rotte there? He shal triumphe ouer al ỳ Nations in the world. What am I the better for that, if in the meane season other Nations trample me vnder their féete, & leade me in triumphe ouer all the world with my hands bound behind mé? The father (say they) reioyceth for his Sonnes welfarre, yet is that but a light and slightfull ioy, and who is he that will be moued for the afterspring of his children that are long hence to come? And who would not count him a fole for reioycing thereat, and much more for beléeuing it? Surely, then doth this ioy extend farther, so as euen the foretellers thereof doe féele it themselues and are cheered therewith, and the hearers thereof doe taste of it and finde themselues comforted: and both of them in their Soules inioy the Fraunchises and Frédomes of that kingdome aforehand, ere the sayde King whom they loked for to be borne into this world. Let vs put the case farther, that they which shall attend vpon the Messias, shalbe rewarded abundantly with all the pleasures of this life: what shall become of him in the ende? He shall dye (say they) & his generation with him: and thereupon they kéepe a sore contention how many yéres he shall liue. How farre

off is this gére from that which the Prophetes spe ake of, concerning a ioy that shall neuer haue end: what if they passed hundred yeeres in all ioy? what is it but a long feast, which as soone as a man sleepeth is quite and cleane forgotten? And if ye dye altogether, what remayneth of it any more? And if ye liue out of the world, what remaineth thereof but greefe? And what reason haue the Fathers to reioyce so much at that flash of Lightening, which passeth away in a moment? Sothly much lesse than for a Marriagefeast, at least wise which is accompanied with the birth of some children. In very deede these things are toyes to laugh at, but yet among the Iewes they be earnest matters, & they rest vpon them at this day like silly soules as they be, as though there were none other life for man than this, or as though they should euer be babes still in this life. But some to shunne this absurditie, haue falne into another, namely that all they which haue hoped for the Messias, shall come to life againe as they were afore, yea and euen the wicked sort too, that they may burst for spite and sorrowe. They that be in the glorie of God shall come backe again to see the glorie of that man. They that are free from this Prison of sinne, shalbe shutte vp againe in it to see this licentiousnes. They that liue euerlastingly in all felicitie aboue, shall come downe to eate of fat beastes. What is this but a tittletattle of Children, which in their conferences can goe no higher than Tartes and Junkets, nor conceiue any higher pleasures than those? And what els in effect is al this, than to reioyce from Bed to Bord, and from Bord to Bed againe to sléepe? But if all this must be done in Palestine so as all that are spoken of afore shall come thither: How wil Palestine or Iewrie suffice to receiue them, or what Leuiathan will suffice to féede them? And if the Gentiles also shall bee admitted thither, as they saye: what manner of Temple shall there be? And if all men shall bring their Sacrifices thither, what shall Hierusalem be, but a continuall slaughter house of beastes, and al Iewrie an vniuersall streame of blood? Wil he sáth not then, that (as the prophets declare vnto vs) the Gentiles shall not in very deede be gathered in Hierusalem, but Hierusalem shall be spred out among the Gentiles? And that they shal not come running from a far to the Temple, but that they themselues shall be the Temple, I meane their heartes, where God shal be serued & worshipped: And séeing that God so greatly refuseth our sheadings of blood, our fat Puttons, and our perfumes: who can think that those shalbe the feast which he will prepare to cheare vs withall.

The Iewes of our daies say that this Leuiathan is a Whale powdred for the feast of the Messias.

The

The xxviij. Chapter.

That the Mediatour or Messias is promised in the Scriptures to be both God and Man, that is to wit, the euerlasting Sonne of God taking mans flesh vnto him.

NOw then, let it stand for a poynt concluded, That the Christ our Messias promised in the holy Scriptures is a Redéemer from spiritual bondage. But forasmuch as I haue proued, that he ought not to fetch vs out of prison without Raunsome; nor could pay the Raunsome being infinite, vnlesse he were God and Man; Man to suffer, & God to ouercome: it followeth that I must shew, that Gods word hath promised vs that he shalbe such a one: & that shal serue as wel against the Gentils, as against the Iewes. Now, if we had none other proofe therof than this, that Christes office is to vndoe sinne and death, and to appease Gods wrath against mankind, as I haue sayd, seeing that these things are such as no creature can doe, nor ought to presume to doe: as oft as we reade that his office is such, wee must needes conclude that the Messias must needs then be God. For (as the Gymnosophist of India said vnto Alexander) he is God in very déede, which doeth that which no creature can do. But the Scripture intending to succour our infirmitie, the elder the world waxeth, speaketh euer the more manifestly thereof vnto vs, and surely after such a sort, that the skilfullest among the Iewes of late time become most vnskilfull when they go about to darken it. First of all at the making of the promise in Genesis, it is said that this séede, that is to saye this Christ, shall crush the Serpents head: and this Serpent (as I haue saide afore) is the Deuill, and his venome is sinne: and by meanes of sinne we be all become thralles to the Diuell, against whose power wee knowe that no force of man can doo any thing.

That by the Scriptures, Christ the Mediator is both God & Man.

Gen. 3.

It foloweth then that this Christ must haue another nature than mans, yea or than Angels: For the angels and the Diuels differ not in power, that is to wit, diuine. Afterward where the promise is repeated to Abraham; of what man can it be verified, In thy seede shall all Nations be blessed? Deut.21.v.8 Or who can bless so effectually but onely GOD, who commaundeth his blessing (saieth he diuers times) and then doth it shead it selfe out vpon vs and our workes. But as the Prophets do preach the Messias vnto vs, so also doe they describe vs his natures and qualities, so as we nede not any other Commentaries vpon that promise than the Prophetes themselues. Unto Dauid therefore it was renewed, and in his sight was it to be accomplished. See here how he speaketh of it in the Psa 45 45. Psalme. My heart (saieth he) intendeth to vtter good matter, and my worke shall be to speake of the King, (that is to wit of the Messias) and so doth the Chaldee Paraphrast himself interpret it: Thou art more perfect than the Children of men. This might be meant of a man, but let vs reade further: O God (saieth he) thy Throne is from euerlasting to euerlasting, the Scepter of thy Kingdome is the Scepter of Righteousnesse. Thou louest righteousnesse and hatest wickednesse: And therefore God thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. These so expresse wordes cannot be spoken, (specially among the Hebrewes who were not so lauish of Gods name as other people are) but of one that is verie God and very man both together. In Psal.110. the hundred and tenth Psalme, The Lord said vnto my Lord (saith Dauid) sit thou at my right hand, vntil I haue made thine enimies thy footstoole. And a little after, Thou art a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedeck. To sit at Gods right hand, and to be a Priest for euer, cannot be attributed to a man. May (which more is) Dauid who knews well that there is but one Lord, calleth him his Lord. And we read that with this selfesame text Christ stopped the mouthes of the Pharisies. Now, that the fathers of old time vnderstood these things to be spoken of the Messias, it appeareth by the translation of Ionathas, cited in the booke of Collections, for he translateth it, The Lord said vnto his word: and it is alledged to proue, that the Messias should sit on the right hande of God. Insomuch that the Iewes Commentarie vpon the second Psalm saith expressely that the Mysteries of the Messias are rehearsed in the hundred and tenth Psalme. And Esay in his nineth Chapter saith thus: A Babe is borne vnto vs and a Sonne is giuen vnto vs, and his kingdome shalbe vpon his shoulder. Yee see here the birth of a man. But hee saith further, His name shall be called, the wonderfull, the Counseller, the mightie God, the euerlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Howe then must this selfesame man be also God. And whereas he is said to be the Prince of Peace; Ionathas translateth it the Christ (or the annoynted)

The booke *Sepher kibbut sim.* Midrasch Thehilim vpon the second Psal. ver. 7 Esay.9.

of

of Peace. And Rabbi Ioses the Galilæan, saith vpon the Lamentations, that the Messias shalbe called the father of euerlastingnesse, the Prince of peace and so forth: and for confirmation thereof, he alledgeth this text, and so doth also the Commentarie vpon Genesis. And the holy Rabbi(as they terme him) saith expressly, that the Messias in that he should be both God and Man, should be called Emanuel; In that he was God, the wonderfull and the Counseller; In that he was mightie Gheuer that is to say Strong: In that he was Euerlasting, the Father of euerlastingnesse; In respect that peace should be increased vnder him, the Prince of peace: In that he should deliuer mens soules from Hell, The deliuerer out of bondage: and in that he should saue men, Iesus that is to say, The Sauiour. For whereas Rabbi Selomoh, to conuey these titles to Ezechias, interpreteth them after this maner: And God, the wonderfull, the Counseller, and the euerlasting father, hath called Ezechias the Prince of peace &c. Besides that the Hebrue Grammer and the phrase of that tongue are repugnant to that Construction: It is well enough séene that such things cannot be verified of King Ezechias, and that it is but a deuice of this late borne Iew against the opinion of al antiquitie to escape from this text which is so expresse. Esay in his seauenth Chapter saith thus. Beholde, a Virgin shal be withchild and bring forth a Sonne. Here ye sée that Christ shall bée a man, And thou shalt call his name Emanuell, that is to say, God with vs. Then shall he be both God and Man, that is to wit, GOD dwelling among men as a man. But vnto this and such like textes, they answere vs that the *El*, that is to say God, is imparted to Princes and Iudges: And therefore let vs beare further, In that day (saith Esay) the Lord of Hosts *Iehouah tsebbaoth*, shalbe in steede of a crowne of glory and of a Diademe of honor to the residue of his people. The Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth this concerning the Messias. And againe; In that day shall the people that were harried away and rent in peeces, be brought for a present to the Lord of Hosts. The Commentary vpon Genesis vnderstandeth this also to be spoken of the same person. This is another: I will wait for the Lorde who hath hidden his face from the house of Iacob, and I will attend vpon him. The Disciples of Rabbi Hija apply this in the Talmud of the Messias. And yet in al these places whersoeuer is the word Lord, the Hebrue hath the word *Iehouah*, that is to say the Bëer or he that is, which is the vnspeakeable or vnutterable name of the Creator, and in opinion of the Hebrewes is not to be imparted to any Creature. Wherupon it ensueth, that the Messias, to whom it is imparted, should be the very euerlasting God; and that the auncient writers who attributed those sayings to him, loked that he shoulde be such a one. In the three and twentie and in the three and thirtie of Ieremie we read thus: Be-

Lament. 1. ver. 16. Bereschith Rabbi vpon Genes. 15. Rabbi Hecadosch.

Esay. 7

Christ is called Iehouah, that is to say the euerlasting God. Esay. 18. & 28. & 1. Bereshith Ketana.

In the treatise Sanhedrim. cap. Dine Mammonoth

holde, the daies shal come, that vnto Dauid I wil raise vp a righteous branch & he shal reigne as King. These words belong to Christes Manhood. But by & by after he saith, And in his daies Iuda shal be saued; and behold, the name whereby he shal be called, shal be *Iehouah*, the Euerlasting, our Righteousnesse. Here again is the foresaid vncommunicable name of God, which the Iewes do so greatly reuerence. Yet notwithstanding, the threescore and ten Interpreters, who were all Iewes, vnderstood it so. And Ionathas interpreteth it of Christ in both respects. As touching the latter Rabbines, who will néedes correct the text, and in stead of *iikreo*, do set downe *iikra*, to the intent that the sence might be, He that calleth him shal be the Euerlasting: I repose me to al their owne Grāmarians, whether it be not both a corrupting & a racking of the text. And truely in the three and thirtith Chapter the Prophet saith the same thing in diuers wordes: whereunto this forgerie cannot bee applied. That is the cause why Rabbi Abba vpon the Lamentations of Ieremie demaundeth what shal bee the name of the Messias, & afterward answereth *Iehouah schemo*, the Euerlasting is his name. And to that purpose alledgeth he the selfesame textes of Ieremies. And the Commentarie vpon the Psalmes saith, Seeing that none of the Subiectes of a King of flesh and bloude, that is to say of a temporall Kinge, is called by his name (that is to say King:) Howe happeneth it that GOD imparteth his owne name to the Messias? and what name is that? Worthily *Iehouah* is his name according to this saying, The man of warre, *Iehouah* [that is to say the Euerlastinge] is his name. And Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan expounding this saying of Sophonie, to call vpon the name of the Euerlasting; sayeth thus: Here *Iehouah* is nothing else but the King, the Messias, [or the annointed Kinge.] And the same thing is repeated in the selfesame wordes in the Thalmud. And whereas some, to disapoint vs of the consequence of these textes, doe say that in Ezechiel, Hierusalem is called by that name, where it is saide thus *Iehouah schammah*, [that is to say] the euerlasting is there; that is to say, the Euerlasting hath chosen his dwelling place in Hierusalem: They by chaunging the Hebrewe vowels doe make him to say *Iehouah schemo*, [that is to say] the Euerlasting is his name. But besides the consent of al Copies repugning to this vnshamefastnesse; Ionathas can assoyle the case, who translateth it expressly, God hath placed his Godhead there. Now, besides the saide textes, which shew that the Iewes of old time waited for a Messias that should be both God and Man: we haue also great tokens thereof in those fewe writings of theirs which remaine dispersed here and there, notwithstanding that the Iewes hide them from vs or else corrupt them as much as they can. The Commentarie vpon the Psalmes saith, Because the Gentiles ceasse not to aske

of

Lament. 1. ver. 16.

Midrasch Tehilim vpon the 23. Psal. vers. 1

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon Genesis. ca. 41

Thalmud in the treatise Sanhedrin. Cap. Helec.

of vs where is our God; the time shall come that God will sit among the Righteous, so as they shalbe able to point him out with their fingar. And whereas it is so often said, I wil walke among you, it is all one (say they) as if a king should go walke in his Gardine with his Gardiner, & his gardine should alwaies shrink behind him: & the king should say, shrinke not backe, for lo, I am like thee: euen so wil God walk among vs in his Gardin of pleasure in time to come. Midrasch Tehilim, vpō the fortith Psalm.

Therfore another saith ỹ the Euerlasting shalone day be as a brother of Iacob, ỹ is to say in the time of the Messias, according to this saying of the Ballet, I would faine that thou wast to me as a brother. In the booke intitled Siphrei vpon the 26. of Leuiticus.

And the Cōmentary vpon the Ballet saith in another place, That God himselfe who is the Husband of the Church, shoulde come in his owne person to marrie her. The booke Hechilia vpō the 14. of Exo. the Ballet. 2. vers. 1

Vpon the 25. of Leuiticus, where mention is made of one brother that redéemeth out another, in the yeare of Iubilee; many make an Allegorie, that that brother is Christ. Leuit. 25. vers. 25

And the Commentarie affirming the same, saith that Israel shalbe redéemed of God, who shall come in his owne being, & that Israel shal no more be brought in bondage. The booke Tan humah. Midrasch vpō Leuiticus.

And vpon Genesis, Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan alledging this saying of the Psalme, I will shew him the saluation of God; saith thus: This is one of the texts of scripture of greatest weight, that the Saluation of Israel is the saluation of GOD. For God will be the price and paiment of Israels Raunsome, like as if man hauing but a little Corne of the second Croppe, should redeeme the same. Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan vpō Gen 49 Psal. 49.

Hereof came the tradition, that God left some portion vnperfect on the Northside, to the intent that if any reported himselfe to be God, he should fill vp that want, and that thereby his Godhead should be knowne. And all men know that ordinarilie by the North, they meant the Euil, which should be remedied by the Messias. But the Cabalists were farre more spirituall in this behalfe than the Thalmudists. And first of al Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in his Commentaries vpon Genesis in the language of Hierusalem, saith that the feare or mercie of the Lord shoulde take a bodie in the Wombe of a Woman, and be Crowned King the auncient of daies for euer. And that it was decréed that a holie bodie and a woman should be incorporated together, & (for proofe whereof he alledgeth an auncient booke whereof he take it) the same should be accomplished in the third age, that is to say, in the third Period of the Church; and that then the higher world shoulde by the saide holy bodie be united to the inferior world: so as God should be sanctified beneath as well as aboue; and the holy Ghost should come as out of a sheath, that is to say, should be shewed forth openly; & that all this is but one, namely the Euerlasting himselfe. And to be short, that the woman of whom the holy word should take his body, & out of whom the said faithfull was to come; shoulde be holy & blessed aboue all other women. Now it appeareth that hereby be meant: Midrasch Sir Hasirim cap. 1 Rabbi Eleazer. vnto Zohar.

The Cabalists. R. Simeon. B. Iohai vpon Genes. 1. ver. 17 & cap. 17. ver. 1.

In the booke of Shametasnes.

The same vpō Genesis ca. 10

In the treatise Sanhedrim. cap. Helec. Ieremie. 16.

ment the Incarnation of the Messias. For in the Talmud, the Schole of Rabbi Hamina being demaunded the name of the Messias, answered Hamina, that is to say, Mercy is his name. And in the Prophets, they betoken the Messias by the name of mercie. Another Cabalist saith. That sinne shal be brought to ende by the Messias, who shal be the power of God, euen by the spirit of wisedome wherewith he shall be filled. And another saith, that the mysterie of Messias the King, is that his operation consisteth wholly in *he*, *vau*, and *iod*, *he*, (which is the mysterie of the seauenth day) that is to say in calmenesse of minde, without force: and that his name whole together shalbe composed of these letters, to wit, *Iehouah*, the Euerlasting. But the holy Rabbi vpon the 9. Chapter of Esay where Christ is called the euerlasting father, plaieth the Phylosopher yet further vpon the letters of that name. Like as the letter *he* (saith he) is made of *daleth* and *vau*, (as appeareth by the shapes of those letters) so shall the Messias be of the nature of Man, and of the nature of God. And like as the double *he* consisteth of a double *daleth* & two *vaus*: so be there two Sonships in the Messias, that is to say, two sortes of beeing Sonne; the one in respect that he is the Sonne of God, the other in respect that he is the Sonne of a Prophetisse, as it is said in Esay 8. And as those shapes are distinct in one selfesame letter, and yet are both one letter; so shal the natures of Christ or the Messias be distinct, and yet shal make but one Christ. I stand not vpon the foundation which he taketh of the letters, which I make none account of: but the onely thing which I meane to gather, both by this text and by the former texts, and by al others that may be gotten together, is that the expectation of the Iewes in old time, was of a Messias that shoulde be both God and Man: and that they haue not beene able to race it out of their bookes to this day, for all the diligence that they could vse in that behalfe.

The booke of Faith and Reconciliation.

In the booke Hecadma vau He, Iod, He.

In his booke intitled the Gate of light Cap. 1. Rabbi Hecadosch.

And forasmuch as I haue said that in God there be three persons in one substance, the Father the Sonne and the holie Ghost: it followeth that we must see which of these three the Church of Israel waited that the Messias shoulde be. And as we haue founde it meet that he by whom GOD created vs (to wit the Sonne or the worde) shoulde bee the meane to create vs newe againe; so also shal we finde by the Scripture, that the same seconde person is he that was promised. In Genesis the Messias is called Silo, and promised to be of the stocke of Iuda. Now the worde Silo (saith Kimhi) signifieth the Sonne of him, and is derived of a worde which signifieth a womans Afterbirth as they terme it, which thing is not to be passed ouerlightly. And therefore Dauid repeateth and expoundeth the same promise in these wordes; I will be his Father (saith the Lorde) and he shall be my Sonne. And in the lxxxix. Psalme he addeth, I will make him my first begotten, and soueraigne of

That the Second person tooke flesh.

Kimhi in his booke of Rootewordes

Psalm. 89.

all

the Kinges of the earth: which word Rabbi Nathan expounded concerning the Messias and thus doth Dauid himself expounde it in the second Psalme: The Lorde hath saide vnto me, thou art my sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. And againe, Kisse the Sonne ô ye Kinges and Rulers of the Earth and happye be they which put their trust in him. Surely it appeareth that in all that text he speaketh of the Sonne of GOD, and not of the Sonne of a man. For otherwise he that hath said vnto vs, Cursed be hee that trusteth in man, and a foole is he that leaneth vpon the Princes of the earth, would not say vnto vs. Blessed are they that put their trust in him. But yet further Rabbi Selomoh the sonne of Iarchi, and Aben Esra (as much enemies as they be vnto vs) also do witnesse that the said Psalme was vnderstoode in old time to concerne the Messias; neither do they themselues expounde it otherwise. Insomuch that Aben Esra saith expressely, that *Bar* signifieth a Sonne in that place as well as in the xxxi. Chapter of the Prouerbes. And the exposition of the Iewes vpon that Psalme, is that there God resembleth a King that would destroy a Towne in his anger, if he were not pacified by his Sonne. In the lxxii. Psalme, where the reigning of the Messias is manifestly described, His name (saith he) shall continue for euer, his name shall be euerlasting as longe as the Sonne indureth. And the Hebrewe worde *Innon* which he vseth, commeth of the worde *Nun*. Which signifieth a Sonne, as if a man would say Sonned or Sonnified. In the Commentarie vpon the fowerteenth and thirtenth Psalme, these wordes, Thy throne is from euerlasting to euerlasting, are expounded to concerne the Messias. And the paraphrast (which is reported to be Rabbi Ioseph the blind,) agreeth thereunto. And in the Talmud, the Schole of Rabbi Ianai being asked the name of the Messias, answereth, Innon is his name; for it is saide in the Psalme, before the Sonne was in the sky, Innon is his name. Esay, Ieremie and Zacharie in the texts afore alledged, do call him Impe and in all those places the Chaldee paraphrast translateth it the Lords Annointed: and Iosua the sonne of Leuie saith that Impe is his name. But least we should think that this Impe were but an Impe of Dauid; he is called there, the Lordes Impe the Impe of the Euerlasting, and the Euerlasting himselfe. Now there is not a nearer nor a properer metaphor than to terme a sonne an Impe, or an Impe a sonne. This sonne we call moreouer the worde; wherein the Iewes discent not from vs. In the xlv. of Esay it is said, Israel shal be saued by Iehouah (that is to say by the Euerlasting) with endlesse saluation: which saying Ionathas trãslateth By the word of the Lord. In Ose, I will saue the house of Israell (saith the Lord) by the Lord their God: which saying the said Ionathas translateth by the word of the Lord their God, and so forth ordinarily

Psalm. 2. 7

Midrasch Thehilim vpon the second Psalm.

Psal. 72. ver. 17

Psal. 9. vers. 2.

In the treatise Sanhedrim. Cap. Helec.

Rabbi Iosua ben Leui in his Echa Rabethi, Cap. 1. vers. 16.

Esay. 45. ver. 17

Osea. 1. ver. 7.

in all other like texts. And it is not to be doubted but that by the saide
Psalm.110. worde they meant the Messias. For in the Hundred and tenth Psalme,
(which as they themselues affirme, containeth the mysteries of the Mes-
sias) vpon these words, The Lord said vnto my Lord &c. Ionathas saith,
Gen.47. the Lord said vnto his word, sit thou on my right hand. And Rabbi Isaac
Psal.147.vers. Arama vpon Genesis, expounding this text of the hundred & seauen and
18. fortith Psalme, The Lord sent forth his word, and they were setled, or
as others translate it, were healed; saith expressely that this worde is
the Messias. Yea and Rabbi Simeon the son of Iohai, the chefe of the Ca-
balists, writing vpō Genesis & by the way expounding there these words
Gen.10. Iob.19,ver.26. of Iob, yet notwithstanding I shall see my God in my flesh: saith that the
mercie which procedeth from the highest wisdome of God, shal be crow-
ned by the word, and take flesh of a woman. But let vs heare Philo, the
Philo the Iew in his booke of the banish-ed Iewe vpon this point; Hardly can I say (saith he) what time is appoin-
ted for the returne of the banished Iewes. For men hold opinion that it
shalbe at the death of a high priest, which as some thinke is at hande,
& as other some thinke is far hence. But my opinió is, that this high priest
shall be the word or speech of God, cleere from sinne aswell willing as
vnwilling, who to his father hath God the father of all, and to his mo-
ther hath the wisedome whereby all thinges in the world were created.
And therefore his head shall be annointed with Oyle, His Maiestie shal
shead forth beames of light round about him, and he shal be cloathed
with light as with a garment. For the auncient word, of him that is, is clo
Malachy.3. vers.8. Ose.6.ver.2. thed with the world, &c. Also in Malachie where it is said, I wil send
mine Ambassadour before my face; Rabbi Moyses ẏ son of Maimon ex-
poundeth it, Before Christ the Annointed. And in Osee where it is writ-
ten, We shal liue before his face: Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan saith it is
Psal.17.ve.vlt Christ the King. And in ẏ 17. Psalme where it is said, I shal behold thy
countencāe in righteousnesse and be satisfied at the rising vp of thy like-
nes: Rabbi Nehemias, saith I shal be satisfied with the sight of thy Mes-
sias who is thine image. And to the same purpose might a great many no
be alledged. The thing which they say is al one in effect with that which
In Echa Baba-thi cap.1.ve.6 we say, namely, that the Sonne or Worde of God is the image of God,
and the brightnesse of his countenance. To be short, we say that the
Sonne is light of light, and they say the same of the Messias. For vp-
on the Lamentations of Ieremie, Rabbi Biba beeing asked the name
of the Messias, answereth in the end, that it is Nehira, that is to say
Dan.2.ver.22 Gen.1 Psal.36.ver.9. Light, according to this saying in the second of Daniel, Light is with
him. And vpon the place of Genesis where it is written, Let there bee
light; Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan saith that it is the Messias, according to
Rabbi Abba, and Rabbi Iohanan vpon the 36. Psalme, where it is said,
We shall see light in thy light, Oftentimes (say they) hath the light of Is-

rael bene quenched and kindled againe, when they were one while subdued and another while deliuered. But in the end he saith, it is not to be required that flesh and bloud (that is to say a mortall man) shall inlighten vs, but God himselfe in his owne substance will doe it. According whereunto it is said in the 18. Psalme, God hath bene our light. And likewise in Esay, Israell shall be saued by the Euerlasting. To be short, like as we say that the sonne as in respect of the father, is as a Riuer in respect of the spring, or as Reason is in respect of the Minde: so say the Cabalists that the light of the Soule of the Messias, is in respect of the liuing God as Reason is in respect of the minde; and that the liuing God, as in respect of the Messias, is as a Fountaine or Welspring of liuing water, in respect of the streame or riuer of life that floweth out of it.

Psalm. 18. Esay. 45.

In the booke intitled the Gate of light. cap. 2.

Now then, we haue in our scriptures a Mediatour that is both God and Man. But reason hath led vs to two circumstances moe: The one is that this Man must be of our race; and the other is that he must be borne after another maner than we bee; the one for our behoofe, the other for his owne dignitie; and therefore let vs enquire yet further of the Rabbins concerning these points. As touching the first point, it is euident enough of it self, & needeth no long proofe. For Christ is promised to come of the seede of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Iuda, & Dauid; and the Iewes haue beleeued it so certainely, that euen during the time of their Captiuitie at Babylon, they chose their Resch Caluta, that is to say the chiefe Captaine of their Banished folke, out of the house of Dauid, as from whence they looked for a deliuerer. And as touching the second point, Behold (saith Esay) a Virgin shal conceiue and beare a Sonne, and call his name Emanuell; which is as much to say, as that the Messias shalbe the sonne of a Virgin, and that he shal be begotten without fleshly copulation. The late writers of the Iewes say it is not written a Virgin or maiden, but a wench or yoong woman. I will not vrge them that the Hebrewe word Alma is taken ordinarily for a yong Maiden or Virgin, as in the fowre and twentith of Genesis where Rebecca is so called; and in the second of Exodus where it is spoken of the Sister of Moyses. And euen in this place, the threescore & ten Interpreters translate it in Greeke, idou he Parthenos, that is to say, Behold a Virgin &c. But I would haue them to tel me what the token is that is giuen here to the house of Dauid, & whether a token ought not to bee some special and notable thing, & whether it be not a matter of earnest, sith it is God that giueth it, who saith expressly, Aske me a toke, whether it be from beneath or from aboue? I beseech them what straunge signe or token is there, in that a yong woman beareth a Child & What thing is more ordinarie in ȳ world, & consequently more fond to be giuen or take for a myracle? May the ancient Rabbines haue wel waded euē into the depth of this matter.

Esay. 11. 14.

And of a virgin.

And

And therefore Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan writing vpon the 85. Psalme vpon these wordes, Trueth shall bud out of the earth, saith thus. Rabbi Ioden noteth here, how it is not said here, shalbe borne, but shall bud, because the begetting and birth of the Messias shal not be after the maner of other worldly creatures, but he shal be bred without companie or copulation. And it is certaine that no man nameth his father, but he is concealed and kept secret, vntil he himselfe come and reueale him. And vpon Genesis, You haue said (saith the Lord) we be fatherlesse: and so shal the Redeemer be whom I wil giue vnto you, according to that which is said in the 4. of Zachary, Loe, this is the man whose name is Braunch; and according to this which is said in the 110. Psalme, Thou art a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedek. Also he reporteth that Rabbi Berechia gathereth the like. But Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai saith yet more expressely vpon Genesis, That the spirit hauing beene shut vp in a (womans) wombe, should come forth with great force to be ỹ highest Prince, which is Messias the king. And the holy Rabbin proceedeth so farre, as to seeke out by the proportion of their Cabalie, what should be the name of the Israelitish Virgin that should beare the Messias. There remaine many other thinges to be treated of concerning the time, the place, the life and the death of the Messias, which are reserued for another place, peraduenture more conuenient for them. Let it suffice vs for this time, That in the Religion of the Israelites, there was promised from time to time euen from the beginning, the Mediatour betweene Gods Iustice and Mans sinfulnesse, the Sauiour of Mens Soules, and the Author of the selfesame cleansing which the verie Heathen themselues deemed to bee so needful; namely Iesus Christ, God and Man, the euerlasting Son of GOD, borne of woman in his due time, without sinne, free from [desert of] Gods wrath as in respect of himselfe, and able to appease it towards others, cleane in his humane nature, and sufficient through his diuine nature to cleanse ours. And this is the third marke which I haue shewed to be so needful in Religion, and so peculiar therunto, that whersoeuer the same is found, there is Religion, that is to say, a way to Saluation; and wheresoeuer the same wanteth, there is no Religion at all.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon the 85. psalme

Vpon the 25. of Genesis.

Zach. 4. vers. 7.

Psal. 110.

Gen. 1.

Haradosch.

So then, in the Religion of Israel we haue all the three marks of the true Religion, namely, the true God, the Law of God, and the Mediator of Saluation. And I beseech all men to looke well about them and to see whether they can find them elswhere in any other of the Religions that haue beene of old time. Nay, as for in them, in stede of the true God, we shal finde diuels, men, & stocks. In stead of Gods word to inlighten vs to soulehealth, we shal find doubtful Oracles & answers of Idols, vaine, fond, without ground, without end, which speake not a whit of Gods glo-

The conclusion of the three Markes of the true Religion in Israell.

ries

mans welfare. In steed of a sufficient Mediator, we shall finde a sorte of wrathfulnes that passe no further than the skin; we shal finde manslaughters, & sacrificing of wretched kaytifes condemned for their misdeeds. But how should there be any religion, where is no God? Or how should Religion be certaine, where God speaketh not? Or how should it be a healthfull one, where he himselfe is not the meane of attonement? Certelie therefore let vs say, that onely in Israell was the true Religion; & that Israel was as a Schoole or Universitie founded by God, wherin he himself vouchsafed to teach, that men might learne their owne saluation.

But beholde here is yet one obiection against God. How happeneth it (say they,) that this schoole was among this people onely? why was it not in all Nations? Why was it not (at least wise) in some other as well as in that? O man, it becommeth man to hold his peace when God speaketh, and to yéld to whatsoeuer he will haue done. Thou art righteous but so farre forth as thou doest righteous déedes: but as for God, it is far otherwise with him: for with him, things are not righteous furtherforth than he doth them. Neuertheles, I pray thée what canst thou say? That in Adam, God the Creator made all mankinde: and in Adam al mankind is forlorne. But the wisedome of the Creator stepping in by and by reuealeth his word, and vttereth the promise of the mediator to all men. Here now thou séest no distinction of Nations or people. Of Adams Children, some imbraced the seruice of God and the promise; and some forsoke it, and regarded it not. Some (say I) toke parte with the Diuell; and othersome stacke to the gracious goodnes of God. What hast thou to alledge here against the righteousnesse of the Creator? After this followeth a generall corruption of mankinde; and God exhorteth them by Noe to repentance, threatning them with his wrath if they did otherwise. Still they refuse Gods mercy, and for so doing are all drowned by his Iustice, sauing onely Noe and his houshoulde, who were saued in the Arke. Now were not al men hitherto onely one people still? And so; were not Gods word and the reuealing of himself directed still to all men? Againe, ye sée that in the Arke all mankind was gathered againe into one household. At that time there was no difference of circumcised & uncircumcised, of Iew or Gentile. Anon they turned away vnto Idols & forsoke the couenant that God had made with them. Who hath not cause here to honour the patientnes of God in bearing with thé, & to wonder, not ỳ he suffered men to take their owne waies, but rather that he vouchsafed to reserue any men aliue in the world? Yet notwithstanding, euen at that time he chose Abraham out of the midst of Idolatry, manifested himselfe newe againe vnto him, vttered his secrets vnto him, deliuered him his promises in pawne, and entered into couenant with him, and his séed. All which thinges were not done alonely

Obiections.

for him & his séed, but to bleſſe al the Nations and kinreds of the earth in the partie that was to be borne of his ſéede, and to renue his Couenant with them. Who then ſeeth not here, both that the couenant was offered to all Nations, howbeit that all of them had refuſed it; and that when God of his infinite mercy renewed it with Abraham, he renewed it in effect with al men? Thou deſireſt that God ſhould be iuſt; and yet wouldeſt thou alſo continue ſtill. Were he iuſt after that maner which thou wouldeſt haue him iuſt, thou haddeſt bene vndone in Adam; thou haddſt, bene ſwept away with the flud; thou haddſt bene deſtroied in the ouerflowing of vngodlines and Idolatrie after the flud; thou haddſt (ſay I) bene either vtterly forſaken, or continued forlorne for euer. Thus deſireſt thou things both contrarie in themſelues, & contrary to thine owne meaning. And therefore appeale not to Gods iuſtice, but crie vnto him for mercy with both thy handes. And yet in thy deſiring of his mercie, or grace there is yet another error: in that thou wilt néedes appoint him the maner and meaſure therof; and thou wilt haue him to doe it at thy pleaſure: whereas notwithſtanding, if he ſhould do it according to thy deuice, thou wouldeſt finde fault with him for it; and if thou haddeſt liked well of it, another man would haue miſliked it. But what aduice couldeſt thou haue giuen him for the creating of thée, who as then waſt not? Or what counſell wouldeſt thou giue him for the recreating of thée, who art but the worſe for that which thou haſt already? Thou wouldeſt that God ſhould haue reuealed himſelfe alike to al men. He did that at the beginning. Well, ſuch Reuelations tend to a Mediator, and the ſame Mediator muſt be God and man: and to be man it behoueth him to be borne of ſome one ſtocke or other. And thou ſeeſt that that priuiledge muſt néeds befall to ſome one certaine ſtocke: for he that is to ſaue all men cannot be borne of all men. If thou be a Romane, the glorioſnes of thy Citie will ſéeme to deſerue it: But yet will Babylon and Niniuie ſtand in contention with thée for it, and Athens will thinke to be no leſſe regarded for her learnings ſake. How much ſpeedier way were it for vs, to cut off this ſtrife by yéelding vnto God who ſaith, The caſe here ſtandeth not vpon merit, but vpon mercy: and to the intent al men may perceiue it to be ſo; I will haue the welfare of all kingdoms to come of a Hillocke that is hidden in the middeſt of the world, in the digging downe whereof they haue taken ſo much paines and pleaſure. And leaſt this ſame Hillocke it ſelfe ſhould growe proude, I wil make it to ſpring, not out of the top, but out of the foote thereof; nor out of the head Citie, but out of a litle village that is vnregarded. Yea and moreouer, (as we ſhall ſée hereafter) where it ſpringeth vp, there ſhal it be refuſed, and ſtraungers ſhal ſet it on fire; inſomuch that where the foundations of the Kingdome thereof are laid, one ſtone ſhal not be left

Obiections.

ſtanding

standing vpon another: Let al the wisemen of the world weigh these Circumstances, yea euen according to their own wisedome; and seing that Saluation is a reward of frée fauour, and not a recompence of desert; a thing that concerneth Gods glory which is the finall ende of all thinges, and not mans vanitie: let them tell me where the Mediator of mans Saluation could be borne, or where the Mysteries of his comming ought rather to be bestowed, than in Israel? Yet notwithstanding if we consider still all circumstances; the world shall still be founde vnexcusable. For the first kingdomes were in Syria, Assyria, Persia, Arabia and Aegypt: vpon the borders of all which kingdomes, Hierusalem stode as a Watchtower, for them to loke at, or as a Lanterne to giue light to all those nations round about it. And as the Empires began to remoue further off, into the Lesser Asia, Greece, and Italy; we sée how Gods prouidence did disperse the Iewes & their Synagogues into them throughout the whole worlde as Preachers of the true God, Schooles of his seruice, and Heraults of the Mediator that was to come, to bring saluation to all mankinde. Nowe forasmuch as the end of Religion is mans Saluation; and the end of our Scriptures is Christ the Mediator the bringer thereof: we must henceforth sée how he hath beene promised from time to time since the first beginning, and whether he haue béene exhibited to the world in the time afore limited vnto him. And that is the thing which we haue to treat of in the chapters next following.

The xxix. Chapter.

That the time whereat the Mediator was promised to come, is ouerpast, and that he must needes be come, as wel according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Iewes.

WE know already by our Scriptures, that there is a Mediator, we knowe his office; his nature, and the intent of his comming: and we know these things, not only by our scriptures, but also by the Commentaries of the auncient Iewes. Now followeth that we sée whether he be come into the worlde or no, which is the point wherein lieth the chiefe difference and disagrément betwéen the Iewes and the Christians. The Iewes loke for him still, and thinke longe for his

The Markes and tokens of Christes comming. Gen. 49.

his comming. The Christians beléeue he is come already, and put their trust in him: and both of them grounde themselues vpon the same præsidentes, yea and oftentimes vpon the same clauses. Let the scriptures therefore be iudges of this case, and let vs sée what time they beheighted for his comming, & what tokens they giue vs of his comming. First of all, The Scepter (saith Iacob) shall not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawgiuer from betweene his feete, vntill Silo come. This text is expounded of the Messias, by the Zoar of the Cabalistes, and by the Talmudistes in diuers places, by the Chaldee Paraphrases, and by Rabbi Dauid Kimhi himselfe. And the sence is cléere; namely that the soueraignetie & chéefe authoritie of gouernment, should continue in the Tribe of Iuda vntil the comming of Christ, as the Onkelos and Commentarie vpon Genesis expound it, whereupon Rabbi Hama the sonne of Hauina saith in the Talmud, The sonne of Dauid shall not come, so long as any soueraigne authoritie be it neuer so small remaineth in Israell: and to the confirmation thereof he alledgeth the text out of the eightéenth Chapter of Esay. Also Rabbi Mili alledging Rabbi Eliezer the son of Rabbi Simeon, saith that Christ shall not come, vntil there be a cleane riddance of all Iudges and al Magistrates in Israel. Which thing he will néeds gather likewise vpon the first chapter of Esay. Therefore when they once sawe that the soueraignetie and all maner of iurisdiction ceased in Hierusalem; they should haue taken it for a sure token, that the Messias was at their doores. Now therefore let vs sée if this alteration be come to passe, and the very peculiar time when it came to passe. Saule (say some of their new Rabbines) was chosen king in Silo of the tribe of Beniamin and it may be that these things were spoken of him. Nay: for it is said, The Scepter shal not depart from Iuda. And séeing that the Scepter had not as then bene in Iuda, nor was to come into that Tribe, vntil Dauid was afterward anointed king: the Scripture should rather haue said, The Scepter shall not be in Iuda, vntill it haue beene taken from Silo. Whereby it appeareth that the said text cannot be meant of Saule. Others say that Ieroboam the sonne of Nabath remoued the state of Ephraim from the subiection of Iuda, by the rebellion of the ten Tribes, & was crowned in Silo. Yea say we; but the Scepter remained still in Iuda, and the chéefe Senate in Hierusalem; and the state of Ephraim was brought to ruine long time afore Iuda was caried away vnto Babylon: yea and Ieroboam was crowned in Sichem, & not in Silo. Againe, what maner of interpretation is this, vntill Silo come, that is to say, vntil Ieroboam come who is crowned in Silo? Some therefore by the word Silo, will néeds vnderstand Nabucodonosor. For (say they) he take Ierusalem, caried Iuda away to Babylon, & destroied the Temple; and by that meanes they think to hit of the said Prophesie. But euen in the time of

In the Talmud vnder the title Sanhedrin, the Cha. Helec.

The booke called Zoar.

Kimhi vpon Genesis, and in his booke of Rootes.

The kingdom is cessed Bereschith Rabba.

The Talmud in the Chapter Chelek.

Esay. 18. vers. 5. and 7.

Esay. 1. vers. 25 and 26.

1 Kings. 12.

Sedar Olam Zura.

Origen in his 4 booke of Princes.

The Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrin, Chap. Dine. Mammonoth.

Rabbi Moyses the Egyptian in the preface of the Maimonims.

the captiuitie, the Iewes had a Reschgaluta, that is to say a chiefe or head gouernour of their captiuitie, whom they chose of the Tribe of Iuda, and peculiarly of the house of Dauid, as their owne Historyes do testifie, wherein they set downe the succession of their Princes very carefully from Zorobabel forth. And therefore the Talmud saith, that by the Sceptre, we must vnderstand the heades of the Captiuitie; and by the Lawgiuer, the Sonnes of Hillel that is to say the disciples of Hillel; of whom the two cheefest were Ionathas the sonne of Vziel the author of the Chaldee paraphrasis vpon the Prophets, and Simeon the righteous of whom mention is made in S. Luke. To bee short, the Machabies themselues who held both the Soueraignty & the Priesthood in Israel, were (as they themselues report) of Iuda by the Mothers side, & of Leuy by the fathers side (for those two Tribes were wont to go together by aliance) or rather (as othersome report) of Iuda by the Fathers side, and of Leui by the Mothers side. And as for the Sanhedrins, that is to say, the threescore and ten Iudges, (who in the opinion of Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan, were not to ceasse afore the comming of the Messias) they continued stil euen vnder the captiuitie of Babylon, and vnder the Dominion of the Machabes. Hitherto therefore the Messias could not be come: and besides that, it were an vtter wresting of the Text, to conuey it any other way than to the comming of the Messias, against the whole consent of al Israell. But (saith Iosephus the Iewe) after the Warres betweene Aristobulus and Hircanus the last of the Machabies, the Romanes being Lords of Iewrie, did set vp one Herod the sonne of Antipater an Edomite, that is to wit a meere stranger) to be king there. Which Herod for the easier stablishing of his state, maried the daughter of Hircanus then prisoner in Parthia. Afterward when he saw that Hircanus (who onely remained of the stocke of the Machabies, was returned home; fearing least the Iewes, who bare an affection to him, should set him vp againe in the kingdome: he killed both him and his daughter whom he had taken to wife, and also the children whom he had begotten of her. And not contented with that outrage, he rooted out as many of the house of Iuda, as liued in any countenance or credit, defaced their stiles and titles, and burned their Pedegrees. Also he made High Priests whom it pleased him, but not according to the Lawe, nor according to their Tribes. Finally (as saith Phylo the Iew) he slewe al the Sanhedrin, that is to wit the threescore and twelue Senators of the house of Iuda, which were assistents to the king, and did put Proselites and straungers in their place; insomuch that hauing by his cruelty abolished both the Priesthood and the Senate, & vtterly confounded the whole state; he brought to passe, that at length about the thirtith yeare of his raigne, he was accepted of all men for King, and ruled all thinges as hee listed himselfe. This

This Hillel was a great Doctor among the, out of whose schole issewed many great learned men in the Lawe. Rabbi Dauid Kemhi vpon Haggæus.

Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan vpon Genesis chap. 49.

Iosephus in his first booke of the warres of the Iewes cap. 5. & 25. lib. 15. cap. 9. & 10.

Sedar Olam.

Philo in his booke of Times.

is the time (say I) wherein the Soueraigntie and Iurisdiction of Iuda did ceasse; and that not like an Eclipse for a fewe howers, daies or yeares, but for a continuall time, insomuch that from that time forth (which is now aboue fifténe hundred yeares agoe) there hath not risen vp any one man in al the world, being a Iewe borne, that hath any where had any authority great or smal among the Iewes. May further, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Adrian, and diuers other Emperours of Rome, haue indeuored to rote out the whole house of Iuda; and they of the Tribe of Iuda haue sought to conceale themselues, and manifestly to corrupt their owne Pedegrées, to rid themselues from the rigorous inquisition that was made for them. Insomuch that at this day, there is not a Iewe (I report me to themselues whether I say not true) which can vaunt that he hath his pedegrée certaine, yea or which can shew any likely coniecture that he is of the tribe of Iuda, that is to say, of the blud Royall of the which Christ was promised. That which I haue said appeareth sufficiently by the present state of the Iewes, which haue so long time continued, & yet still be without King, without Gouernour, without Priest, without Iudge, without Genealogie, and without certaine succession. But forasmuch as they refuse the witnes of the whole world; let vs heare their own. In the 17. Chapter of Deuteronomie where mention is made of the King, it is said thus: Thou shalt set him ouer thee to be thy King, whom the Lord thy God shall giue thee from among thy brethren, and thou shalt not set a straunger ouer thee. And the custome was to deliuer the Lawe to the King to read therein, as is expressly commaunded there. Now (saith the Commentarie vpon that place) when Herod Agrippa who was a Iew in Religion, came to the reading of that verse, he fell a weeping. Neuertheless, all the people bad him be of good courage, and told him that he was their brother, notwithstanding that he came of the stocke of a bond woman. And in another place it is reported, that at the time of this chaunge, there was heard a voice from heauen saying, Now shal the seruant prosper without doubt, which steppeth vp in Israell against his maister: Whereby Herod the great, toke courage to pretend title to the Kingdome: And that as touching the Sanhedrim, (that is to wit the Senate of Israel,) Herod the great slewe them euerychone saue onely one whose name was Bota, who could not create anie moe Senators, because it coulde not bee done without the laying on of the handes of moe than one: And that a while afore, the Romains had driuen them out of the Palace of Hierusalem, and that there vpon they take themselues to Sackcloth and Ashes, and cried out with passing great sorrowe, Woe vnto vs, for the Scepter is taken away from Iuda, and the Lawgiuer from betweene his feete; and yet for all that, the Sonne of Dauid is not yet come. Thus ye see that the time of

Deut. 17.

Midrasch vpō Deuteronomy

In Bamba-bhra. cap. Hattaphim.

In the Talmud of Hierusalem in the chap. Sanhedrim. Rabbi Asse & Rabbi Rahamon. In the foresaid place of the Talmud. Seder Olam,

Christes

Christes comming fel out in the reigne of Herode in whome the kingdome was conueyed to straungers, and the Iewish Senate was vterlie roted out, which thing had neuer happened at any time afore.

The ouerthrowe of the second Temple.

Here followeth another marke of his comming. We know there had bene in Hierusalē two Temples: the first builded by Salomon & destroyed by Nabugodonozor; the second builded by Zorobabel vnder the protection of Cirus and Darius Kings of Persia, & destroied afterward by the Emperor Titus. Now, of the second Temple thus speaketh the Prophet Haggæus who was one of the builders therof; Who is left among you that saw this house in hir first beauty? But what thinke you by it now? Is it not in your eies as a thing of nothing? This doth vs to vnderstand that the second Temple was nothing comparable to the first in Maiestie and statelines. And in deed we read in Esdras, that the good old fathers which had sene the first, could not forbeare the weeping when they behelde the second. Also the Rabbines do report, ỹ there wanted chiefly fiue things in the second which were in the first: namely, Fire frō heauē that consumed the burnt offerings, the glory of God among the Cherubins, the manifest breathing of the holy Ghost vpon the Prophets, the presence of the Arke, and the Vrim & Thumim. And they affirme, that to the same end it is said in Salomons Ballet, We haue a litle Sister, &c. which they say is meant of the Church vnder the second Temple, which in outward show should not match the Church that was vnder ỹ first Temple. To be short, the Chronicle of the Hebrews beginning the history of the Church of Israel vnder the second Temple, saith these words: Hitherto the Prophets haue spoken by the holy Ghost: but henceforth bowe downe thine eare, and hearken to the voice of wise men: which is as much to say, as that in all the time of this second Temple, we se not one Prophet rise vp. Pe notwithstanding, the same Prophet saith thus also; The glory of the latter house shalbe greater than the glory of the first. And therfore he exhorteth Zorobabel & Iosua the son of Iosedec and al the people to be of good chēre. It was méete then that vnder this second Temple, there should be some peculiar & extraordinary gift giuen of God, which should excel both the Arke, and the Vrim & Thumim, and the Prophesying, and whatsoeuer other glorious thing the former Temple had. Some say that of the new things the stuffe was much richer than of the former. Admit that the first was of siluer and this latter of Golde. What is there herein that can match the gift of Prophesying? Another saies, that the fashion & workemanship therof was more curious. What is that to the presence of God who shewed himself so openly in the first? Some (because the text is flat against them) haue accounted ỹ the second Temple cōtinued longer than the first by ten yeares, the second hauing stood CCCCLXX. yeares, whereas the first stood but CCCCLX. yeares. What can be more vaine or more vnwise, or lesse beseeming, either for God to teach, or for a man that hath any wit

Haggæus. cap. 2. vers. 4.

Rabbi Samuel in the Treatise Sanhedrim. In the Talmud of Hierusalem.

R. Aha in his booke of Daies.

Midrasch on the Canticle. Cap. 8. vers. 8.

Sedar Olam.

Rab. Selomoh vpon the first of Haggæus, in the word *veiccabbedah* where he wanteth.

wit, to heare? I say, for God before whom a thousand yeares are but as one day; or for Man, whom one day of aduersitie in his lifetime doth more grieue, than a thousand yeares continuance of his buildinges can pleasure him after his death? Moreouer, who knoweth not that this second Temple was oftentimes defiled, and spoiled by Antiochus, by Pompey, by Crassus, by others? But the Prophet speaketh shirle enough to them that list to heare. As yet (saith he) there remaineth a litle time saith the Lord, and then will I remoue both Heauen and Earth; I wil remoue al Nations; and they shal come; the desire of al nations shal come and then wil I fill this house with glorie. What is this desire of all Nations? We knowe it is Christ, of whom it is said in another place, that he is the hope of the Gentiles, and that they shal be blessed and happie in him. And the Chaldee Paraphrast hath translated here, the Annointed. Also in the Talmud, Rabbi Akeiba vnderstandeth that text of Christs comming, howbeit that he mistake his person. And the Prophet Malachy who prophesied at the same time, expoundeth it in these wordes. The Lord whom ye seeke, and the Ambassadour of the league which you desire, shall come incontinently into his Temple. The verie meaning hereof is, that vnder this seconde Temple, the Church of Israell shall haue the good fortune to see Christ the Lorde whom they looked for so long time. Now at the same time that the kingdome of Israell failed, that is to wit in the reigne of Herod, about a fortie yeares afore the destruction of the Temple, the little beautie that was in it did vtterly cease. For the spirit of the great Synagogue (say the Iewes) which after a sort supplied the want of the Prophets, came to an end in Simeon surnamed the Righteous (of whom mention is made in the first Chapter of Saint Luke.) And then also ceased all the speciall blessinges of the second Temple reckoned vp in the Talmud. Yea and God shewed visibly that he abhorred them, in that (say they) the ordinarie appearing of an Angell at the entering in of the Sanctuarie, was turned into an vgly and blacke Bugge. And whereas aforetimes thirtie men could scarce open the doore of the Temple; now it opened of it selfe, whereat Rabbi Iohanan Ben Zaccai one of Hillels Disciples was verie sore amazed. And in the end, the Temple was so destroyed, that one stone was not left standing vpon another. And notwithstanding that the Iewes had leaue to builde it againe, specially vnder the Emperour Iulian the deadly enemie of Christians, who of his owne purse gaue greatly to the building thereof: yet could they neuer bring it to passe; but (as the very Heathen writers of that time doe witnesse) fires issued out of the earth, and thicke lightenings from the skie, and burnt vp the workmen and beate downe the works which they had begun with so extreme pride and so excessiue cost. Soothly we may wel say therfore, and hardly can the

Gen. 49.

Malachie. 3. In the Talmud, in the Treatise Sanhedrin, Chap. Helec.

The Talmud in the Treatise Perkei auoth: and in the Treatise Iomach. Tereph Becal pi.

Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

Iewes

Iewes geynesay it, that the second Temple is destroyed long agoe, without hope of recouerie, and that Christ was promised to come afore the destruction thereof. Therefore it must néedes be that Christ is already come into the world. And that ẏ hope of Israel was so, it appeareth yet further. For vpon the last chapter of Esaye where it is sayd, Afore her pangs came vpon her, she brought forth a manchild: Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan saieth, The Redeemer of Israell shall be borne afore the birth of him that shall bring Israel in bondage. And Ionathas the great Disciple of Hillel saith vpō the same text, Israel shal be saued afore her extremitie come, and the Anoynted shalbe shewed openly afore the throwes of her Childbirth come. Also Rabby Moyses of Tyroll, and Bioces, both according to this Text and by their owne reckoning vppon Daniell, doe looke for this thing towards the end of the second Temple. Likewise the booke which they call Bereschith Rabba maketh this Parable, As a certeine Iewe was at plough, an Arrabian passing by heard one of his Oxen lowe: and here vppon willed him to vnyoke his Oxen, because the destructiō of the Temple was at hand: & that by & by the other Oxe lowed likewise: whereupon he bad him vnyoke out of hand, for the Messias was alreadie come. And Rabbi Abon hauing repeated the same in another place saieth thus: What neede wee to learne it of the Arabians, seeing the text it selfe declareth it? Surely I passe not for their Parables, which haue no very good grace with them, and oftentimes bewray that they want wit in very déede: but my intent is to gather of them, that it was a common opinion among them, that Christ or the Messias should come into the world a little afore the destruction of the Temple.

Esay.66.v.7

Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan

Bereschith Rabba.

In the treatise Barachoth. In the Talmud of Hierusalem.

In Echa Rhabathi vpon the lamentations of Ieremie.

Let vs heare what the Angel Gabriel saith to Daniel: for he goes nerest of all to the matter. Threescore and ten weekes (sayth he) are determined vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy Citie, to make an end of the disobedience, and to anoynt the Holy of Holies. Know thou therefore and vnderstand, that from the going foorth of the commaundement for the building againe of Hierusalem, vnto Christ the Prince, there are seuen weekes, and threescore and two weekes, and then shall the streates and the broken walles bee repayred againe in short tyme. And after threescore and two weekes, Christ shalbe slaine and nothing shall remaine vnto him. And the people of a Prince that is to come, shall destroy the Citie and the Sanctuarie; and the end thereof shall be as with an ouerflowing, and it shall be digged vp with desolations to the end of the warre. And he shall stablish his couenant with many in one weeke, and in the middes of the weeke shall he cause the Sacrifice and Oblation to ceasse, and for the spreading out of abhomination he shall lay it waste, &c. This onely one Prophesie is enough

Daniels. weekes. Daniel.9.

to

to conuince the Iewes, and therefore it behoueth vs to examine it from point to point. First, that this text is meant of the Messias, it is so euident and absolute, that it is a starke shame to deny it. And so is it applyed by Rabbi Saadias vpon Daniell, by Rabbi Nahman of Geround, & by Rabbi Hadarsan, who be the notablest among them. For as for Rabbi Selomoh, who vnderstandeth it of Cyrus: or Aben Ezra, who applieth it to Nehemias: or Rabbi Leui the sonne of Gerson, who vnderstandeth it of Iosua the Highpriest: there is not that worde in this text, which doth not disproue them: besides that the annointing which is spoken of here, must nedes be a spiritual annointing, considering that there was not any more annointing at all vnder the second Temple. There are (saieth he) threescore and ten weekes. Let vs se what maner of weks they be. The Scripture telleth vs of wekes of daies, and of wekes of yeres: and examples of them both are in Leuiticus and in diuers other places. The wekes of daies serue for ordinary matters: and the wekes of yeres for matters of greate weight and a long continuance. But Daniell may be his owne expounder. For in the next Chapter he speaketh expressly of mourning three wekes of dayes, wheras here in a matter of estate, which passeth with slower steppes and requireth larger measure, he speaketh of weekes simply without addition. And in very dede Hierusalem could not be builded againe in seuen wekes of daies, but it was to be builded againe in many wakes of yeres. After that manner are they taken by Rabbi Saadias, Rabbi Moyses, and Rabbi Selomoh also, vnto whome all the best of them consent: and there is not any one of them (to my knowlege) which taketh these weks to be weks of daies. But as for the yonger Rabbines, whensoeuer they be pressed, they sais these wekes conteine either ten yeres a peece, or fiftie yeres, yea, or a whole hundred yeres a peece, a thing without reason in this text, and without example in all the whole Scripture.

In the treatise Sanhedrim in the Talmud of Hierusalé.

Leuit. 23. & 25.

Dan. 10.

It followeth from the going forth of the Cómaundement for the building againe of Hierusalem to the anoynted Prince, are seuen weekes and threescore and two weekes. That is to say, (as the Prophet himselfe expounded it) for the building vp of the Citie of Hierusalem & the Temple, seuen weekes, which make nine and fourtie yeeres. And from the building againe of Hierusalem vnto Christ, threescore and two weekes, which make foure hundred thirtie and foure yeres, al which together amount vnto foure hundred foure score and three yeeres. And in good soth, if we begin (as the Prophet teacheth vs) to account the weks from the day wherin ỹ word was spoken that Hierusalem should be builded againe, that is to wit from the threescore tenth yere of the Captiuitie, or from the first yere of king Cyrus when Ieremie wrate to the prisoners at Babylon, assuring them of their deliuerance, at which

Ieremie. 29. 1. Esdr. 1.

time

time Cyrus gaue commaundement for the building againe of the Temple, vnto the time of Herode King of the Iewes, or of Tiberius the Emperour of Rome: we shal finde that in that very tyme were fulfilled the foure hundred fourescore and three yeres, yea and the very threescore & tenth weeke wherin Christ was to stablish the Couenant of God with men. And it seemeth that Daniel or rather the Angel meant in these threescore & ten weekes, to allude to the threescore and ten yeres spoken of by the Prophet Ieremie, as if he should haue said, At such time as ye were led away captiue to Babylon, Ieremie assured you that you should be deliuered from the temporall Captiuitie within threescore and ten yeres, and ye see it is so come to passe. And now I tell you that within threescore and ten weekes of yeeres, ye shall be deliuered from the spirituall captiuitie, by Gods couenant made vnto you, whereof the Anoynted shal be the Mediatour. I am not ignorant how some writers begin the account of these weeks at ỳ first yere of King Cyrus: & some at the second yere of Artaxerxes, & othersom at ỳ twentieth yere of ỳ same Artaxerxes, because at that time there went out another Proclamation in fauour of Nehemias, by reason that the building of the Temple had bene stayed. But which way soeuer they goe to worke, the ende of these weekes falleth still vpon the time of Herod and Tiberius, & meeteth iumpe with the prophesies that went afore. And it can not be denyed but that they were accomplished according to the circumstances set downe here by the Prophet. For the Prince of the people that was to come, destroyed the citie, that is to wit, the Emperour of Rome did ouerthrow Hierusalem & beat down the Temple, & abolish their Sacrificings through the whole Land of Iewrie, and bring vpon them the extreme desolation that is spoken of here by the Prophet. And therefore some of the Rabbines being vnable to shift of this text, hauing presumed to say that Daniell had said well in all the rest but that he ouershot himselfe in this account. 2. Esdr. 2.

The very traditions of the Iewes themselues do bring vs to this tyme: At leastwise there is not any whose date is not out long agoe. In the Talmud is this saying of the schoole of Elias so greatly renowned among them. The word shal indure. Sixthousand yeeres, Two thousand yeeres emptie, that is to say without Law, Two thousand yeeres vnder the Law, And two thousand yeeres vnder Christ. And Rabbi Iacob saith hereupon that the first two thousand yéres ended in the time of Abraham, the second about the destruction of the Temple (which thing he proueth by an account of the times) at the ende of which latter two thousand he saieth that Christ should come and deliuer Israell from captiuitie. Thus far he agréeth with vs. But he addeth, for our sinnes sake his cõming is deferred. This glosse marreth ỳ text. For in other places it is said flatly, ỳ the time of the cõming of ỳ Messias is past now seuen hundred. The traditiõs. Moyses of Geround. The Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrim. Chap. Helec. & euerywhere els.

The Talmud in the treatise Auodazara.

hundred and foztie yeares ago, which thing they lament in both their Talmuds. And vppon this verse of Esay, I wil make haste to doe it in his time, which is spoken expressly of Christ and of his kingdome: Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leui opposeth these words, I will make haste, against these other words, In his time. I will make haste saith the Lorde at least wise if they be worthy [addeth Rabbi Iosua] In his time [saieth the text] that is to say, euen when they would not, [addeth Rabbi Iosua] which meaning of his he might haue expressed much more fitly in saying that Gods grace gainstandeth our sinnes in such sort, as that all our iniquities cannot stop or stay the course thereof.

Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrim. Chap. Helec.

We haue another Tradition vpon the ninth Chapter of Esay, where he setteth downe this excellent Prophesie concerning Christ, A Childe is borne vnto vs, &c. In that place are written these words, *lemarbeh haimmisrah* concerning the increasing of his kingdome, with the Hebrew Letter ם *Mem* closed in the mids of the word, notwithstanding that the sayd Letter which is as our *M*, is not wont to be written so, but in the end of a word. Here therefore according to their custome, they fall, to descanting vpon the letters and because the ם *Mem* is here closed vp whereas it ought commonly to be written open thus, מ: they say there must nedes be some greate mysterie hidden and shut vp there: and that as Rabbi Tanhuma was seeking the reason thereof, a voice from heauen answered him, *razi li razi li* that is to say I haue a secret: which by the consent of them all, concerned the Messias. But some of them passe further, and say that this cyphred Letter importeth fiue hundred that is to wit fiue hundred yeeres, which are to be reckened from this Prophesie vnto the Messias. And in very deede, from the fourth yere of the reigne of Achas at which time the Prophesie was vttered, we shall find by account that they fal not out long after the time of Herod. Another is read in the Talmud in these words: Rabbi Elias saieth to Rabbi Iehudas brother of Rabbi Sala the Essene, The world cannot haue any mo than foure score and fiue Iubilees, that is to say, Fower thousand two hundred and Fiftie yeres, and in the last Iubilee shall the sonne of Dauid come without doubt, but whether in the beginning therof or in the end thereof I cannot tell. Rabbi Asse is of his opinion in the same case. To be short, R. Moyses Ben Maimon sayeth in his Epistle to the Iewes of Affricke, that there is an auncient Tradition, that Christ should bee borne in the yere of the worlde 4474. The which according to their owne account should be past, now more then nine hundred yeres ago. And Rabbi Moyses of Geround and Leui the sonne of Gerson speake of another which behighted it in the yere of the worlde fiue thousand one hundred and eightene: which by their owne account is expired more than two hundred yeeres since. Finally after much alteration and vayne expectation

Talmud in the booke Sabbath, and in the treatise Sanhedrim.

For so M is called of the Hebrewes.

In the treatise Sanhedrim. Cap. Helec. Rambam in his Epistle to the Iewes in Affricke.

R. Moyses of Geround vpō the fiue bookes of Moyses. In the Chap. Halec. of the treatise Sanhedrim.

pectation to no purpose, the conclusion of the greatest Rabbines commeth to this point, That it is needles to calculate any more for the cõming of Christ, That al the tymes limited by the Prophets are already past, & that there remaineth not any thing els then repentance & good workes.

Over and besides the time, they doe also deliuer vs certeine tokens of Christs comming, in their traditions. When the Messias commeth (saith they) there shalbe fewe wise men in Israell, and many Seducers, Inchaunters & Wizards. The wisdome of the Scribes shall stinke, & the Schooles of Diuinitie shal become Brothelhouses. Good men in Israell shall bee abhorred and the countenances of the men of that age shalbe full of vnshamefastnesse. Is not this a liuely description of the maners of the Iewes, yea euen of the Phariſies themselues, in the time of Herod and of the destruction of the Temple? Let vs harken what Iosephus their owne Historie writer speaketh of them. Iewrie was at that time (sayeth he) a Denne and Harbour of Theeues, of Murderers, of Inchaunters, and of Seducers of the people. And doubtlesse GOD was offended at their extreame vngodlinesse, insomuch that he abhorred both Hierusalem and the Temple, and brought in the Romanes thither to purge them as it were with fire. Yea and I beleeue (saieth he) that if the Romans had staied neuer so little to come to destroy them, eyther the earth would haue swallowed them vp, or some great waterfloud must haue drowned them or els they had beene burned vp as Sodome was. For that generation was much worse than euer Sodom was. Thus then aswel the writings as also the notablest Traditions of the auncient Iewes, do point vs to the time of Herod. And truely, Tacitus, Suetonius and Iosephus himselfe (witnesses void of suspitiõ) report that in that age it was bruted euery where, that out of Iewrie should come a king that should reigne ouer all the whole world, and that this saying was grauen in a very open and renowned place of the Castle at Hierusalem, which thing causeth the Iewes to be so ready to rebell and so loth to serue the Romanes. And it appeareth by the whole Historie of that age, that all the people, yea and Herod himselfe had their eyes and eares euer open waiting and watching for the Messias, the one to imbrace him and the other to destroy him. For as in all the former times, wee reade not that any man toke vpon him to be the Messias and much lesse that any was receiued as hee: so in this age there scarsly passed any one yeare, but some one or other stepped vp to be hee, verely because that (to their seeming) they had the disposition of the people, and the verye time it selfe answerable to their intent. Herod therefore who perceiued himselfe to haue bene but newly proclaymed king by the Romanes fearing to be dispossessed of his crown, did what he could to destroy the bloud royal of Iuda, defacing their Genealogies.

R. Iohanan, R. Iuda, & R. Nehoray in the chapter Halec.

Iosephus in his Antiquities. li. 20. c. 6 & 8. & in his warres. lib. 6 cap. 15. & lib. 7. ca. 9.

Tacitus and Suetonius in the life of Vaspasian. Iosephus. li. 7. cap. 12. Hegesippus li. 3.

False Christes in that age.

nealogies, and not sparing euen his own sonnes: yea, and there stepped vp certeine Courtier Rabbines, which would nedes make the worlde beleeue that Herod was the promised Messias, whereof some will haue the Herodians to proceede which are spoken of in the Gospell. And this sect was greatly furthered by the opinion of the fleshly sort, which by the Messias looked for a restitution of their state; that is to wit, of Vineyards, of gorgeous buildings, of precious Stones, and of all things shining of themselues. Also about the same time stepped vp one Iudas a Gawlonite, who called the people to libertie, and maintained with some assistance of the Pharisies, that they ought not to pay tribute to the Emperour. So also did another Iudas the sonne of one Ezechias a Captaine of Cutthroats, and a certein Shepheard named Athrouges, whose pretence was no lesse than to be Kings, & to deliuer their followers from the yoke of bondage. Likewise vnder the gouernement of Felix, and in the reigne of Agrippa, a certeine Aegyptian taking vpon him to be a Prophet, led certeine people vp to Mount Oliuet, & made them beleeue that from thence they should see the walles of Hierusalem fall downe, & then they should go in thither. Againe, vnder ỳ President Cuspius Fadus one Thewdas vndertoke the like enterprise. All which are signes that they toke aduantage of the time, & abused the hope of the people to the maintenance of their owne ambition. But (which more is) we read in the Talmud, that in the time of Agrippa one Barcozba (which name signifieth the Sonne of Lying) stept vp among the people, and pretending to be Christ, was taken so to be by the Rabbines themselues, & reigned thirtie yeres and a halfe: yea and that as Ramban reporteth in his sentences of Kings, they required not any signe of him: insomuch that the great Rabbine Akiba the wisest of al the Talmudists, became his Armes bearer, and applyed vnto him the second Chapter of the Prophet Haggæus expounded heretofore, vntill at length after long & pernicious abusing of them, when he could not deliuer them from the yoke of the Romanes, in the end they knockt him on the head. Yet notwithstanding afterward againe, about a fortie yeres after the destruction of the Temple, another of the same name gathered into the Citie of Bitter all the Iewes that were thereabouts: and of him they report wonders, as that he should haue a hundred thousand men about him which vpon trust of their inuincible strength, did cut off one of their fingers: that going to battell he was wont to say, Helpe vs not thou Lord of the world seeing thou hast forsaken vs, &c. And that the Rabbines which had bene detained by the former, (so greatly were they perswaded of the time) receiued this man neuertheless, & made him also to be reteined of others, applying vnto him this text of the booke of Numbers, A Starre shall come out of Iacob, because the Hebrew word *Cocab* signifieth a Starre: and

Iosephus in his Antiquities. lib. 18. cap. 1. & 2. lib. 17 cap. 8. lib. 20. chap. 2. & 6.

Talmud in the Treatise Sanhedrin Chapt. Halec.

R. Moyses ben Maimon in his Sentences:

Bereschith Raba. R. Iohanan.

Talmud in the treatise Col Israel.

saying

saying that in stead of *Cozab* it ought to be writte *Cozaba* or *Cozba* which was his name. And this is written by their own Historios, & confirmed afterward by ours, & also by the very Heathen writers which wrote the life of the Emperour Adrian. Yet for all this they were stil the more wasted & carryed away into Spaine, & Hierusalem was peopled with other Nations, & the whole land of Iewrie made vtterly heathen. And as many as went about afterward to abuse the Iewes vnder that pretence, (as one did, not long since in Italie) were by and by destroyed & welnere wyped cleane out of remembrance. Let vs adde yet further, that since that time (which is now aboue fifténe hundred yéres agoe) they neuer had any Prophets, any comfort from God, any extraordinarie gifts, no nor any knowledge of their Tribes: which is a most eminent token, that the Prophesies which aimed chiefly at Christ, are fulfilled, & that in him the Church is comforted & indued with the gifts which it hoped for: & to be short, that he for whose sake the pedegrées were to be kept certeine, is not now to be borne. And therefore wee sée how some of them do saye with Rabbi Hillel, That the daies of Ezechias haue swallowed vp the Messias: that is to say, that he is not to be loked for any more: and that folke haue made themselues vnworthie of him: and that some others through extremitie of dispaire, do pronounce them accursed which determine any certeine time of the comming of the Messias.

Thus then we sée now that the holy Scripture and the auncient interpretation thereof, do méete together in the time of Herod, to shewe vs the Messias there: and thereupon it is, that we sée the people in the Gospel so ready to runne after Iohn Baptist and Christ: and to moue these ordinarie questions, Art thou he that should come? When wilt thou restore the Kingdome of Israel? Shall we wait for another yet still? and such other. But let vs sée what starting holes stubbornes hath inuented against the things aforesaid. The Messias (say the new Rabbines) was borne at the very same time, and in the very same day that the second Temple was destroyed, that this Prophesie of Esay might be fulfilled, Before her throwes or paines came, she was deliuered of a Manchilde: but he is kept secrete for a time. For so do wee reade vpon the xxi. Chapter of Genesis. And in the Talmud, Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy sayth, that it is a Reuelation that was made vnto Elias. I would faine then haue them to shewe me what one Text in all the Scripture giueth any inkling thereof. They adde that he shalbe hidden foure hundred yéres in the great Sea, eight hundred yéres among the sonnes of Core, and foure score yéres at the gate of Rome. And Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy saith in the Talmud, that he himselfe saw him there lopping vp his fagges among the Lazermen. What are these things (euen by vnes other witnesse than themselues) but tales contriued vpō pleasure,

The vaine answers of the Iewes.

Esay. 66. ver 8.
Bereschitit Rabba vppon Gen. cap. 30.
The Talmud, treatise Sanhedrin. Ch. Helec
The Children of Core were three brethrē, which were Prophetes at the same time that the Israelites were in the wildernes.

of

of purpose to mocke folke? Some say he shalbe set vp in great honour next vnto the Pope, and that in the end he shal say to the Pope as Moyses did to Pharao, Let my people goe that they may serue mee. and so forth. If he be borne so long agoe, and kæpe him selfe secret (as they say in their Talmud) but til he be called to deliuer them; what cause is there why he should kæpe himself away stil, seeing they haue called him so much and so lowd and so many hundred yeeres, seeing also that the time is expyred, yea and almost double expyred, and finally, seeing that euen according to their owne exposition, it is said, I will hasten them in their time? They answere yet still, there remaineth but a good repentance. Verie miserable surely were wee, if God should not preuent our repentance with his grace. For the verie repentance of the best men, is but a sorinesse that they cannot be sorie enough. But let vs heare a pretie Dialogue of two Rabbins disputing in their Talmud of this matter. It is written saith Rabbi Eliezer, Turne againe yee stubborne Children, and I will heale you of your stubbornesse: yea, but it is also written saith R. Iosua: ye haue beene solde for nothing, and ye shal be redeemed with money: that is to say, ye haue beene solde for your Idolatries, which are nothing, and ye shalbe redeemed without your re-repentance and good works. Yea but it is said saith R. Eliezer, Turne ye to mee, & I will turne to you. But let vs also read saith R. Iosua, I haue taken ye in mariage as a wife, & I wil take you one of a Citie & two of a Househould, and giue you enterance into Sion. R. Eliezer replyeth thus: It is sayde, ye shalbe saued in calmnesse and in rest. Nay sayth R. Iosua, it is written in Esay, thus sayeth the Lord the redeemer of Israel to the dispised Soule, and to the people that is abhorred; that is to say, that your wickednes shall not stop the course of Gods decree. In the end, Eliezer saieth, what meaneth Ieremy then to say, If thou turne thee againe O Israell: seeing it is conditionall maner of speaking? Nay saieth Rabbi Iosua, what ment Daniell then by this Text, I heard the man that was clothed in linnen and stood vppon the Water of the Riuer, & he lifted vp his right hand & his left hand vp to heauē, & sware by him that liueth for euer, and it shall be for a time and times and halfe a time? And the Talmud saith that at this text R. Eliezer was blanke and held his peace, which was as much to say as that he condescended to that which R. Iosua had sayd, namely that the offences of Israell should not stay the comming of Christ, but that God would preuent Israell with his holy grace. Againe, if the want of a general Conuersion do withhold the cōming of the Messias; then considering ỹ the punishment which lieth vpon that Nation is vniuersall, and their banishment of so long continuance and so farre from whome. Yea so much that their Temple, Citie and Countrie be destroyed, and they may not so much as once

In the treatise Sanhedrin. ca. Helec. Ieremie. 4. Esay. 24

Malachie. 4

Esay. 29

Daniel. 12

see

see them a farre off; what is the crime that is so exceeding great, so vniuersall, and so continuall among them? I meane what is the fault peculiar to that Nation, and not common to them with all other Nations of the world? The first Temple (say they) was destroied for Idolatrie, for superfluity, and for sheading of guiltles blood; specially the blood of Zacharie and Esay. Yet notwithstanding they wanted not Prophets in the time of their Captiuitie: nay they neuer had mo than then: so mercifully did God measure his comforts to them according to their afflictions. What is to be said then, seeing that now in so many hundred yeres they haue not bene comforted at all, no not euen at this day when they be both lesse giuen to Idolatrie, and (to all seeming) more constant in their Law: and in effect lesse giuen to Ryot and lesse bloody than euer they were? Nay further, seeing that vnder the second Temple they shewed so great zeale against the Romans, that they admitted not any Idolatrie among them, but chose rather to die a thousand deaths, than only to recive either the Emperors Image, or the Romane Standard painted with an Eagle; insomuch that they left the breache of the wal of the Citie vnguarded, rather than they would breake their Sabboth daie: what might be the cause that God should withhold the open manifestation of the Messias, whom they affirme to haue beene borne at that time, or multiply their miseries so extreemly? Some say it was for their worshipping of the Golden Calfe in the Wildernes, that is to say for a fault that was committed a two or three thousand yeres ago, when as (notwithstanding) the people were then presently punished for it out of hand, and many recoueries and ouerthrowes had ensewed since in the meane while. Others say it is for the selling of Ioseph by his brethren: and thereupon some of them bring vp againe the fleeting of Soules fathered vpon Pythagoras. Why doe they not rather acknowledge herein their owne colde absurdities? nay (saies one of their bookes) it is for a fault which they knowe not, and therefore it is not foretold them when they shalbe deliuered, as it was to the Captiues of Babylon. If they knowe not the fault, then can they not acknowledge it: and if they cannot acknowledge it, in vaine are all their Penances and Repentance. And yet in very deede they haue from time to time (and that not long agoe) done publick and open penances, much more exactly to outward apparance, than euer they did: of purpose to hasten their Messias, who notwithstanding (by the report of their Talmud) is so neere and ready at hand, that (by their saying) hee will not staye one day, if they turne vnto God according to this saying of the Psalme. To daye if yee heare my voyce. But we say, that forasmuch as their punishment is so vniuersall, so long, and so extreame: their fault must needes also be so too: And that seeing the former Idolatries and vnrighteousnesse were pacified in the destruction of the first Temple,

The bookes Mechilta.

Talmud in the treatise Sanhedrin. Ch. Helec.

Psalm. 90.

as they themselues say; It must nedes bee some greater matter, that continueth their punishment still after so many desolations. And there vpon I conclude, both that Christ is come at his foreappointed time, and also that they haue refused him; so as God hath sent them saluation in the selfesame maner that he promised it them by his Prophets, and they haue trampled it vnder their feete.

The xxx. Chapter.

That Iesus the Sonne of Mary came at the time promised by the Scriptures, and that the same is Christ.

NOwe then, in the time of the first Herod, wherein both the Prophesies of the holy Scriptures and the auncient traditions of the Iewes doe meete, let vs examine who could haue beene the Messias. For at that time (as I haue declared afore) many pretended themselues to bee he, of whom both the liues, the doctrines and (almost) the names also are now worne out of minde, notwithstanding that they were vphild by great multitudes of people, and authorised by the chiefe Doctors among them. Neuertheleſſe, in the same time, and euen in the selfe same yeere that Herod was accepted of the Iewes for their King, Iesus the Sonne of Mary was borne, whose whole life was nothing els but a teaching of Saluation to that people; and whose end was to bee crucified by the Synagogue; and yet for all that, his doctrine and name continue still through the whole world. Be it is whom we call Christ, and whome we affirme to be the Anointed. And therefore let vs see first how all the prophesies are come to effect in him, and how he hath fully performed the office of the Messias.

Philo in his booke of times.

Esay. 7. Ieremy. 34.

Heere let vs cal to mind the circumstances which we haue noted heretofore. The Prophets haue told vs that he should be borne of a virgin. The

Gospell

Gospell affirmeth Mary his mother to haue bin such a one; and yet the Iewes which haue come afterward, haue written that she was taken in adulterie. Well, seeing that in all their doings they shewe so great rage against hir Sonne: forasmuch as they had to deale but against a silly woman that had no stay to stand vnto, and their Law is so expresse and peremptorie against aduoutries: why did they not indite her of it, which would haue quashed the reputation of hir sonne and of hirselfe both together? Or why say they not rather that he was the sonne of Ioseph: but that Ioseph knew and said the contrarie? And seeing that Ioseph disclaimed him for his sonne, had they not the more aduauntage to haue made him partie and plaintife against hir adulterie? But shee liued safely by them, both after hir sonnes death, and without sifting in his life time. And what greater proofe of hir chastitie desire wee than to see so many Pharisies, and so many Iudges inraged against one silly woman, and yet not daring to charge her with any crime? But the talke of one Theodosius a Iewe with a Christian Merchantman named Philip in the time of the Emperour Iustinian, is worthy to bee noted in this behalfe. In the Temple of Hierusalem (quoth the Iewe) there were two and twenty ordinary Preestes: and as soone as any of them dyed, the residue chose another in his place. Nowe it happened that Iesus for his singular Godlinesse and doctrine was chosen by them. And to the intent they might knowe the name of his father and mother, and inregister it according to their custome; they sent for them, and Mary came thither alone, bicause Ioseph was then dead. She being asked the name of the father of Iesus, answered vppon hir othe that she had conceiued him by the Holy Ghoste, and reported to them the woords of the Angell. Moreouer she told them the names of the women that came to hir labour vnlooked for; vppon dew inquisition whereof, when all things were found to fall out true, they registred his name in the Register of the Priestes in these wordes. IESVS THE SONNE OF THE LIVING GOD AND OF THE VIRGIN MARIE. And this Register (quoth Theodosius) was saued at the sacking of Hierusalem, and afterward kept in the Citie Tiberias, where it is preserued in secret, and I haue seene it as one of the cheefe among the Iewes, and as one from whom in respect of my degree, nothing was restreined. And I beleeue thereby that it is not ignorance that holdeth me in the Iewish Religion, but the honor which I haue among my Countrimen, the like whereof I could not haue elsewhere. Now there is great likelihood that this should be true, considering that Iesus (as we see) did preach in the Temple, and went sometimes vp into the Pulpit, which thing the pride of the Pharisies would hardly els haue indured. And the holy Rabbine also saith expresse that the mother of the Messias should be a virgin, and

The Prophesies fulfilled in Iesus.

Borne of a Virgin.

Suidas vpon the worde Iesus.

R. Hacadoch, in the third Question, Esay 9.

that her name should be Mary; & he gathereth it after the art of the Cabalists, out of these wordes in the ninth of Esay, *Lemarbeh hammisrah*. And Rabbi Hacanas the son of Nehumia saith that this Mary was of Bethleem the daughter of Iehoiakin Eli, of the line of Zorobabel, of the tribe of Iuda, which was the tribe whereof the Messias should come. And of a truth, we read not in the Gospell, that Iesus was vpbraided by his comming of the tribe of Iuda, or of the house of Dauid; but rather that he was the sonne of a Carpenter; for the long continued aduersities of the house of Dauid, had brought some of his posteritie to lowe degrée. And Rabbi Vla saith, that Iesus of Nazareth by name, being of the bloud royall (that is to say the sonne of Dauid) was crucified the day afore the Passeouer. And séeing the Messias was so precisely promised to be of that race; let vs not doubt but that the Scribes would willingly haue verified the contrarie, if they had could, for then had the Goale bæne wonne on their side. To be short, to come backe againe to the virginitie of Mary, she was not a woman of such kindred, alyance, and wealth, as might bee bold to hope that her single word would be beléeued without triall: neither were the people to whome she spake, besotted with the opinion of the Heathen, who forged tales of their gods to make themselues to be the easelier beléeued: but the thing was so true, that the very trueth thereof imboldened her. And in very déed, that is the very cause why Simon Magus (to the intent hee might not séeme any whit inferiour to Iesus) denied not the same point, but rather graunting it to be true, was desirous to make his Disciples beléeue, that he himselfe also was the sonne of a Virgin. The Prophet Micheas sayeth, And thou Bethleem Ephrata which art but little to bee counted among the families of Iuda, out of thee shall come to mee the partie that shall reigne ouer Israell, and his foorth commings are from the beginning, and from the dayes of eternitie. Héere againe wee haue two births of Christ; the one in time, the other euerlastinglie afore all time. And thereupon rise these farre differing spéeches of the people in the Gospell, saying one while; When Christ commeth, wee shall not knowe whence he commeth; and another while; Is it not written that Christ shall come of the seede of Dauid, and of the towne of Bethleem where he dwelt? Now, that it was so vnderstood by the Fathers of olde time, the Chaldee Paraphrase giueth credit, where it is translated thus: Out of thee shall Christ come which shall hould the Souereigntie ouer Israell. And Ionathas the author of the said Paraphrase, a principall Disciple of Hillels, was yet aliue at the same time that Iesus was borne: and the holy Rabbine and Rabbi Selomoh consent thereunto. And that Iesus was borne in Bethleem, euen after such a fashion as was not lohed for, I sée not that any of them denieth it. Moreouer, there was to bee séene the Stable wherein Christ was borne, heawen out of a Rocke; which

The Talmud, the treatise Sanhedrin: Chapt. Nigmar Hadin.

Clemens in his Recognitions.

Micheas 5. ver. 2.

In Bethleem. Iohn. 7. ver. 42.

Ionathan ben vziel.

place

of a Rocke; which place Origen reporteth to haue beene singularly reuerenced of the Infidels in his time. Origē against Celsus.

The Gospell telleth vs that Iesus certaine daies after his birth, was caryed to Hierusalem to bee offered to the Lord according to the Lawe, and that there a man named Simeon, a man that was righteous and feared God, being certified by the holy Ghost that he should not die vntill he had first seene Christ the Lords Anointed; toke him in his armes & praised God, saying; This day haue I seene thy saluation, &c. Here I charge the Iewes before God, to bethinke themselues well of the things which they both write and reade of this Simeon: namely, how that the Disciples of Hillel should neuer faile till Christ were come: That this Simeon surnamed the Righteous, and Ionathan the sonne of Vziel were two of the chiefe of those Disciples: That in this Simeon the spirit of the great Synagogue did vtterly faile and cease: That God himselfe did then shew by all signes, that he abhorred that Synagogue and the Sanctuarie, and that all should goe awrie, and that all things were full of darknes there. Whereof comes this chaunge which they themselues doe marke so admirably, but of their contempt of Christ? And whereas they say further, that the Temple opened of it selfe, and that Rabbi Ionathan Ben-Zaccai fellow disciple with Simeon being astonished thereat, bethought him of this saying of the Prophet Zacharie, Open thy doores thou Libanus, and let the fire consume thy Cedars: what is it but the same that Simeon foretold vnto Mary, saying; Behold, this child is sent to be the ouerthrow and the raising vp of many, and to be a signe that shalbe spoken against? This Child is named Iesus, that is to say Sauiour: and the Gospell adding the cause thereof, saith; For hee shall saue his people from their sinnes. Who ruled and directed his birth, to be of a Virgin, in Bethleem, and vnthought of, to make it meete inst with the Prophesies going afore, and to make his name now to agree both with the Circumstances going afore, and with all the whole course of his life? For of so many men that had borne the name of Iesus afore, as well in the time of the first Temple as of the second; in which of them shall we finde all these things to concurre as they doe here? Neither is this naming of him so, in vaine. For like as neither Abraham nor Moyses did bring the Israelites into the land of Canaan, but Iesus the sonne of Nun: so neither the lawe of Nature nor the lawe of Moyses, could bring vs into our true Canaan, that is to wit, our spirituall inheritance, but onely grace by the true Iesus. And therefore the Saint Rabbi saith: That because Christ shall saue folke, therefore he shall be called Iesus; and because he shall be both God and Man, therefore he shall be called Emanuell, [that is to say, God with vs.] And in another place, The Gentiles (saith he) shall call him Iesus. And he draweth this name out of the nine and fortith Chapter of Genesis by a

Luke. 2.

Talmud. treatise Parkei auoth. & in the treatise Iomach. Chapt. Tereph Becalpi. Zachary. 11.

Iesus.

R. Hacadoch.

Esay. 9.

Gen. 49

certein rule of the Cabale which they terme Notariak, by taking the first letters of the wordes *Iabho schilo velo*, which make the word *Ieschu*: and likewise of these wordes in the 72. Psalme *Iinnun schemo veiithbarecu*: and also of these in the 96. Psalme, *iagnalou sadai uecol*: all which are texts that are ment expressly of the Messias. Although I force not of these their doings, yet haue I alledged them against them selues, because it is their custome to shewe the cunning of the arte of their Cabale. And after the same maner haue the Machabees also their name, that is to wit, of the first Letters of the words of this their deuise, *Mi camocha baelim Iehouah*: that is to say, Which of the Gods is like thee ô Iehouah? That the name Iesus should bee reuealed vnto them, it is no strange matter, considering that in the third and fourth bookes of Esdras, Iesus Christ the sonne of God is named expressely and diuers times, and the time of his comming precisely set downe according to Daniels wordes. For although the Iewes account those bookes for Apocryphaes, and the Romaine Church hath not graunted the like authoritie to them, as to the other Canonicall bookes: yet is it a cleere case, that they were written afore the comming of Iesus Christ, of whome neuertheless they speake by name.

Psalm. 72.

Psalm. 96.

A Forerunner. Malachy. 3. vers. 1.

Moreouer the Scripture promised also a Forerunner, that should come afore the manifesting of the Messias to the world. For Malachie saith, Behold, I send my Ambassadour to make way before him, & by and by after shall the Lord whom you seeke, enter into his Temple. And in the next Chapter following, he is called Elias, by reason of the likenesse of their offices; and this text (as I haue shewed afore) is vnderstood by them concerning the Messias. And soothly we haue certeine foote-steppes thereof in these wordes of the Gospell, The Scribes say, that Elias must first come. And in another place, Art thou Christ, or Elias, or one of the Prophets? A little afore that Christ disclosed himselfe, Iohn the Baptist stoode vp in Israell, and was followed by such a multitude of people, that all the great ones grudged at him: and he is the same man whom by way of prerogatiue, the Chronicle of the Iewes calleth Rabbi Iohanan the great Priest. Concerning this Iohn the Baptist, forasmuch as they suspect our Gospell, let them beleeue their owne Storiwriter. There was (saith he) a very good Man that exhorted the Iewes to vertue, and specially to Godlines and vpright dealing, inuiting them to a cleannesse both of body and mind by baptisme. But when Herod perceiued that great multitudes of people followed him, which (to his seeming) were at his commaundement; to auoid insurrections he put him in prison, where anon after, he cut off his head. And therefore it was the common opinion, that when Herods armye was afterwarde ouercome and vtterly put to the swoorde, it was through Gods iust iudgement for putting of Iohn Baptist vniustly to death.

R. Moyses Ben Maimon in his sentences. Mark 9. ve. 11

The Chronicle of the Princes of Israell vnder the second Temple.

Iosephus li. 18 Cap. 7

death. By this witnesse of Iosephus, we see what his office was, namely to preache repentance and to Baptize, or (as Malachie saith) to turne the heartes of the Fathers to their Children, and the hearts of the Children to their Fathers. But the thing which we haue chiefly to note here, is that hauing the people at commaundement, yet when Iesus came, he gaue Iesus place, and humbled himselfe to him, and yelded him the glory: the which thing man being led by affection of man would neuer haue done. Insomuch that after that Iesus had once shewed himself, the Disciples of this greate maister shewed not themselues as his disciples any more; and that was because his training and teaching of them was not for himselfe, but for Iesus. And as touching the peculiar act of Baptizing, it seemeth that the Leuites waited for some speciall thing vpon it, in that they asked of Iohn, How happeneth it that thou Baptizest, if thou be neither Christ, nor Elias the Prophet?

But let vs come now to treate of the life of Iesus, not according to our Gospels, but according to such Histories as the Iewes themselues cannot denie: and what els is it than the verie body of the shadowes of the olde Testament, and the very pith and substance of the wordes that were spoken afore concerning the Messias? Let vs call to remembrance to what end hee came, namely to saue Mankinde: and the nature of his kingdome, how it is holy and spirituall. Whereof are all his Preachings, but of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and of the kingdome of Heauen? his Disciples were alwayes importunate vppon him in asking him, Lorde when wilt thou set vppe the Kingdome of Israell againe? In stead of contenting their fancies, hee answereth them concerning the kingdome of Heauen. They imagined some Empyre of Cyrus or Alexander: that their Nation might haue bene honored of all other Nations of the earth. One of them would needes haue sit on his right hand and another on his left. What answereth he to this? Nay (saith hee) whosoeuer will be greatest, let him bee the least; and if I being your Maister be as a Seruant among you, what ought you to bee? Yee shall be brought before Magistrates: that is farre from reigning. Yee shall bee persecuted, imprisoned, tormented and crucified: that is farre off from triumphing. I will giue you to vnderstand how great things yee bee to suffer for my names sake: that is verye farre from parting of Countries. Yet notwithstanding, happy shall you bee when you suffer these things, and hee that holdeth out to the end shall bee saued. Who can imagine any temporall thing in this kingdome, whereof the fleshly Lawe is, that a man to saue his life must lose it: and to become happy must wed himselfe to wretchednes? The people followed him for the miracles which hee worketh: and the Iewes denie not but he did very great ones. But let vs see whereto they tended.

The kingdom of Iesus is spirituall.

He fed a great multitude of people in the wildernesse, with a fewe Loaues. This miracle was matter enough for him to haue held them with long talke; but he preacheth vnto them of the heauenly bread which feedeth vnto euerlasting life. Also hee healeth all sicke and diseased folke that come vnto him: howbeit, to shewe that that was but an appendant or rather an income to that for the which he came; Thy sinnes (saith he) be forgiuen thee. To be short, from Abrahams Well, he directeth the Woman of Samaria to the Fountaine of life. Beeing shewed the goodly buildings of Hierusalem and of the Temple, he foretelleth the ouerthrow of them both. Beeing required a sittingplace at his right hand or at his left; he answereth of a Cuppe that such a petitioner is to drinke. When men go about to make him King, he steales away from them. And whereas his Apostles looke for some greate triumphe; his accomplishing of it is after the maner that the Prophet Zacharie speakes of, namely by riding vpon a shée Asse, euen vpon the Colt of an Asse. And yet neuertheless Herod the King trembleth at him in his throne, the whole Counsell of the Realme are in a perplexitie, and all the people are astonished. And in his doings he maketh it to appeare sufficiently, that he hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and that if he himselfe listed hée should be obeied both of the greatest persons and in the greatest matters. Surely then wee may well say, that the marke which this Jesus and the marke which the Messias leueleth at, are bothe one; namely to draw men from the earth, and to make them to plant their whole hope by his meanes in heauen.

God and Man.

It followeth that to this office which he did euidently take vppon him, he brought the qualities requisite to the executing thereof, that is to wit, that he was both God and Man: I say, God as the Sonne of God, and Man as borne of a woman, without sinne, and such in all pointes as he was forepromised to be. Of this hope wee haue some footesteps in the Gospell. For some say, We haue heard say that Christ endureth for euer. And Nathaniel himselfe saith, Sir, Art thou the Sonne of God and the King of Israell? That is to say, art thou the Sonne of God whome wee looke for to be the King of Israell? To the same purpose may wee set his two natures heere one against another. He himselfe was hungrie; and yet he fed many thousands with a fewe Loaues. He suffered thirst; and yet he gaue other men liuing Waters that ouerflowed. He was wearie, and yet he saide come vnto mee all yée that are wearie. He paide tribute, but he commaunded the Fish to pay the Tribute mony for him. He was dumbe as a Lambe, but yet was the very speech it selfe. He yelded vp his spirit and died, but yet told them he had power to take it to him againe. To be short, he was condemned, but he iustifieth: He was slaine, but he saueth: He prayed; but his praying was for vs, and he heareth our prayers.

Iohn. 12. vers. 34.

prayers. For these countermatchings and the like doe we read of in our Euangelists, in whom we haue the doings of both natures distinguished, and yet notwithstanding ioyned together in one person. But if they will vtterly deny our Gospels: then shall wee in that point be more vpright than they: for we will not denie all their writing. Now they agree with vs that he was man: and for all their casting vp of their Foame against him in their bookes, yet are they not able to charge him with any vice euen in his priuate life: and therefore the chiefe thing that wee haue to stand vppon, is the proofe of his Godhead.

The miracles of Iesus.

Iesus (saith our Gospell) wrought miracles. Hee healed the sicke, restored Limmes to the lame, gaue sight to the blind, and raised the dead vnto life: and that not in one or two places, but in many: not in a corner, but in the open sight of the world: and there are many thousands of men which will rather die vpon the Racke than deny him, yea or not preach him. I aske them vpon their consciences, if they will deny that he wrought any miracles. If they deny it: then what a miracle is this, that so many people doe followe a poore abiect without miracles, and are contented to die for his sake, euen when he himselfe is dead? And if these miracles of his (as namely the restoring both of sight and life, and such others) were not very great and farre surmounting all nature of man; yet who would lose his life, but for a better? and how could hee giue the better, which could not giue the other? And if it bee a miracle to worke vppon a man by touching him, and much more without touching him, and most of all without seeing him: what a miracle is it to worke in the heartes of whole Nations farre off, without seeing them; and to touche them without comming at them; and to turne them to him without touching them? And if the bones of Elias be commended for prophesying in his Tumbe; what shall this Iesus bee for ouercomming so many people, and for conquering so many Nations after his death, yea and (which is a greater matter) euen by the death of his seruants, who preached nothing but his death? But the Rabbines saw wellynough that the miracles of Iesus could not be denied. And truely R. Iohanan saith in the Talmud, that a Neuew of R. Iosua the sonne of Leuy had taken poison; and that being adiured by the name of Iesus; hee was healed out of hand: and this is a verifying of that which Iesus himselfe saith, namely that if they drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: And Rabbi Ioses saith, that when a Serpent had bitten Eleazar the sonne of Duma, Iames the Disciple of Iesus would haue healed him, and Rabbi Samuell would not suffer him: And Iosephus their owne Storiwriter speaking of the miracles of Iesus, findeth them so wonderfull, that hee cannot tell whether he ought to call him Man or God. And they ought not to thinke it straunge that he should worke miracles, considering that they beleeue

The Talmud of Hierusalem in the treatise Auodazara.

Marke. 16.

Midrasch Coheleth.

Ioseph. in his Antiquities. lib. 18. Cap. 4.

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the miracles of Moyses, of Elias, of Eliseus, and diuers others. But some of them did attribute his miracles to Magicke, and some to the power of the name of God which they charged him to haue vsurped: in the examining of both which points, I beseech them to ioine with mee with out affection.

In the Talmud, treatise Sanhedrim. chap. Dinei Mammonoth col: lib. 20. cap. 6.

As touching Magicke, they say that their theescore and tenne Senators whom they call Sanhedrim, were very skilfull in it; and so saith R. Selomoh also, the better to conuince the Inchaunters. And we reade in Iosephus, that Magicke was neuer more frequented in Iewrie then it was among the Iewes at this time. Now if their meaning was to conuict Iesus as an euill doer; why did they not put him to shame? why did they not vse the rigour of the Lawe against him? How happeneth it that in their accusing of him, they charge him not with any Magicke at all? Or if they meant to ouercome him by the art; why did not some one of them worke the like things or greater? Why did not their miracles swallowe vp his? Nay contrariwise, whereof commeth it that Iosephus calleth Iesus a worker of miracles, and the other sorte Magicians and deceitfull Coseners? And that his miracles worke still euen after his death, whereas theirs vanished away afore they were dead? But like as in the time of Moyses, God suffered great Magitians to be in Aegypt, that he might make his owne power the more euident in Moyses: so at this time there was great store of them in Iewrie, to the intent it might appeare what difference is betwixt that which man can doe by the Diuels abusing of him, and that which the finger of God himselfe can doe in man. And in good sooth I dare well say, there is not any arte in the worlde, that doeth more clearely verifie the miracles of Iesus, than Magicke doth. For by Plinies report, there were neuer moe Magitians, than in the time of Nero, (which was the time that Christes Disciples did spread his doctrine abroade) neither was the vanitie of that arte euer more apparantly knowne (as he witnesseth) than at that time. And euen among the Iewes of our time, that science is more common at this day, than among all other people. For they make bookes thereof, specially in the Eastparts of the worlde. But what are they els than casts of Legiedemaine or Iuggling trickes, and toyes for Babes to play withall? And as for the Magitians which the Princes of Christendome maintaine in their Courtes, to the shame of vs all and to their owne confusion; what are the things which they do, but (to speake fitly) meere illusions that vanish away out of hand, as which consist in some nimble tricks in playing at Cardes and Dice, or in slipper deuises of slight and beine things. Of which kinde of folkes and dealings, I say not who would willinglie die for them, but who would not be ashamed to liue with them? As for Iesus, we see it is farre otherwise with him. He wrought very great miracles in the worlde: although he

he was crucified, yet (saith Iosephus) his Disciples forsoke him not: and therefore euen after he was gone from them, they wrought miracles still: and what maner of Miracles? Surely euen such as within the space of twentie yeares or thereabouts, filled all the world full of Christians: and that miracle continueth still vnto this day. The Empires which had not heard any speaking of Christ, were conuerted to the Kingdome of Christ, and beleeued him for his doings afore they heard of his name. The Emperours vnder whom he had beene crucified, and his Disciples diuersly persecuted, are glad to doe him honour; and to builde Temples vnto him. Let the Iewes tell mee what Magitian they euer heard of, that wrought such miracles after his death? If they say that Christes Apostles and Disciples also were Magitians: then seeing that no man which is well aduised, doeth any thing but to some end: let them tell mee what gaine the Apostles could get by exercising this Magike, which procured them nothing but hatred, sorrow, imprisonment, torments, and cruell death? And seeing that Magitians doe hide themselues and conceale their arte when they be pursued for it: what kinde of Magicke is this, which will needes bee knowne and exercised, euen in despite of Princes, and of the world, yea and of death: that is to say, euen in despite of the man himselfe (if I may so say) that doth practise it? If it be further replied that some extreame vaine glorie led them: how happeneth it that euery of them did not cause himselfe to bee worshipped alone? And that they did not their workes in their owne names, but referred all to Iesus, yeelding vnto him the power, the honour, and the glory of all? If they say (as of force they needes must) that the power of the crucified Man wrought still in them and by them: Let them say also that the same man liued still euer after his crucifying, yea and a farre other life than all other men (considering that after this life, hee maketh men to bee more than men) that is to wit, a life not onely free from death, but also euerlasting and diuine in deede: and so is farre off from the punishment appointed by them to Magitians, that is to wit, from being in Iayle and vnder torture, or (as they themselues terme it) in endlesse death. But as soone as they perceiue themselues stopped on that side, by and by they seeke to escape out another way, [illegible] Iesus (say they) wrought his miracles by vertue of the vnutterable name of GOD, which hee minded. And therevpon they fall to an account, which sheweth (as many other in their Talmud do) that in Gods matters they wanted not only the spirit of God, but also euen the humaine wit and reason and God knoweth I would be ashamed to rehearse it, but for their owne welfare. Their saying then is, that in Salomons Temple there was a certeine stone of very rare vertue, wherein Salomon by his singular wisedome had ingraued the verie true name of God, which

which it was lawfull for euery man to reade, but not to con by hart, nor to write out: And that at the Temple dore were two Lyons tied at two Cheines, which rored terribly, that the feare of it made him to forget the name that had committed it to memorie, and him to burst a sunder in the midst that had put it in writting. But Jesus the sonne of Mary (say they) regarding neither the curse annexed vnto the prohibition, nor the roring of the Lions; wrate it out in a bill, and went his way with it with great gladnesse: And least he might be taken with the thing about him, he had a litle opened the skinne of his Leg and put it in there, and afterward wrought his miracles by the vertue of that name. Now ye must thinke that if I was ashamed to repeate this geare, I am much more ashamed to stand confuting of it. Neuertheiater, seing that the sumptuousnes of Salomons Temple is described so diligently vnto vs, and yet no mention is made either of that rare stone, or of those Lyons that were so zealous of Gods name: whence I pray them haue they this so faire tale? And how commeth it to passe that Iosephus was ignorant thereof, who had so diligently perused their matters of remembrance; or howe come they to the first knowledge thereof, so many hundred yeares after? Againe, where became those Lyons at such times as the Aegyptians and Babylonians spoiled Hierusalem and defiled the Temple? How found they them again in the second Temple? Or if they were immortall, where became they afterward? Nay further, how happeneth it that Salomon that great king who consecrated and ingraued the said Stone, wrought not the like miracles himselfe, spetially sith we reade not that he wrought any miracle at all? And what godlines had it bene for him, to haue concealed & kept secret that name, which would haue cured so many diseases of body and infirmities of minde? whereby folke might haue bene turned away from idolatrie, and the whole world might haue bene wonne vnto the law of God? But if I must néedes answere soles further according to their follie; then if Jesus be the seruant of the liuing God, and vse his name to his glory, why do they not beléeue him? Or if he serued not God, how was it possible that the name of God should be waged by a mortall man, against the glory of God? And what a vaine premise is it to vphold, that the power of God is so tied to his name, that his enemies may (whether he will or no) serue their owne turnes, both with his name and with his power, to the ouerthrow of his kingdom, & to the stablishing of theirs? Nay rather, let vs say according to their owne teaching, that Jesus did great miracles, both in the name of God and in the power of God, & that God gaue power vnto his name, and not the name vnto God. Jesus therefore was certeinlie the seruant of God, and endued with such power from God.

In the treatise Sanhedrin. ch. Helec.

Now, whereas some deny that Christ should worke miracles, when as notwithstanding, the Scripture saith the contrarie, and the Iewes

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in the Gospell do continually exact signes and myracles at his hand, and their Talmud reporteth that Christ should discerne good from euill by the onely sent or sauour, by the want of which propertie they say that Barcozba was bewraied not to bee the Messias; and whereas they affirme that the wild beasts should lay away their woodnesse, and that Hierusalem should bee hoisted vp three leagues into the ayre, and such other like: I confesse in deede that the chiefe end of Christes comming, was not to worke myracles, accordingly also as we see that his doing of them was but as by workes and vpon occasion; and I esteeme more of those which do heare his worde and keepe it, than of those which remoue Mountaines. Neuertheless, Rabbi Hadarsan saith hee had learned of Rabbi Natronai, that Christ should come with very great signes and myracles, and that the Pharisies should attribute them to Arte Magicke, and to the names of vncleane Spirits, according wherevnto wee reade in the Gospell, that they said thus, He casteth out Deuilles by the name of Beelzebub. And the Commentarie vppon the booke of the Preacher saith, that all the myracles which went afore, are nothing to the myracles of the Messias. Also the Talmud in a certaine place saith, That the myracles which shall be wrought in the time of the Messias in the kingdomes of the Gentiles, compared with the myracles that were wrought in Aegypt, shall be as the substance to the accident.

R. Hadarsan vppon the Psalme. 74

Midrasch Coheleth. Capt. 1. Talmud. treatise Baracoth. Chapt. Memathai korin.

Vnto Myracles is ioyned Prophesying, as a thing to be numbered among the chiefe myracles. That Christ should be a Prophet, they will not denie: for they take the text of Deuteronomie, where a Prophet is promised them, to be ment of Christ: and thereupon riseth this common demaund in the Gospell, Art thou the Prophet? And whereas they say in their Talmud, that the Messias shall iudge of things by their onely smell; it cannot be soundly vnderstood of any thing els, than of an excellent gift of Prophesying. To let passe a thousand particular Prophesies, and a thousand textes whereby wee perceiue that Iesus read things in the hypocritish hearts of the Pharisies, and sawe things in the hearts of his Disciples, which they themselues neither sawe nor perceiued: who will not wonder at those which wee see so peremptorilie come to passe, namely, Yee shall be brought before the Princes and Magistrates of the earth: men shall thinke they doe seruice vnto God, when they murder you for my names sake: that the glad tidings of his kingdome should be preached through the whole world, notwithstanding all impediments: That Hierusalem should be destroyed: that all things should bee wasted and vnhalowed there: that of the same temple which they reuerenced so much, one stone should not bee left standing vppon another: And that the time wherein these things should bee doone was then so neere hand, that euen those which led him to death, had cause to bewaile them-

The Prophesyings of Iesus.

Deuter. 8. and 18.

themselues and their Children? For what I pray you could those poore Fishermen thinke, when he spake to them of being led before Kings; and (which more is) when he told them that they should driue Nations like flockes of Sheepe afore them at the hearing of the Gospell? What likelihood was there hereof in his owne person or in theirs, considering the lowlinesse of his life, and the reprochfulnesse of his death? And as touching the destruction of Hierusalem which befell about fortie yéares after; sith we reade expressly in their owne Historyes, that the Emperour Titus offered them peace, sought the preseruation of their Temple, graunted them the frée vse of their Religion, and during his seege did séeke as it were by intreatance to them being besæged, that hee might saue and preserue them; and yet notwithstanding (as Iosephus reporteth) they would néedes perish whether he would or no, and wilfully cast themselues into the same extremities whereof Iesus had forewarned them: who can say that he was ignorant of the vnchangeable determination of God, notwithstanding that to the sight of Man, the matter was as likely to haue falne out otherwise as euer any was, specially considering that the enemies themselues, on whom the whole case séemed to depend, laboured by all meanes to turne the destruction away from the besæged?

The Doctrine of Iesus, Deuter. 13.

Now, albeit that as well Prophesying as Myracles, haue either of them their peculiar and vncommunicable markes of Gods spirit and finger, whereby to discerne the one from the other: Yet certesse, doctrine is the touchstone of them both. For, if there rise vp a Prophet (saith the Law) and giue thee a signe or myracle, and thervpon he come and counsell thee to turne aside to straunge gods: thou shalt not hearken vnto him. Therefore let vs sée what doctrine Iesus matched with his signes and miracles. Let vs reade the Gospell from the one end to the other, and wee shall sée nothing there but to loue God with all our heart, and our neighbour as our selfe. Also he came not to abolish the Lawe, but to fulfill it; nor to destroye the Temple, but to purge it. The Pharisies had extended the Lawe but to the outwarde man; he condemneth their hypocrisie, and bringeth it backe againe to the inward man. They saide, hate your enemies: but he said, if yee loue none but your friends, what are ye better than the Publicanes? They said, Thou shalt not commit adulterie; thou shalt not kill: But he sayd, If thou looke vpon a woman to lust after her, thou hast broken the Lawe: and if thou say to thy brother, Racha; thou hast alreadie killed him. To be short, a neighbour by their interpretation, was but in Iericho or neere thereabouts: but he told them that a neighbour was in Samaria, in Idumea, and in all the corners of the world. Also if a case concerne God, he taught men to forsake Goods, Preferments, Father, Mother, Wife, Children, and all that euer is, for loue of his seruice. As for Saluation and Welfare, he taught men to hold vp

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treasure in Heauen, and to shake off the world in this life, that they may be clothed with glorie in another. What is there in all this, I say not which turneth a man away, but which setteth him not in the right way, and which tendeth not in effect to the glorie of the true God, to the doing of our duetie towards our neighbours, and to euery mans owne saluation and welfare? By the way, this doctrine is not a declaiming, nor an exercise of Philosophers, who (as Seneca affirmeth) pretended slaues by their titles, and conteined poison and venome in their bores: but it is expressed in his life, and read in his Disciples, whome neither Iewe nor Gentile haue euer blamed, but for their simplicitie and innocencie: Insomuch that Philo the Iewe made a booke expressie thereof for a wonder. For whereas Celsus the Epicure obiecteth, that Iesus chose Publicans and men of wicked conuersation to be his Disciples: euen therein peculiarly hath he shewed the effectualnes of his doctrine in the curing of mens soules, as a Physition doth in healing those that are sorest sicke and furthest past hope of recouerie in a Citie. To be short, at his worde the Nations that worshipped Deuils, Pen, Planets, Stockes and Stones, turned to the onely true God. The Deuils that had abused them, hid themselues away, and their Oracles lost their voices, as shalbe said hereafter. But as for the lawe of God and the holy Scriptures. (I meane euen those (ye Iewes) which you your selues beléeue and reuerence:) they come to be read, imbraced, and expounded through all the world, and in al Languages. If this doctrine then be of the Deuill: by what marke shall we know the doctrine of God? And if to giue authority to the Bible ouer all the world, be the destruction thereof: what shall we call the stablishing thereof? And if Iesus haue by his doctrine stablished the seruice of the true God, authorised the Lawe of Moyses, and rooted vp the seruice of the Deuill by the bottome: how can it be said that the Deuill hath either inspired him, or assisted him in his myracles and Prophesyings, both for the kingdome of God, and against the Deuils owne Tyrannie?

Philo concerning the Contemplatiue life.

Yea (say you) but hee professed himselfe to bee the Sonne of God. So much the rather (say I) ought you to imbrace him, seeing that by the record of your auncestors, the Messias ought so to be. And in reporting himselfe to be so, if you reade your owne Doctors well, yée shall finde that he turneth you not away to diuers Gods, nor yet to straunge Gods. For according to your owne Scriptures and Traditions, these three, namely the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, are but one God. I would knowe but this one thing of you: whether you take him for a true Prophet, or for a false Prophet: for the seruant of God, or for the seruant of the Deuil. You haue said héretofore that he vsed the power of the name of God in his myracles, whereby ye haue graunted me very much: and I also haue proued vnto you, that such particular and speciall Prophesies as

An obiection.

Looke the 6. Chapter heerefore.

as these, cannot proceede but from God himselfe. But what a seruant is he to the Deuill, which ouerthroweth his Maister? How is he not an ouerthrower of him, which saueth vs? How is hee a false accuser of vs, which iustifieth vs? How is he a deadly enemie, which setteth vs againe in life? For what els hath the doctrine of Iesus done throughout the whole world, but destroyed the Altars of the Deuils, beaten downe their Temples, broken their Images in peeces, abolished their gamings, their feasts, their Sacrifices: and moreouer withdrawen the rest of men from Murder, Whoredome, Theft, and all other abhominations wherein they were plunged, and from the vaine seruices whereabouts they occupied themselues, and wherewith they deceiued their owne Consciences? If ye say he was the seruant of God: the verye Turkes confesse as much. Therefore proceede yet further, and graunt that sith hee is the Prophet and seruant of God, he is to be beléeued. For God the Creator being altogether good and wise, would not lend him his spirit to deceiue vs. And if we ought to beléeue him, wee ought also to heare him: and if we heare him, he telleth vs that he is Christ the Anointed, that he is the trueth, that he is the way, that he came from God his father, and that the father and he are but one. And in déed, one while to shew that he was sent of his father, he prayeth vnto him: and another while to shew that he is equall with him, he commaundeth absolutely and of himselfe. Surely therefore we may well say, that this Prophet Iesus being assisted by Gods spirit, both in his Prophesyings, and in his Myracles, and in his doctrine: and being borne of a Virgin, in Bethleem, and at the time appointed afore hand by the Prophets; is Christ the Lordes anointed, God and Man, euen such as he was declared and behighted vs in the holy Scriptures, as I haue shewed already.

The stumbling blocke of the Iewes.

But lo here the stumblingblock of the Pharisies and the Iewes. What likelihood is there (say they) that our Christ by whome we looke that Israell should bee so renowmed, should bee so base and abiect a person? Nay moreouer, if he be both God and Man (as you Christians say he is) what can be imagined more against all reason, than that hee should bee buffeted, whipped, crucified, accounted among théeues, and in the end reprochfully killed, as your Iesus was? Sothly, to folke that haue imagined and reckoned vppon a Monarchie of the whole world, and behighted themselues places among the chiefe in the same: it must néedes be a great torse and greefe to bee defeated of that hope. But had they well chewed and digested this Texte of Zachatie: Beholde, thy King commeth vnto thee, righteous, Sauiourlike, and lowlie, riding vppon an Asse, euen the Colte of an Asse: which Text their Rabbines expound of the Messias, and we read it to haue béen fulfilled in Iesus at his comming into Hierusalem: they would not thinke it so straunge that in the same

Zacharie. 9. & 12.

person

person also should be performed this saying of the same Prophet in another place, I wil powre out the spirit of grace & mercie vpō the house of Dauid & vpō the inhabiters of Hierusalem: & they shall looke vpō me whom they haue pearced: which text likewise the Rabbines expound of ỳ Messias, as wel as the other. Now I haue shewed heretofore, that the Messias should reconcile vs vnto God, by the satisfactiō & amends which he should make vnto him for vs: and also how agreeable the said amends was both to Gods Iustice and mercie, which cannot be contrarie one to another, and also to the order of dealing that is among men. For in as much as man would néedes through his pride become equall with God, and by his disobedience be as God: it was méete that his Soueretie should be abased euen beneath man, and yeld perfect obedience, euen to the most reprochfull death that could bee. Againe, to turne man againe and to restrayne him from sinne, nothing could be more effectuall, than to make him know the horriblenesse of his sinne, by the greatnes of the penaltie and satisfaction thereof: neither could any thing be more forcible to allure him of the loue of God and of his neighbour, than to sée God redéeme him from wretched thraldome by the death of his owne Sonne God and Man, and the same his owne Sonne crucified and dying for the raunsome, not of his brethren, but of his enemies whom he vouchsafeth to admit to be his brethren. But forasmuch as the Iewes beléeue the Scriptures, they will not refuse them in this point, and therefore let vs examine them here together.

As touching Christs lowelynesse in abasing himself, I haue treated thereof heretofore, and all the whole scripture teacheth it vs sufficiently. At one word, in the place where it is sayd. The Scepter shal not be taken from Iuda, it is added hereby, Tying his Assecolt to the vyne, and the foale of his sheeasse to the hedge. Upon which text Rabbi Hadarsan sayeth thus, when Christ commeth to Hierusalem, he shall gird his Asse with a girt, and enter into the Citie very poorely and lowelily, euen after the same maner that is spoken of him in the ninth of zachary. But to auoyd often repetitions, let vs beare in mind what hath bin said afore, that it may leade vs the more gently to the passion of Christ, which is our only welfare and their vtter stumbling blocke. We haue in the Lawe a great number of Sacraments and Sacrifices, as well solemne as let feasts as continuall and ordinarie, and among them the Easterlamb, the Sacrifice of the red Heifar, the sending of the Scapegote into the Wilderneste, and such other like: of all the which it is said, that their bloud washeth & cleanseth away the sinne of the congregation, & that the sprinkling thereof turneth away the Angell of destruction from their houses. Now forasmuch as this was don with so great solemnitie, expressly commaunded to be obserued, & conueied ouer from age.

Gen. 49. R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon the xlix. of Genesis.

The passion of Iesus foretold in the Scriptures.

to age & frō father to sonne: I aske them vpon their consciences, whether they be signes and figures of a sacrifice to come which should cleanse away sinne, or wether those sacrifices themselues had that vertue. If they say the Sacrifices had that force in themselues: what vertue is there in the bloud of a Lamb or of a Heckfar, against sinne? And wherfore saieth God so often vnto vs, I will none of your sacrifices, I will none of the bloud of your Bulles and Goats, al such things are but smoke and louthlynes in my sight? And at such time as they were prisoners at Babilon or scattered abroade in the world, where they might not by their lawe offer any Sacrifice; was there then no forgiuenesse of their sinnes? Yes surely: and therefore they were signes and figures of Christ as then to come, who was to dye for our sinnes: which signes do now cease and haue ceassed now these many hundred yeres through the whole world, euer since the comming of him that was betokened by them, namely of the Lamb of whome it is said in Esay: He was led to the slaughter as a Lamb & he held his peace without opening his mouth, as a sheepe before the Shearer which text the Rabbines also do interpret to be ment of the Messias. And as concerning the red Heckefar, the Cabalists do make a Cace of it, and aske why in the booke of Nombers, the death of Marie is ioyned immediatly to the law of the red Cow, & thereout of they will needs drawe the death of Christ to come. And in very deed Iesus the true Easterlamb was crucified on the very daye of the Passe-ouer, was witnesseth Rabbi Vla in the Talmud. Also as Esay had said of the Lamb Christ, Hee is slayne for the sinne of the people: so Iohn Baptist saith of Iesus: Behould the Lambe of God which taketh away the Sinnes of the world. Againe, as they were forbidden to breake any bone of the Easterlambe, so were Christs legs left vnbroken, when the legges of the theeues that were crucified with him were broken. To be short, as the red Cow accompanied with al the people, was conueyed out of the Host and burned without the campe, so also was Iesus led out of the Citie accompanied by the people and crucified without the Citie. But let vs reade the Historie of the life and death of Iesus whole together out of Esay. There was neither fauour (sayth he) nor beauty in him, neither sawe we any fayrenesse in him that was to bee desired. He was despysed and thrust out from among men, a man full of infirmities and inured to sorrow by reason whereof we accounted him so vile, that wee hid our faces from him. Yet in very deede he bare our infirmities and was loden with our sorrowes, but we thought him to be wounded and stricken of God, whereas he was wounded for our misdeedes, and smitten for our sinnes. The punishment of our peace was layd vpon him, and by his stripes are we healed. All of vs went astray like sheepe, and turned aside euery man after his owne way: and the Lord hath cast

Esay. 53

Numb. 19

In the treatise Sanhedrim. Chap. Nigmar Hadin.

Esay. 53.

vppon

vppon him the iniquities of vs all. Being misintreated and smitten, he opened not his mouth, As a Lamb was he led to be slayne, & yet held his peace as a sheepe before the shearer. He was lifted vp from prison and iudgement, and yet who is he that can recken vp his generation? He was plucked vp from the liuing vpon earth, and couered with woundes for the sinne of my people. His graue was giuen him with the wicked, and with the Riche in his death, Although he neuer committed vnrighteousnes, nor any guile was found in his mouth, yet was it the Lordes will to breake him with sorrow, that when he had giuen his life in sacrifice for sin, he might see a long lasting seede. Which deuice of the Lord shall prosper in his hand, and with the labour and trauel of his Soule shall he get great Riches. My righteous seruant (sayeth the Lord) shall with the knowledge of him make many men righteous, and take their sinnes vpō himselfe. I will giue him a portion among the great ones, and he shall diuide the spoile with the mightie ones, because he yelded his soule vnto death, & did muster himself among the transgressers, & tooke vpon him the sinnes of many, and prayed for the offenders. Who seeth not in this text, both the apprehension and the sorrowes and the woundes, and the death of Iesus? yea & his meekenesse, Lowelines, and innocencie? His apprehension, turning to our deliuerance, his sorrows, to our ioy, his woundes to our health, his death, to our life, his righteousnes to our inrighteousnes, & his punishment, to our obteynement of grace? And when we read, He was abhorred of men, and we made none account of him, do we not see men spitting in his face? Also when we reade these words, We took him to be wounded of God, do we not heare the Iewes saying to him, If thou be Christ the chosen of God, saue thy self? Againe when hee is outragiously delt withall and yet hee openeth not his mouth, do we not note his innocent holding of his peace? Finally, whereas hee was numbered among the transgressors, and yet prayed for them, notwithstanding that hee bare the sinnes of other men: what is it els but the crucifying of Iesus betweene the two theeues, and the very speech of the repentant theefe which sayde, As for vs, wee receiue worthely according to our deedes; but as for this man, what euill hath he done? Yea & the very prayer which Iesus made vpon the Crosse, saying, Lord forgiue them, for they knowe not what they do? Now, that the sayde text was vnderstod of Christ by the old Rabbines, the Iewes cannot denye. For Ionathas the Chaldee Paraphrast the sonne of Vziell, who liued about that time, expounded it of Christ by name. And whereas it is saide, In very deed he bare our infirmities, Ionathas translateth it, He shalbe heard at Gods hand for our faultes and for the loue of him our sinnes shalbe forgiuen. And vppon these wordes, We hid our faces away from him: He sayeth thus, R. Moyses Hadarsan. Gen. 24.

as though the countenance of the Godhead had bin withdrawen from him, becauſe he ſeemed ſo to our ſight, and we conſidered not what he was in deed. Wherupon Rabbi Vla ſaieth thus in the Talmud: Let him come, but let not me ſee him, and his ſo ſaying was for the extreme paynes which he knewe that Chriſt ſhould indure. And therefore they feyne that hee ſits bynding vp of his ſores at Rome-gate. Alſo in a certeine place where they inquire of the name of Chriſt, they ſay he ſhall be called Whight, as one couered with ſores of Leproſie, & they adde, according to this ſaying of Eſay: In very deed he bare our infirmities and tooke our ſinnes vpon him. And we tooke him as a Leaper, and as one wounded and caſt downe of God. Neuertheleſſe, that the Iewes (notwithſtanding the euidentneſſe of this Prophecie) ſhould not for all that beleeue, the Prophet himſelfe doeth prophecie in the ſame Chapter. For afore he enter into the matter of Chriſtes paſſion and death, he maketh this preface, ſaying: Who hath beleeued at the hearing of vs? or to whome hath the Lords arme bene diſcouered? And on the contrarie parte hée ſayeth to the Gentyles: Many men ſhall woonder for the Loue of him, and kinges ſhall ſhut their mouthes before him. They that haue not bene told of him ſhal ſee him, and they that haue not heard of him ſhall thinke aduiſedly on him. Vppon this ſo cléere a text, let vs here the inuentions of perſons that haue inbatteled themſelues againſt their owne Saluation. To turne this text from Jeſus Rabbi Selomoh and Dauid Kimhi (afore whom the ſayd wilfulneſſe of opinion was not among the Iewes) haue turned away from all the writers of former time, whome (notwithſtanding) they confeſſe to haue vnderſtood it of Chriſt, they paſſe not what they ſay, ſo they may ſtand vpon denyal. This text (ſay they) is not meant of Chriſt, but of the Iewiſh people afflicted by the Chaldees and the Romanes. And this ſerueth well to ſhewe what odds is betweene the iudgment of Reaſon and of Affection. For I preſume ſo much vpon their vnderſtanding, that if they had bene borne in the time of Ionathas the ſonne of Vziell, or at leaſt wiſe at any time afore the comming of Jeſus, they would haue bene vtterly of another mind. Then if the Prophet ſpeake of the afflicted children of Iſraell when he ſaith, He was deſpiſed of men, and we hid our faces frō him: Of whō I beſeech them is that ſaid which followeth without chang of perſon, namely, In very deed he bare our infirmities, and we tooke him to haue bene wounded of God, That is he was deſpiſed, iſ ment (ſay they) of the people of Iſrael. Then that he bare our infirmities muſt needs (ſay I) be meant of the people of Iſrael too. And what can be more fond, than to ſay ꝑ the people of Iſrael bare the infirmities of the people of Iſrael: eſpecially ſith it is ſayd immediatly, And by his ſtripes are we healed, which ſaying putteth an apparant differēce between the

Treatiſe Sanhedrim. Cha. Helec. Midraſch. Ruth. Rabbi Ioſes in the booke Siphrei. R. Iacob & R. Hamina. Cha. Helec.

Eſay. 53.

Eſay. 52.

The fond ſhifts of the Iewes.

Phiſtian

Phisition and the Patient, betweene the Sufferer and him that is eased by his suffering? Againe, what People or what Nation was euer benefited by ꝯ sufferings of the Israelites? To what purpose serueth this outcry of the Prophet, Who hath beleeued our word, if he haue no further meaning than that the Children of Israel bare their own paines? All of vs (saieth the Prophet forthwith haue gone astray like Sheepe. Who be these Sheepe that haue gone astray, but the Israelites, and among them the Prophet himself? And vpon him (saith he) hath the Lord cast the sinnes of vs all. If he cast them vpon Israell, what cause of wonder is there in not beleeuing it? For who doubteth but that euery man is worthie to beare the blame of his owne fault? But will any man gaynsay the Prophet himselfe, who expounded his owne meaning so plainely afterward? He was plucked vp out of the land of the liuing (saith he) and couered with wonds for the sinnes of my people. For who seeth not here a manifest countermatching betweene the people that are healed, & the partie that suffereth for the healing of them? betweene Israel whose sores are brought to a scarre, & the partie that beareth away his sores? The Prophet addeth, There was no vnrighteousnes in him, neither was any guyle found in his mouth. Surely there is pride in men, yea and euen in these men, and yet I can hardly beleeue, but that they would be ashamed to chalenge the verifyng of this text vpō themselues. And as for the people of Israel that were afflicted by the Chaldees; the Rabbines affirme that their first Temple was destroyed for their Idolatrie, Superstitie, and sheading of guiltlesse bloud. And concerning the second Temple which was destroyed by the Romanes, they say the cause thereof was the peoples couetousnesse, their hating of their neighbours without cause, & their selling of the righteous person. And whereas they reply, That the people of Israell suffered so much affliction at one season, as sufficed to discharge their successors that liued afterward in another season: surely besides that it is contrary both to the Iustice and to the mercie of God, that glose cannot be verified of any one lyne of the sayd text: but it appeareth by experience, that the afflictions which the people of Israell indured at the hands of the Chaldees, did not discharge them of Antiochus, nor the afflictiōs laid vpō them by Antiochus, defend the Iewish Church against the Romanes, nor the extreme outrages of the Romanes satisfie for the sinnes of that people, but that they be more scattered, & more brought in bondage, as well of moe sorts of masters, as of more sorts of slauerie at this day, than euer they were afore. Loe how one false & fond proposition procureth many fonder solutions.

But let vs here further, how this text is expounded by other of the Prophetes. Seuentie weekes (saith Daniel) are set downe for the ending of disobedience, & for the Sealing vp of sinne, & for the cleansing away Daniel. 9. v. 24 & 26.

of iniquitie and the bringing of righteousnes for euer. As how? For vnto the anoynted Prince (saith he) shalbe seuen weekes and threescore and twoo weekes, after which time the Anoynted shalbe slayne, and nothing shalbe left vnto him, and the Prince of a people to come shall destroy the citie, &c. Here ye see how Christ must dye, and namely for sinne according to this saying of Esay, He hath giuen his life for sinne. And (as I haue shewed already) Iesus was put to death euen the very same time. As touching the Circumstaunces of his death, They pearced my feete and my hands (saith Dauid) and parted my garments among them, and cast lots for my coate. We reade not that Dauid was serued so, but rather Iesus who was Crucified (howbeit that that kind of punishment was not vsed among the Iewes, but among the Romanes) and lottes were cast for his Coate: and the Euangelistes alledged this Text to the same purpose, as who would say, it was so vnderstoode in their time. And whereas in stead of *Caru*, that is to say, They pearced, the Iewes will needes reade *Caari*, that is to say, As a Lyon: their Massorethes, (who haue made a Register of all the Letters of the Scriptures) doe witnesse that in al good Copies it is written *Caru* they pearced. Also the threescore and twelue Interpreters haue translated into Greeke, ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου, &c. they haue pearsed my hands, &c. And the old Chaldee translater, hath ioyned both those readings in one, thus They haue peaced & thrust through my feete & my hands as a Lyon. They that vnderstand the Traditions of the Indians and Ethiopians, do witnesse the like: accordingly also as the Iewes themselues doe knowe by their owne readings, and are warned by their Nazarothes, that that sence is vnperfect. For as for the Chaldee Paraphrase of R. Ioseph the blinde, because he was about a three hundred and fortie yeeres after Iesus, wee admit him not for a Iudge: and besides that, he is dubble blinded with a blind mode which he brwaieth euery where against vs.

Also the Prophet, Zacharie sayeth, I will powre out the spirit of grace and mercy vpon the house of Dauid and vpon the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, and they shall looke vnto me whom they pearced. He that poureth out this spirit is God, He that is pearced is man, and both the one and the other togeither is Christ God and Man. And they themselues expound this text in the same sence concerning the Messias, that our Euangelists alledge it of Iesus that was striken into the side with a Speare, which surely had bene a fondnesse in them; (considering how fewe textes they alledge (if they had not bene commonly vnderstood to concerne the Messias. And it is allone with this which saith of the Rabbines to say in the Talmud, namely That Christ should be distressed as a woman that laboureth of Child, according as Ieremy saith, that he had greate anguishes to suffer, but that he should indure them willingly to

Psa. 22. v. 17

Zacharie. 12

Bereschith Rabba vpon Gen. cap. 42. The booke Succa: chap. Halchil. Iohn. 19. v. 37 The treatise Sanhedrim. Cap. Helec. Ieremie 30

deliuer men from sinne. And Rabbi Hadarsan saieth that Sathan should be an aduersarie to him and his Disciples, and therefore he applyeth vnto him a part of the third chapter of the lamentations of Ieremie. Also in the booke of Ruth, where it is written Eate thy bread and temper it with vineger: This bread (saith the Commentarie) is the bread of the Anoynted King or Messias, who shalbe broken for mens sinnes, & indure greate torments as it is written in Esay. And the Saint Rabbi saith, that Christ should deliuer mens soules frō hel by his death. Howbeit yet further, whereas it is sayd in Esay we be healed by his death: the auncient Cabalistes vnderstand it of Christ, and say that the Angels (who were ỹ teachers of our forefathers, as Raziel of Adam, Metatron of Moyses and so forth) had taught them that the cleansing awaye of sin should bee done vpon wood. And Rabbi Simeon Ben Iohai the first among them, writeth thus; Wo worth the Murtherers of Israell, for they shall kill Christ. God will send his sonne clothed in mans flesh to wash them, and they will kill him. Also Rabbi Iuda sayeth, That after a long breathing time, God will deliuer his name of twelue letters to Ieremy in writing after this maner, *Iehouah elohim emeth*, that is to say, The euerlasting God is trueth, & that he will wipe out the first Letter of the last word so as there shal remaine *Iehouah elohim meth*, that is to say, The euerlasting God is dead. And peraduenture it is there vpon, that Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy sayd, That Israel was not heard in the world, for want of knowing this name: that is to say, for want of praying vnto God by the Mediator Christ who died for vs. To bee short, Philo the Iewe, a very renowmed Author, handling this question, namely when the banished Israelites and Iewes should returne home, saith it should be at the death of a Highpriest. Howbeit finding himselfe graueled at this, that some liue longer than othersome, Surely I beleeue (sayth he) that this Highpriest shall not be a Man, but the word (the which he prayseth in infinit places) exempt from al sin both willing and vnwilling, who to his father hath God, and to his Mother the wisdom that is without beginning & without end. Wherby it appeareth that he had heard of Christ a Highpriest, who it behoued to be God ỹ Sonne of God, that he myght sanctifie, & like wise man that he might dye.

Rabbi Hadarsan vpō Ge. 1. Echarabeth. Chap. 3. Midrasch. Ruth. Cap. 2 vers. 14.

Esay. 51 Cabalistes.

R. Simeon ben Iohai Mirandulan in his Conclusions. R. Iuda in his book of Hope

Midrasch Tehilim.

Philo the Iew in his book of the banished. Looke before in the 6. chap.

As touching the starting hole which the newe Rabbines seeke, in that (contrarie to the whole course, both of their owne auncient writers and of the Scripture) in stede of one Christ God and Man, they make two Christes, the one the Sonne of Dauid the other the Sonne of Ioseph, saying that this latter (to whom they apply al the fayresaid Texts) shalbe slayne in battell, and afterward raysed againe by the Prayers of other: Surely let vs tell them as R. Moyses doth, that none other than only the sonne of Dauid, shal come with authoritie of Christ, howbeit that there

Obiection.

R. Moyses vpō the Iudges.

are two commings of Christ, the one in lowlines as Zacharie saieth Poore, Lowely, and Sauiourlyke; and the other in maiestie out of the Cloudes of the ayre as is described in Daniell: the one to Redéme, the other to iudge, as they themselues say vpon these words of Ecclesiastes, what is it that hath bene? The same that shalbe: where vpon they inferre, The last Redeemer is reuealed, and he that is hidden shall come yet once againe. To be short, here yée see, how in the end the stumbling blocke is turned into glorie. For as Christ died innocently, so shall he also rise againe & reigne for euer. Yea he shall rise againe: for it is written in the Psalme Thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption, which saying cannot be meant of Dauid, for he is dead & rotten in his graue, yea & he shalbe raised againe within the third day, for it is written, He wil quicken vs after two days, & in the third day wil he raise vs vp againe. Also he shall goe vp into Heauen, to sit at the right hand of GOD, for it is written, The Lord hath sayde to my Lorde, sit thou on my right hand. And all these Texts are so expounded by Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan, by Rabbi Hacadosch, by R. Ionathan the Sonne of Vziell and others: and they bee all accomplished in Iesus. For their owne writer Iosephus sayth In the time of Tiberius there was one Iesus, a wise man (at least wise if he was to be called a man) who was a worker of great miracles, and a teacher of such as loue the trueth, and had a greate trayne as well of Iewes as of Gentyles. Neuertheless, being accused vnto Pilate by the cheefe of the Iewes, he was crucified. But yet for all that, those which had loued him from the beginning, ceased not to continue still, For he shewed himself aliue vnto them a three dayes after his death as the Prophetes had foretold of him both this and diuers other things, And euen vnto this day doe those continue stil which after his name are called Christians. Certes then let vs conclude as this Iewe doth in the self same place, & in his owne words, This Iesus was in very deede the Christ. For as for the goodly tale, That Christs Disciples stole him out of his Graue, and that for feare they did cast him downe in a Gardyne where he was found afterward: the fondnesse and the fabulousnesse thereof appéreth in this, that whereas because he had sayde in his life time. Destroy this Temple, & in three days I wil raise it vp againe, And also, there shal none other signe be giuen vnto you but the signe of the Prophet Ionas, & so forth, thereupon ỹ Iewes caused Pilat to set a sure guard about ỹ sepulchre: Yet notwithstanding, Pilate, writing afterward to the Emperour Claudius, aduertised him of ỹ resurrectiõ of Iesus, so as ỹ greter & surer the guard was ỹ Pilate did set, the mo, & the stronger were the witnesses to proue ỹ Iewes liars in ỹ behalfe. Also the high Priestes being so inraged against Iesus as they were, would not haue sticked to haue hanged vp the said found Car-

Zachary.9. ver.4.
Daniel.7.
Midrasch Coheleth. Cap.1. vers.9.
Talmud treatise Sanhedrim.cap.Helec.
Psal.16.
Ose the 6.
Psal.110.
The booke Mechiltha.
R.Moyses Hadarsan vpon Genesis. Cap. 22.& 40
R.Isaac vpon Genesis.
The booke of Collections.
Iosephus in his Antiquity Lib.18.ca.4

kesse

kelle openly in ỳ market place, wherby they might haue abolished al the reputatiõ of Iesus out of hand. Againe on ỳ other side, the Apostles were men so afraid of death, so weakharted, so fœble in faith, & so vtterly without credit; that there is not any likelihood that they durst take the matter in hand. Nay (which more is) what benefite could they haue had by his dead Carkesse? what should it haue boted them to haue forgone their Children, their Wiues, yea and themselues too for such a one? Should they not rather haue had cause to haue bene offended at his cousinage, and thereupon bene the readier to haue condemned the remembrance of him themselues, and to haue turned al men away from him? Contrariwise, they preach nothing but his resurrection; for that are they contented to die; for that doe they teach other men to die; alonly by that do they hope to liue and die most blessedly; and of all the whole number of them, there was not so much as one that coulde be brought to say otherwise: nay rather which coulde be made to conceale it, and not to speake of it, thoughthey were let alone, yea or for any promise or threatning that the greatest personages in the worlde coulde make vnto them. Surely therefore, if euer any dœde were true, wee must needes say that this is it.

Finally Daniell saith; After that the Anointed is slaine, The Prince of a people to come, (that is to say, the Emperour of Rome) shall destroy the Citie and the Sanctuarie, and his ende shalbe in destruction, and vnto the end of the warre be desolations ordained. But he shall stablish his couenant with many in one weeke, and in halfe a weeke shal he cause the Sacrificing and Offering to ceasse. And to the same effect Iesus himselfe saith, Weepe for your selues and for your Children, and let them which are in Iewrie flee into the Mountaines. Abhomination shall abide in the holy place, and of the Temple one stone shall not be left vpon another. And yet neuertheless, this Gospell (saith he) shall be preached ouer al the world for a witnes to al Nations. Who can say that this was not accomplished within a while after the death of Iesus? And who seeth not yet still the remnants of this desolation vpon Hierusalem, and vpon al that people? Yea & moreouer, that this their vtter ruine and ouerthrow, is not to be fathered vpon any other thing, than vpon their putting of Iesus to death? Iesus was apprehended in Mount Oliuet: and from Mount Oliuet was Hierusalem besæged. He was crucified on the day of the Passouer; and on that day was the Citie entered into. Hee was whipped in the Romaine Emperours Pauilion by Pilat; and in the Emperours Pauilion were the Iewes whipped the by Romans for their pleasure. He was deliuered by them into the hands of the Gentiles and they themselues were scattered abroade into the whole world, to bee a skorning stocke to all Nations. Of these thinges and many other like

Daniel 9. Mat. 24. ver. 15

The destruction of Hierusalem.

Iosophus in his Antiq; lib. 20. cap. 6. 8. In the Iewish Warres. lib. 5. Cap 8. and lib 6. cap. 25. 27. 28. 47.

like doe the Rabbines complaine in their hiſtories, and the more they ſpeake of them, the more doe they confeſſe Gods Iudgement vpon them ſelues. For what elſe are al theſe thinges, but the execution of this their owne ſentence giuen vpon themſelues, His bloud be vpon vs and vpon our Children? Inſomuch that (as Ioſephus reporteth) when Titus ſaw the ſaid extremities, he lifted vp his eies to heauen and ſaide, Lorde thou knoweſt that my handes are cleare from all this bloud that is ſhed. And afterward when vpon the taking of the Citie, he had conſidered the force and ſtrength of the place and the people; he ſaid, In very deede God hath fought on our ſide in the taking of this Citie, for otherwiſe what power could euer haue wonne it? Alſo the Temple was burnt downe, though he did what he could to haue ſaued it, becauſe (ſaith Ioſephus) the vnſchuable day of the deſtruction thereof was come. Likewiſe the Citie was raſed, caſt vpon heapes, and made leuel with the ground, as if neuer man had dwelt there; and ten hundred thouſand men were put to the ſworde within it; which thing we reade not to haue bene done to any other Citie taken by the Romanes. To be ſhort, the ſignes that went afore, and the voice that gaue warning from heauen, and the opening of the Temple of it owne accord, ſeemed to be forefælings of Gods wrath that was to light vpon them. Againe, the Fountaine of Silo which was dryed vp afore, ſwelled vp to giue water to the Romane hoſte. Inſomuch that their owne Hiſtory writer, beholding ſo many recordes of Gods wrath, was in maner conſtreyned to come ſomewhat nigh the cauſe thereof, which he affirmeth to be, that the bighpriеſt Ananus had vniuſtly & haſtily cauſed Iames the brother of Ieſus to be ſtoned to death, & certaine others with him, to the great griefe of Good men, and of ſuch as loued the Lawe. To the which purpoſe alſo may this ſaying of the notableſt of their Rabbines be applied, That the ſecond Temple was deſtroyed for their ſelling of the Righteous, & for hating him without cauſe; according to this ſaying of Ieſus concerning them, They haue hated me without cauſe.

Philo againſt Flaccus.

The Talmud concerning the deſtruction of Hieruſalem.

Ioſephus, in the Warres of the Iewes. lib. 7. cap. 9. 12. 14. 16.

Iohn. 16.

And wheras ſome Iewes at this day do ſay, that they be puniſhed becauſe ſome of them receiued this Ieſus for ỳ Chriſt: there is no likihood of trueth in it. For conſidering that Gods maner is, to ſaue a whole Citie for ſome ten good mens ſakes, if they be found in it: hee would much rather haue ſaued his owne people for ſo many mens ſakes, being the chiefe and repreſenting the ſtate of the Realme of Iewrie, which did put their handes to the accuſing of Ieſus; and for ſo great a multitudes ſake, which cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucifie him. And if God confirmed the Prieſthood vnto Phinees, for his zealouſneſſe in puniſhing a ſimple Iſraelite: what thinke you your ſelues to haue deſerued, for crucifying (as you beare your ſelues on hand) an enemie of God,

one

one that named himselfe Christ the Lordes Anoynted, yea and which said he was very God himselfe? Yet notwithstanding in the middes of all these calamities, the Citie and Temple of this Iesus were builded vp, first in Iewrie it selfe, and afterward in the whole world; and according to Daniels Prophesie, the Couenant of Saluation was stablished among all Nations by the preaching of his Apostles; and the Sacrifices of the Iewes were then put downe, and neuer any where reuiued againe since that time. And within a while after, the verie Idolatries of the Gentiles, which had possessed the whole world, were likewise dashed also, as we shall see hereafter. Whereof Rabbi Hadarsan writing vpon Daniell seemeth to haue giuen some inckling, in that he saith, Halfe a weeke, that is to say, three yeares and a halfe, shal make an end of Sacrificing. And so doth R. Iohanan in that he saith, Three yeares and a halfe hath the presence of the Lord cried out vpon Mount Oliuet, saying, Seeke God while he may be found, and call vpon him while he is nere hand. And vpon the Psalmes it is said, That by the space of three yearsand a halfe God would teach his Church in his owne person. Now it is manifestly knowne, that Iesus preached betweene three and fowre yeares about Hierusalem, and that his preaching was pursued and continued afterward by his Apostles. R. Hadarsan vpon Daniell. Midrasch Thehulim.

So then, we haue in the prophets a Christ the sonne of God, which was to be borne of a Virgin, in the end of the threescore and ten weekes mentioned in Daniell, at Bethleem in Iewrie; whom being forgone by an Elias, it behoued to preach the kingdome of God, to die a reprochfull death to mans Saluation, and to rise againe with glorie; shortly wherupon should followe the destruction of Hierusalem and of the Temple. And at the very selfesame time, we haue in our Gospels and in the stories of the Iewes themselues, one Iesus the sonne of God, borne of the Virgine Marie, at Bethleem in Iewrie, who being foregone by Iohn the Baptist, preached the kingdome of Heauen both in word and deede, was crucified at Hierusalem, beleeued on by the Gentiles, and reuenged by the ouerthrowe and destruction of the Temple. And all these circumstances and markes are so peculiar vnto him, that they can by no meanes agree to any other. Wherfore let vs conclude, that this Iesus is the very same Christ that was promised from time to time in the Scriptures, and exhibited in his due time according to our Gospel. For that is the thing which we had to proue in these last two Chapters.

The

The xxxj. Chapter.

An answere to the Obiections which the Iewes alledge against Iesus, why they shoulde not receiue him for the Christ or Messias

NOw let vs examine the obiections of the Iewes, and see what they can say against the Testimonie of all the Prophetes, which agreeth fitly to Iesus, and can agree to none but him. First, if Iesus (say they) were the Christ; who shoulde haue knowen and receiued him, rather than the great Synagogue which was at that time? This obiection is very old; for in the Gospel the Pharisies say, Do any of the Pharisies or chiefe Rulers beleeue in him, saue onely this rascall people which knowe not the Lawe, who be accursed? Here I might alledge Simeon surnamed the righteous, a Disciple of Hillels, who had serued fortie yeares in the Sanctuarie, how he acknowledged Iesus for the Sauiour of Israell and the light of the Gentiles; in the which Simeon the Iewes themselues confesse that Spirit of GOD to haue failed, which was wont to inspire the great Synagogue and inspired him still duting all his life. Also I coulde alledge Iohn the Baptist, whom they called the great Rabbi Iohanan, who acknowledging Iesus to be the sonne of GOD sent his Disciples vnto him: And likewise Gamaliel, whom in the Actes of the Apostles we reade to haue said, If this Doctrine be of God, it will continue; if not, it wil perish; and in Clement, to haue beene a Disciple of the Apostles; & in their owne bookes, to haue beene the Disciple of the said Simeon: And finally S. Paule himselfe, a disciple of the saide Gamaliel, sothly a very great man, and of great fauour and authoritie among them; of whom they cannot in any wise mistrust. To be short, Iosephus reporteth ꝑ this Iesus was followed among the Iewes, of al such as loued the trueth, & that as many as loued the Law, did greatly blame Annas the highpriest, for causing ꝑ disciples of Iesus to be put to death. Also R. Nehumia the sonne of Hacana hauing recounted the myracles of Iesus) within a litle of whose time he was) saith expressly, I am one of those which haue beleeued in him, and haue beene baptized.

Obiection, that he must haue beene knowen.

Iohn.7.ver.48

Luke.2.

Act 5 38.

Talmud. treatise Perkei auoth.

R. Nehumia.

and

and haue walked in the right way. Likewise the D. Rabbi seemeth to haue held of Iesus, and if he did not, then is it yet more wonderfull than if he had knowen him, considering that he seemeth to describe this Iesus by the selfesame circumstances that the very Christ is described by him. But without any standing vpon that point, I say further to them, That whereas the Synagogue receiued not Iesus for the Messias their so doing is a token that he was the verie Messias in deede: and that their receiuing of Barcozba for the Messias, was a sure proofe that Barcozba was not the Messias. For it is expressly saide by the Prophetes, that when the Messias came vnto them, they should be so blind as not to knowe him, and so vnthankful as to despise him. The stone (saith Dauid) which the builders refused, is become the chiefe corner stone, and that is a maruelous thing in our eies. And this saying doth Iesus interpret concerning the kingdome of heauen, which should be taken from the Iewes for their refusing thereof. Also this text is applied to the Messias by R. Ionathan, yea and by R. Selomoh also (as great an enemie to Christ as he is) who writing vpon Micheas saith that Christ (by expresse name) should be borne in Bethleem: and which way so euer they turne themselues, they can gather none other sence of that place. Heruponcommeth it that the yong babes cry out in ỹ Gospel, Hosanna which commeth in the name of the Lord; which is the verse that followeth next after this place of Esay, Go tell this people, Heare and vnderstand not, Looke and see not. Harden the heart of this people, stoppe their eares, and close their eies, least they see with their eies, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heartes, and turne againe, and I heale them. How long? Euen all their Cities be desolate without inhabitants (saith the Lord) and the houses without any man in them, and the land be a wildernesse. Yet shall a Tythe remaine and turne againe, and be made bare as a Turpentine tree and an Oke, whose sap neuertheless shall continue in them. And if ye desire the interpretation hereof, beholde, it is readie at hand in the same Prophet. For going about to describe with what humilitie and simplicitie Christe shoulde come to suffer for vs, (whom these greate Rabbines looked for to haue come in triumph to content their pride and ambition) Who hath beleeued our preaching (saith he) or to whome is the Lordes arme discouered? That is to say, of so greate a number of Iewes which looke for the Messias, howe fewe shall there be that will beleeue him, when they see him come after such fashion as I am to describe him vnto them? But surely (saith he) Those to whom he had neuer beene declared shall see him, and those that neuer heard of him shall consider him. This text (as I haue declared often heretofore) is expounded by the Iewes themselues concerning the Messias. Also Zacharie saith, I will poure

There were two Rabbies of the name of Hacadosch both called Sainctes: the one liuing vnder Antiochus, and the other vnder the Emperour Antonine.

Psal.11.ver.22. Esay.28 ve.16 Math.21.ver. 42. Micheas.5. vers.2.

Esay.6.ver.13.

powre out the ſpirit of grace and mercie vpon the houſe of Dauid, and vpon the inhabiters of Hieruſalem, and they ſhal looke vnto me whom they haue pearced. This Hieruſalem (ſay I) and this houſe of Dauid whereupon God wil powre out his grace and mercie, are the very ſame which ſhall pearce his Anointed and crucifie him, after the ſame maner that they martired Eſay, Ieremie and Zacharie, and tormented all the reſt of the Prophets, according whereunto our Lorde Ieſus ſaide vnto them, It is not meete that any Prophet ſhould die elſewhere than at Hieruſalem. Now they muſt nedes graunt, that if they were to kill him, they were not to knowe him: for who durſt be ſo preſumptuous as to lay his hande wittingly vpon the Lordes Anointed? And thoſe wordes alſo do they expounde to concerne the Meſſias. To be ſhort, Moyſes ſaith; The ſtraunger that is among thee ſhalbe thy head, and thou ſhalt be his taile; he ſhall be aduanced aboue thee, and thou ſhalt be his vnderling. And Eſay ſaith, Becauſe of the ſinne of Iuda, I wil ſeeke out thoſe which haue not ſought for mee, and I will be found of them which haue not enquired for me. I will giue a better place in my Temple to the Gelded men and Straungers, than to the ſonnes and daughters of Iſraell.

Deut.28.

Ieue.3.verſ.14.

And it is an ordinarie matter among the Prophets, to vſe ſuch ſpeeches as this, Thoſe which are my people, ſhall no more be my people: and they which were not my people ſhalbe my people, and ſuch other. And ſeldome do they ſpeake any word of the calling of the Gentiles, but they match it immediatly with the caſting off of the Iewes for their refuſing of Chriſt, like as ye cannot wel make mention of the grafting of a tree with a ſtraunge Impe or ſien, but ye muſt alſo ſpeake of the cutting off of the boughes to make place for it. To to the ſame effect do R. Samai and R. Selomoh ſay, It is ſaid in Ieremie, I will take one out of a Citie, and two out of a Tribe, and make them to enter into Sion, becauſe (adde they) that as of ſixehundred thouſand Iſraelites, only two (that is to wit, Ioſua and Caleb) entered into Chanaan; ſo ſhall it be alſo in the daies of the Meſſias. And the ſonnes of Rabbi Hija affirme. That the Meſſias ſhalbe a ſtone to ſtumble at vnto the two houſes of Iſraell, and a Snare of the Inhabiters of Hieruſalem, and they deliuer it for a great ſecret. Alſo R. Iohanan and R. Iacob, ſay that the Gentiles ſhall be put in place of the Iewes that haue refuſed the Lord, as the Horſe is put in the place of an Oxe that halteth. And whereas I haue ſaid that Gods ſpirit ſhould be withdrawn from the Synagogue for their iniquities ſake. Rabbi Iudas ſaith, that when the ſonne of Dauid commeth, there ſhalbe fewe wiſe men in Iſraell, and the wiſedome of the Scribes ſhall ſtinke, and the Schooles of Diuinitie ſhal become Brothelhouſes: which accordeth with this ſaying of our Lorde Ieſus, Of a houſe of praier ye haue made my houſe a denne of theeues. And R. Nehoray ſaith that

Talmud. Treatiſe Sanhedrim Cap. Helec.

Talmud. Trea: Sanhedrim, Ch. Dinei Mammoneth. R. Iohanan & R Iacob. chap. Helec.

mens

mens countenances shall at that time be past shame. And R. Nehemias writeth, that wickednesse shalbe multiplied without measure, and there shal be nothing but vntowardnes & Heresie; insomuch that (as saith R. Natronai,) They shall say that the miracles which the messias shall worke, are done by Magicke and by vncleane Spirits. To be short, Ieremie saith, The Shepheardes are become beastes, and haue not sought the Lord. And in another place, They haue made my sheep to go astray, and turned them away to the mountaines. And the Rabbines to confirme the matter, say thus: If our predecessors were the Children of men, we be the Children of Asses; and surely (saith R. Menahem,) the shee Asse of R. Pinehas is wiser than we. But to come backe again to the Prophesie of Esay, The Oxe (saith he) knoweth his owner, and the Asse knoweth his maisters Crib, but my people knowe not mee, they haue no vnderstanding. And in very deede whosoeuer doubteth yet still what spirit gouerned the Teachers of the Iewes from this time forth; let him reade but onely their Talmud, which is such a booke, that God (say they) studieth in it euery first fower howers of the day: And when Hierusalem was destroyed, he left himselfe three cubits space whereon to sit & reade in the Talmud, which yet notwithstanding was not then made. Besides this, they make GOD (in that booke) to bewaile the miseries of Israell, to be angrie at the combe of a Cocke, to lie, and to commit sinne and so forth; so that if a man might haue looked into the consciences of those Rabbines, I beleeue he should haue seene that they made not so good account of GOD as of themselues. As for the Scriptures, they expound not one text of them among a hundred to the purpose, no nor scarsly without blasphemie, sauing where they follow or alledge the Rabbines of olde time. The residue are either toyes, or olde wiues tales, or horrible blasphemies, or things either too fond for Children or too wicked for men, and such as euen the Diuel himselfe would be ashamed of. To be short, I cannot tell how they that write that booke could be Iewes; or how the reading of it now should not make them all become Christians.

Talmud. Sanhedrim Helec R. Moyses Hadarsan vpon the. 74 Psalm.

Ieremy. 10. ver. 21. & 30. ver. 6.

Yet they reply still and say: What likelihood is there that this Iesus was the Messias, comming so attired as he did? Or were not we (at least wise) worthy to be excused for not knowing him, comming disguised after that maner? Nay, I demaund of you, after what other sort he could or should come, considering that he came to humble himself & to be crucified for vs? You looked to haue had him princelike, and he was forepromised poore: a Warriour; and it was told you he should be beaten and wounded: with a great traine, and he is described alone vpon an Asse: with a company of wiues, and there was no mo spoken of but only one: with triumphing and feasting, and ye were informed aforehands that

Esay 1. An obiection concerning the baseneſſe of Iesus.

that his bread should be steped in vinegar, and his Cuppe be full of gall and bitternesse. You imagine vnder him, either the Peace of Salomon, or the Conquests of great Alexander: peace to manure Iewrie at your ease, and Warre to reape the riches of the Gentiles. But he came to appease Gods wrath, and to vanquish the Diuell; and thenceforth to make Iewes and Gentiles equall. Of these two commings which is most mete, both for Gods glorie, and for his owne? Admit he had the Empyre of Cyrus and Alexander; admit he had al the power and riches of all the Kingdomes that euer were in the world; what were all this but a witnesse of his want, and an abatement of his glorie? As for example; Moyses led Sixhundred thousand fighting men out of Aegypt, and with the stroke of his rod he passed the red Sea and drowned the Aegyptians therein. Now in whether had Gods glorie more appeared, and the calling of Moyses beene better warranted by his winning of a battell against the Aegyptians with so great a number of men, or by ouerthrowing them with one stroke of a rod? In reducing the King to reason by force of armes, or in making him to seke mercie by an host of fleas and lice? Let vs come now to Christ. He was to subdue the world vnder his obedience. Whether was it more to his glorie & more correspondent to his Godhead, to haue done it by inuesting himselfe in an Empyre, or by ridding himselfe of all worldly meanes, by force of armes, or by his onely word? By conquering men with shew of pomp, or by winning them with suffering reproch at their hand? By triumphing ouer them, or by beeing crucified by them? By being aliue, or euen by being dead? By killing his enemies, or by yelding vnto them? By ouerthrowing his foes; or by sending his seruants to suffer whatsoeuer they would doe vnto them? For who seth not, that in the victories of Princes, their men be partakers with them of their glorie? And that in battels betweene men, the Horse and the speare haue their part? And that oftentimes the hardnesse and the verie shadowe of the Crestes of their helmetes (as ye would say) do step in for a share? Surely therefore, we may well say, that Iesus could not haue shewed his Godhead better, than in comming like an abiect and miserable man; nor his strength better, than in comming in feblenesse; nor his might, than in infirmitie; nor his glorie, than in despisednesse; nor his eternitie, than in dying; nor his rising againe, than in being buried; nor his whole presence, than in going his way hence; nor finally his quickning life, than in conquering the world by the death of his Disciples. For had he come otherwise, man had had the glorie thereof: the stronglier he had come, the lesse had beene his victorie: and the more pompe he had pretended outwardly, the lesse had he alwaies vttered his Godhead, and the more excusable had both the Iewes and Gentiles beene in not receiuing him.

To

To be short, will ye see that he was the same son of God, which was present with God at the creating of the world? God created the world without matter or stuffe whereof, and without helpe, by his onely word: And Iesus being destitute of all helpe and meane, hath conquered the world with his only word, euen by his owne death, which seemeth to haue bene a cleare dispatch of him? What greater Maiestie or greatnesse can we imagine than this?

Yea but (say they) where be the signes promised by the Prophetes? and specially the euerlasting peace which Christ was to bring vnto the world, which should turne Swordes into Mattocks and Speares into Coulters? To this we may answer, that Iesus was borne vnder the Emperour Augustus, at which time the Hystories tel vs, that the Temple of Ianus of Rome was shut vppe, and all the worlde was at peace throughout, as who would say that by that meane God meant to open a free way to the preaching of his Gospel. But let them first of al marke here their owne contrarietie of speech: in that they require of vs here a generall peace, and in other places speake of battles against Gog and Magog, and of the bathing of themselues in the blood of the Gentiles, insomuch as they say that their second Messias the sonne of Ioseph, shall be slaine in battle. May, as he is a spirituall King, so be his warres and peace spirituall also. Esay calleth him a man of warre: but of his wars he saith, They shall turne their swordes into Coulters. On the contrarie part he calleth him the Prince of peace: but of such peace whereof it is said; The chastisement of our peace was laid vpon him, and by his stripes are we healed: that is to wit, he was wounded for our misdeeds and torne for our iniquities. To be short, Micheas saith, He himselfe shalbe the peace. Neuertheless, to the intent ye should not thinke he meaneth of your manuring of your grounds and of your dressing of your Vineyards; yet shal not the Assyrian (saith he) cease to come into our Land, & to march in our Palaces. And therfore doth Ieremie wel say, He shal breake the yoke from thy necke, & burst asunder thy bonds: howbeit (as he expounded himselfe in another place,) in such sort as thou shalt not serue straunge Gods any more: that is to say, he wil both winne vs victorie and be our victorie himself against the Deuil, & also both purchase vs peace and be our peace vnto God, according to this which he saith another where: The Euerlasting will be our righteousnes. And in trueth, in the booke of Sabbath where these texts are examined, Rabbi Eliezer saith plainelie, That warres shall not cease at the first comming of the Messias, but onely at his second comming, that is to wit, when he commeth in glorie to iudge the world.

An obiection that the signes promised by the Prophets are not come to passe.

Esay.2.

Esay.9.&35.

Micheas.5. ver.5.

Ieremie.30.& 35.

Talmud in the treatise Sabbath.

Of the same stampe are the obiections that followe. It is written (say they) that Mount Oliuet shall be split asunder in the middes, and

Zacharie.14. vers.4.

the one halfe fall towards the East and the other halfe towards the West: which thing we see not yet come to passe. Well, they cannot denie but that this text speaketh plainely of the destruction of Hierusalem: and if they will needs followe the letter, they shall see in their owne histories, that when the Romanes besieged the Citie, they made their trenches on that side. Againe, it is said, That the Lordes hill shalbe aduaunced aboue al hilles; and thereupon they dreame that Hierusalem shalbe hoysted vp three leagues into the aire. But these people which otherwhiles delight so much in Allegories, ought to vnderstand these, euen by the text it selfe. For (saith the Prophet) folke shall say let vs goe vp to Sion and God will there teach vs his waies: The Lawe shall come out of Sion and the word of the Lord from Hierusalem. And I pray you when came they better out, than when the Apostles of Iesus did spread them abroads from Hierusalem through the whole world? And therefore Rabbi Selomoh saith vpon those texts, that the Lord should at that time be magnified in Hierusalem, by a greater signe, than he was in Sinai, Carmel, and Thabor. And Rabbi Abraham the sonne of Ezra saith, that this Aduanced hill is the Messias, who shalbe highly aduaunced among the Gentiles. Also it is said in Esay; The Woolfe shal feed with the Lambe: and in Malachie, The Angell of the Lord shall make the waies plaine: which things (say they) we see not yet performed, nor many other such like. But yet both Rabbi Moyses Ben Maimon their great teacher of Righteousnesse say; Let it neuer come in thy heade, that in the time of Christ the course of the world shall any whit be chaunged: but when thou readest in Esay, that the Woolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, call to minde how Ieremie saith, A Woolfe of the wildernes hath wasted them, and a Leopard watcheth at their Cities, to snatch vp them that come out. For the meaning thereof is, that both Iewes and Gentiles shalbe conuerted to the true doctrine, and not hurt one another, but feed both together at one Crib, according to this saying of Esay in the verie same place, The Woolfe shall eate Hay with the Oxe. And after that maner (saith he) must we expound all such maner of speeches, which belong to the time of Christ: for they be parabolicall and figuratiue. Of the same sort also is the exposition of Rabbi Dauid Kimhi, howbeit that ordinarily he followed the Letter, and the translation of Ionathan himselfe. And as touching the Angell or Ambassador that should seuell the waies mentioned in the text of Malachie: The meaning therof (saith Ramban) is that a great Prince shalbee sent afore the Messias come, to prepare the hartes of the Israelites to the bargell. But Malachie expoundeth himselfe more fully in these wordes: He shal turne the hearts of the fathers to their Children: that is to say, he shall exhort Israell to repentance.

R. Iohanan in the treat. Baua Bathra. Midrasch. Psal 86. Zacharie. 4. Esay. 2. and Micheas. 4

R. Selomoh & R. Abraham ben Esra vpon Esay. 2. and Micheas. 4. Esay. 11. Malachie. 3.

Rabbi Moyses Ben Maimon. vpon Deut. in the Lawes concerning Kinges and Warres. Ieremie. 5.

The Obiections that insue hereafter haue a litle more weight in them. It is written, I will destroy all the Idoles of the earth. Also, I will hungerstarue all the Gods of the Gentiles. And againe, They shall all serue me with one shoulder. Would God that the abuses which are crept into the Christian Church against Christes ordinance, were not so great a Stumblingblocke to the Iewes. Neuertheless, let them consider the great number of Gods worshipped by the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes and Romanes, at what time euery Countrey, euery Citie, euery Household, and euery person had his peculiar God and his Idols by himselfe: and they shal find that within a litle while after the Apostles had preached the doctrine of Iesus to the world, they were al gone, and not so much as any remembrance of them had nowe remained, but that in publishing the glorie of God, we had also declared their ouerthrowe. Let them reade the Histories of the Heathen and aske of them what is become of their Oracles, I meane the Diuelles which held them in with their Lies and Dreames, and would not be pacified but with the Sacrificing of men, yea and euen of their owne Children: and of al those wickednesses, which had taken rote al the world throughout, can they now shew any print at al? Euen in the time of Tiberius began men to aske these questions, namely what was the cause that Oracles spake not any more; that Deuils wrought not as they had done aforetimes; And that their Priests wanted liuing: And the Heathen themselues were driuen to answere, that since the time that Iesus had died, and his Disciples had preached abroade, Arte Magicke and the Deuils had lost their power. So sodaine, so vniuersall, and so wonderfull to our very enemies was the chaunge in that time; and of so great force was the only name of Iesus in the mouth of those poore men, against Kinges and Emperors, against their Kingdomes and Empyres, and against the vpholders and worshippers both of the Deuils and of their Idols.

An obiection that Idolatrie should ceasse. Esay. 2. Zach. 13 Sophony. 3.

For briefenesse sake I omit this Obiection following and such other; as that all Nations haue not followed Iesus. For the Prophetes haue tolde vs, that but a remnant shall be saued: and Iesus himselfe saieth that Many be called, and fewe chosen. And it sufficeth that the voice of the Gospell hath bene heard ouer all the world, and that the gate of the Church is set open to all Nations. Againe, to come to an issue, they know that the word *Col* [that is to say All] betokeneth not that al men without exception shall follow him, but that all Nations without difference shall be his people. Againe, the seede of Christ (say they) shoulde be euerlasting: but we see not the seede of Iesus to be so. They say verie wel, in that by the word Seede, they meane Christs Disciples; & in their owne language they terme them Sonnes or Children: & thanks be to the Lord, there are Disciples of his stil, euery where through ỹ whole world.

An Obiection against the alteration of Religiõ made by Christ.

But the principal Obiection remaineth yet behinde, and that is this: If Iesus be the Sonne of God, (say they) why chaungeth he the Law of God his father deliuered by Moyses, being (as hath bene said alreadie) both holy and inuiolable, which who so doth, how can he be receiued for the Messias? Surely in this point where they charge Iesus with the changing and abolishing of the Lawe; we be flat contrarie to them; affirming that he did not chaunge it or abolish it, but more planely expounded it & fulfilled it. Nay say they, Circumcision was expressly comanded by God vnto Abraham, and afterward to Moyses: and why then hath Iesus abolished it? In deede that is the thing which doth alwaies deceiue them; namely, that they take the signe for the thing signified, and the shadowe for the substance and trueth of the promises. But we say that Circumcision was a signe or seale of the Couenant, and not the Couenant it selfe, and the best of the Iewes deny it not themselues. And yet Moyses saith: When the Lord shal haue cast thee out of the vttermost partes of the earth, yet will he bring thee home againe into the land which thy fathers possessed, and he wil circumcise thy heart and the heart of thy Children, that thou maist loue the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soule, and that thou maiest liue. And in another place he saith: Circumcise the foreskinne of your heartes, and harden not your neckes any more. And when the Prophets rebuke vs, they call vs not simply vncircumcised, but vncircumcised of harte or of lippes. The which ought to aduertise you that the signe is fleshly, but the thing signified (that is to wit, the couenant) is spirituall; and that it would behoue you to enter into the Marow of the Law, and not to bite about the barke of it. To be short, the Cabale it self giueth vs to vnderstand that Christ shall cure the venome of the Serpent, make a newe couenant, and take away the necessitie of Circumcision. As touching sacrifices, I haue declaared already heretofore that they were signes. It is said that they shal cleanse away the sins of the congregation. How may that be, if we go no further than to the blood of a Lambe, or to the sprinckling of the ashes of a Cowe? And therefore Dauid saith: Thou desirest not Sacrifice for sinne, and therefore will I not giue thee any. And God himselfe saith: I blame the not for that thou hast giuen me no burnt offeringes. Also in Esay: Who required these things of you? As for these sacrifices, these new Moones, these Sabbats, & these solemn feasts, they loth me, they burden me, & I cānot wel away with them. Moreouer Micheas saith: If thou gauest thousands of thy sheepe, & Riuers of Oyle, yea & thine eldest son, euen the son of thine own body begotten, for thy sin: all this is nothing before the Lord. Nay, (saith Esay) the offering of an Oxe is as the murthering of a mā, & the offering vp of a sheep is as the snatching of a Dog, & the burning of Incense is as the blessing of an Idol.

Deut. 30. & 10. Ieremie. 4.

The Cabale by the report of Picus Earle of Mirandula.

Psal. 49. and 50

Esay. 1. & 58. & 66.

Micheas. 6.

All

All which sayings doe vs to vnderstand, that the Sacrifices were not the very thinges themselues but onely signes of things, that is to wit, partly of the lustes and affections which we feele in our heartes, and partly of the Saluation which we loke for by the Messias; and that if we passe no further thā the bare sacrifices, they be vtterly vnprofitable. But Dauid saith: The Sacrifice of the Lord, is a broken and lowly heart. And Esay saith, Wash your selues, scoure away the naughtinesse of your harts, doe right to the fatherlesse and the widowe. Also Micheas saith, Deale vprightly, and shewe mercie. These be the Sacrifices which GOD requireth at euerie of our handes, and which were betokened in the particular Sacrifices, by the Bowels, Kidneis, Liuer, and such other partes which were wont to be burned vpon the Altar. And as touching the generall Sacrifices and such as were more solemne, they betokened that vniuersall Sacrifice for the sinne of mankinde which GOD had ordained euerlastingly, that is to wit, the death of the Messias. For that those Sacrifices should haue an ende, namely, the signe by the presence of the thing signified, the figure by the presence of the substance, and the shadowe by the presence of the bodie, we perceiue by these wordes of Daniell; From the time that the continuall Sacrifice is taken away, there shall bee a thousande two hundred fowerscore and tenne daies. Daniel.12. vers. 11.

And that it should be done by the death of Christ, it appeareth by this which he had said afore, After threescore and two weekes Christ shalbe killed, and in halfe a weeke he shall cause the sacrifice and Offering to ceasse; and for the outreaching of abhominations, there shalbe desolation vnto the ende. Daniel.9.

And whereas Malachie hauing reproued Sacrifices very sharpely, saith; From the Sunne rising to the Sunne going downe, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and Incense and pure Oblations shalbe offered euerywhere in my name: It cannot be vnderstood of the Sacrifices ordained by the Iewish Lawe, but rather of the abolishing of them, and of all other signes, by the Messias. For if the Gentiles must Sacrifice vnto him according to the Lawe; then must they come to Hierusalem to the Temple there. And if it be so, what Courte will be large enough to holde the Sacrifices? What shall all Hierusalem be but a verie Slaughterhouse and Butcherie? Malachy.1.

Nay moreouer, the Prophet saith that they shal offer euerywhere; which thing bewraieth an euident change: for a pure or cleane Oblation, which putteth a difference betweene their Offerings, and the bloodie Sacrifices of the Law. And after that the Prophet hath said, My name shalbe great among the Gentiles: he addeth immediatly; But ye haue vnhallowed it. Which is as much to say, as that the Gentiles shalbe these Priests euery man in his owne place, & they shal not need to come to you Iewes for the matter. To be short, as touching the sacrifices, some of the Rabbines

say, They shal ceasse, sauing the Sacrifice of praise and thankesgiuing.
Midrasch. Nomber.13. Marke.2. And as touching the Sabbath; He that bringeth the Commandement from God, (say they) may also breake it: whereunto our Lord Jesus agreeing, saith, The sonne of man is Lord of the Sabboth. And as touching the difference betweene Beastes cleane and vncleane, All Beastes (say they) which are counted vncleane in this age, shall be counted cleane by the vertue of God in the age to come, that is to wit vnder the
R. Hadarsan vpon Gen.42. and 49. Messias, as they were to the Children of Noe. And thereof they adde this reason, That Gods inioyning thereof for a time, was but to trie who they were that would obey his word. The same doth Rabbi Hadarsan affirme, saying; There is not a more expresse Lawe, than that which concerneth the monethly disease of women; and yet shal that ceasse in the reigne of him: [that is to say, of the Messias.] And it is not for them to alledge hers, that concerning the Circumcision, the Sabboth, the feast of Easter, and such others, it is said that they shal be *legnolam*: that is to say by their interpretation, for euer. For we haue learned of
Leuit.8.& 15. Deut.15, them, that the word *legnolam*, signifieth not for euer, but a long time; and a time of long continuance without intermission or breaking of, rather than a continuance of time without end. And in that sence doe we reade it said of Samuell; He shall abide in the presence of the Lord *legnolam* for euer; Upon which place the Commentarie saith, It is an age
Midrasch. of the Leuites or a Leuiticall age, that is to say, the continuance of fiftie yeares. Likewise, of the seruant whose eare his maister boared through it is said; He shalbe thy seruant *legnolam* for euer: in which place the Commentarie saith, Vntil the yeare of Iubile. And therefore their great
R. Dauid Kimhi in his booke of Roctes. Prouerb. 22. Grammarian Rabbi Kimhi saith, that *legnolam* signifieth a long time, according to the saying in the Prouerbes, The old bound or buttel that hath continued of long time; where he vseth the word *legnolam*. The words whereby the Hebrewes vse commonly to betoken a time without end, are these *gnad netsach*, and *selah*, and *legnolam vaged*.

But that God ment by the sending of his sonne Christ to make a new Couenant with his people, as farre differing from the first Couenant
Ierem.31.ver. 31.32.37. as the thing figured differeth from the figure, let vs heare Ieremie in his one and thirtieth Chapter. Behold, the day shall come (saith the Lord) that I will make a newe Couenant with the House of Israell, and the House of Dauid; not according to the Couenant that I made with their fathers, when I tooke them by the hande and led them out of the land of Aegypt, which Couenant they haue disanulled though I was maried vnto them: but the Couenant that I will make with the after those daies (saith the Lord) is this; I wil plant my Law within them & write it in their hearts, and I wil be their God and they shalbe my people. Euery man shal not teach his neighbour any more, nor euery man his brother, saying,

saying, Know the Lord; for they shall know me from the greatest to the least. And I will forgiue their vnrighteousnesse, and their sinne will I remember no more. And that this was ment of the comming of the Messias, it appeareth plaine. For he had said afore, The Lord will create a newe thing vpon the Earth; a woman shal compasse a man about. Also that by the House of Israell be ment al such as should be grafted into ỹ house by the comming of Christ, it appeareth in this, that hauing spoken of the peopling of Israell, he said afore, I wil sowe the house of Israel and the house of Iuda with the seede of Man; and after that maner do the Rabbines themselues alledge it. And therefore doth Ionathan say vpon Esay, Ye shall drawe waters of gladnesse out of the welsprings of saluation, that is to say, you shall receiue newe doctrine of gladnesse by the chosen ones of the Righteous, that is to wit, of Christ; of whom the Prophet had said in the Chapter going last afore, God is my safety, I will be bold and not be afraid. And the Commentary vpon the booke of the Preacher saith The lawe that men learne in this age, is nothing in respect of the lawe of the Messias; nor the miracles that are past, in comparison of his miracles. And in the booke of Blessings it is said, the things that were done in Aegypt are but *tappilath* that is to say, an Accident or Byworke; but the things that shalbe done in the time of the Messias, shalbe *gnikknar* that is to say, the substance thereof. Yea and Rabbi Iohanan in the Talmud saith, Wherein soeuer a Prophet biddeth thee transgresse the Law, obey him, saue in Idolatrie. For al the rest are things that may be changed by a Prophet according to occasion and time.

Mechilta vpō Exod. 13. Esay. 12.

Midrasch Coheleth Chap. 11. 1.

In the treatise Boracoth. Talmud of Hierusalem chapter Meema hai Korin.

Yet they reply and say, is God then chaungeable, to giue a lawe that shalbe chaunged after that fashion? No, say we. For what chaungeablenesse is it to promise and performe, to say and to doe, to represent and to bring to passe, to begin and to finish? Nay contrariwise, what greater constancie can there be, than to bring to passe in their times, and according to their circumstances, the thinges which hee had promised to his people? He had said, Circumcise me and al your male Children. This was a signe. And he said also, He shal Circumcise your hearts and the hearts of your posteritie; and that is the very true signification of a signe. Now Iesus himselfe was circumcised, that was because he was borne vnder the Law. But yet hath he circumcised our hearts by regenerating vs, which is as much to say as he performed the Law. And why should it be thought strange that circumcision is not retained now that the Gentiles are called. Merely because there is not now any peculiar people, nor consequently any peculiar marke to be coueted of any one people or Linage, as a seuerall marke of couenant betweene God and them. Also God hath said, Take a Cowe for a Signe offering, And againe, Take euery of you a Lambe. But he hath said likewise, The sacrifice that I require is a bro-

Talmud, treatise Sanhedrim.

A reply of the Iewes.

ken and sorowful heart. The sacrifice that I prepare for you is my Christ, who shalbe led as a Lambe to be slaine for you, and vpon him shall your sinnes be laide. Therefore the Mother of Jesus caried her Sacrifice to the Temple, for her purification; but she caried her Sonne with her also according to this scripture. Euery manchild that first openeth the wombe, shalbe holy vnto the Lord; because hee was borne vnder the Lawe. But he was crucified for our sinnes, wherein he accomplished the onely Sacrifice that had beene betokened by so many Sacrifices in the Law, and therefore he made an ende of all sacrificing and offering of oblations, as one that came to fulfill the Ceremonies of the Law, and to set vs free and discharge vs of them.

On the contrarie part, how dilt he with the Lawes which were no signes but matters of substance in deede? It is written. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God. And Jesus hath said, Thou shalt loue God with al thy heart; and he hath giuen vs an example thereof in himselfe. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image saith the Law: and Christ hath ouerthrowen all the Idols of the Heathen. The Lawe saith, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vaine: yea (saith Jesus) & thou shalt not sweare by any maner of thing, no not euen by thine owne head. The Lawe saies, Thou shalt keepe holy the Sabboth day: How be it not to restraine thee from going aboue two miles that day, as the Pharisies taught; but to apply thy selfe all that day throughout, to the minding of the Lawe of thy God, and to the seruing of thy Neighbour in his need. And to ỹ Commaundementes of the second Table he saith, Thou shalt honour thy Father and thy Mother; howbeit from thy heart, and not for fashions sake: thou shalt do the like to all thy Superiours. Thou shalt not kill: yea: and if thou hate, not thy neighbour onely, but also euen thine enemie; thou art a manslayer alreadie. Thou shalt not steale: and if a man will haue thy Cote from thee, thou shalt let him haue thy Cloke to. Thou shalt not beare false witnesse: not onely in word either false or hurtful, but also idle. Thou shalt not commit adultrie: No, for if thou do but loke vpon a woman with a lust vnto her, thou hast committed adulterie alreadie. Moreouer, so little leaue hast thou to couet any mans goods, that to succor him thou must dispose thy self, and sell all that euer thou hast. Finally, Thy God is onely one God; and no mo: but thy neighbour is euerie man vpon the earth, of what Countrie, state, condition, or calling soeuer he or thou be. To be short, worshippest thou God? doe it with the inner of thy heart. Doest thou fast? When thou doest it, annoint thy face. Doest thou almes? Let not thy left hand know it; giue of thy goods, & not of thine abounding. I demaunde now whether the exhibiting of the substance and bodie of the Lawe, in steede of the counterfeit or portraiture thereof, and the

requiring

requiring of the minde in stéed of the flesh: be an abolishing or defacing of the Law: whether the stablishing thereof be the disanulling thereof? The clearing and inlightening thereof, be the quenching thereof? or the fulfilling thereof in himselfe; and the spreading thereof ouer all Nations of the Earth, be the breaking thereof? May moreouer, the Law (say the Cabalistes) was giuen to man for the sinne of the Serpent: that is to say (according to our doctrine) not for vs to accomplish, for we cannot attaine thereto, but to shew vnto vs how farre the infection of that venome hath carried vs away from the dutie which God and nature it selfe required of vs: Which end of the Lawe is greatly inlightened vnto vs by the comming of our Lord Iesus, in that he teacheth vs that the Law is not satisfied with an outward and pharisaicall obedience, that is to wit, (to speake fitly) by hypocrisie, but by the vncorrupt obedience of the heart, yea euen much more by an vnfeined acknowledgment of our disobedience, than by the greatest profession of obedience y a man can shew vnto. If they vrge yet further, why then was not this lesson of yours giuen vs at the beginning? I answer, that euen from the beginning forthon, Moyses and the Prophetes gaue it you, in willing you to circumcise your hearts, to offer vp the sacrifice of prayse and obedience, to abstaine from vnhallowing the Sabboth day with vnrighteousnes, and such other things. And in speaking to you of the land of Canaan they haue told you inough by all their doings, that it behoued you to haue a further reach of mind, namely to the things which (as Esay saith) neither eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor heart of man conceiued. The seruice then which God required of you is spirituall, and the reward which wee ought to looke for is spirituall also. But you, like children as ye be, thought not but (as the most parte of you do still at this day) vpon the body and the worlde, whereas God spake to you concerning your soules and the welfare of them, which lieth in him. Euen so the Schoolemaister promiseth his yong Scholer a Warchpaine or some other banketing stuffe to make him to learne, not that vertue shal not like the Child much better, and be a greater reward to him when he hath attained vnto it; but because that if he should talke to him of vertue or of honour at that time, he can no skil of any of them both, & he would be y negligenter to his lesson, & the more vnable to conceiue a greater thing. And truly ye would haue said vnto Moyses, Let not God speake vnto vs, but to thee, and yet was he faine to couer his face, because ye could not abide it. To the same purpose both Esay say, that ye were faine to haue line after line, and precept after precept, and lisping Prophetes talke with you like newes and children, that they might make you to vnderstand. Also S. Paul saieth in the same sense, that ye were trained vp like babes vnder the discipline and tutorship of the Lawe. To be short, all mankind (after the

Deu. 30. & 10.
Esay. 56. & 58.

the maner of one only man) hath his birth, his Childhod, and his youth, and his spirituall nourishment proportionable to euery age, as well as euery of vs hath by himselfe. Nature ought to be a Lawe vnto vs. And verely God ment to make vs to feele how sore it is corrupted in vs, and because that in those first ages we did transgresse it and breake it so many and so sundrie wayes, like yong Scholers, which (to speake rightly) cannot write one right letter without a sample: therfore God gaue vs the Lawe written: & there remayneth at least wise so much conscience in vs all, as that none of vs could say but it was most iust. Neuertheles, it was Gods will that we should trye our strength for a time in the doing thereof, whereby we perceiued in the end, that we could not atteyne thereto, like as the Childe that indeuereth to follow the Copie of a good Scriuener, & cannot atteyne to the fashioning of one letter aright, further forth than his maister guideth his hand. At length came Gods grace brought by Jesus Christ, when our accusation (I meane the accusation of all Mankynd and spetially of the Church) was made and concluded both by Nature, & by the Lawe the Interpreters of Nature: that so apparantly, as none of vs can denye but that he deserueth very great punishment, nor any of vs say ý he deserueth any reward at the hand of the euerlasting God, whose reward being proportionable (if I may so terme it) to the giuer, cannot be but euerlasting. So then, Nature hath made man readie to receiue the Law, the Lawe hath made him readie to imbrace grace; and God (as semed conuenient to his wise prouidence) hath in this last age of the world, caused his grace to be brought and preached vnto vs by his Gospell, euen vnto vs which were as folke standing on the Scaffold readie to be executed, to the intent that such as perish should acknowledge his Justice, and such as are saued should acknowledge his onely grace in Jesus God and Man, the onely Sauiour and Redeemer of Mankynd. Amen.

The xxxij. Chapter.

That Jesus Christ was and is God, the Sonne of God against the Heathen.

NOw then, wee haue Jesus Christ such a one as he was promised vnto vs in the Scriptures, namely God and man, the Mediator of mans saluation, (as sayeth S. Paule) manifested in the flesh, crucified by the Iewes, preached to the Gentyles, beleeued on in the world, and taken vp into glorie. And for asmuch as I haue alreadie proued the trueth and diuineness

2. Tim. 3

of

of the Scriptures, and that according to them, the Mediatour was to be such a one as Iesus was: here I might make an end of this worke: for the conclusion followeth of it selfe. The Scriptures are of God: In them we haue found Iesus to be the Messias, the Mediator, and the Redéemer of Mankind, therefore it followeth that we ought to receiue him for such a one, & to imbrace his doctrine with all our heart. Howbeit to take all cause of doubt frō the Heathen, let vs shew them yet further, that Iesus is God the Sonne of God, without the testimonie of the scriptures. For it may be, that although they will not beleeue Iesus to be the very God by meanes of our Scriptures, yet they will beléeue our Scriptures to be of God in verie déede, when they shall sée that Iesus is God, whose comming hath bene declared so plainly and so long aforehande in our Scriptures.

But to beginne with all, let vs call to mind this saying of Porphyrius, That Gods prouidence hath not left mankinde without an vniuersall cleansing, and that the same cannot be done but by one of the beginnings, that is to wit, by one of the three Persones or Ioheeings of Gods essence. And likewise these poyntes which I haue proued already, namely, That man is created to liue for euer: That by his corruption he is faine from Gods fauour into his displeasure, and consequently excluded from that blessednes: That to bring him in fauour againe, a Mediator must step in, who must be man, that he may susteyne the death which mankind hath deserued: and God, that he may triumphe ouer death, and decke vs with his desert. And such a one doe we say the same Iesus is which was Crucified by the Iewes and beleeued on among the Gentiles of olde time: And God of his grace graunt in our time, to inlighten all those to whome he hath not as yet giuen grace to beléeue.

Prophesies among the Gentyles. Numb. 22. and 23.

Origen in his 13. Homily vpon Genesis. Chrysostom in his 60d Homily vpon the viii of Mathew.

Iob 19. 25.

The Oracles of the Sybils. Lactantius. lib 4 Chap. 6

Surely as the Mediator came for the Gentyles as well as for the Iewes, that is to say for all men: so it should seeme that the Gentyles had some inckling thereof reuealed to them from God, that they might prepare themselues to receiue him. In the Scripture we reade of a Prophet named Balaam, who prophesied plainly enough of Christ. And some ancient writers say that his Prophecie, and the prophesie of one other named Seth, were kept in the East parties of the world. And Iob who was an Edomite, saieth, I know that my Redeemer liueth, and shall stand vp last vpon the earth. Also the Sybils, especially Sybill of Erithra who is so famous abode the rest, (at least wise if the bookes which wee haue vnder their names be theirs) doe tell vs that he should be the sonne of God, be borne of a Virgine, be named Iesus, worke miracles, be crucified by the Iewes, be raysed againe to glorie, come in the end to iudge both the quicke & the dead, & so forth, & that (which is a greater matter

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in such termes, and with such particularities, as it seemeth to be the very Gospel turned into verse, as though God had meant to utter his mysteries more manifestly by them to the Gentiles, than he had done to the Iewes, because the Gentiles had not ben inured to the heauenly doctrine any longtime aforehand, namely to the hope of the Redemer. And as for them which think those bookes to haue bene counterfetted in those Sybils names, surely they may more easely say it than proue it, but I passe not greatly for that. For (as Suetonius Tranquillus reporteth) the Emperour Augustus made them to be locked vp in two Cofers of gold, at the foote of the Image of Apollo on mount Palatine in Rome, where it was hard for men to haue falsifyed them. And in the time of Origen, of Clement of Alexandria, and of Iustine the Martyr, which was not long after the preaching of the Apostles, those bookes were abroad in the world, as appeareth by the discourses of Celsus the Epicure, who saith in deede that they were counterfet, but he proueth it not. Also the Emperour Constantine in a certeine Oration of his, witnesseth that hee had seen and read them, and referred the Gentiles of his time to them. Well it cannot be denied but that there was at least wise some such like thing. For Cicero in his bookes of Diuination writeth these words, Let vs obserue the bookes of Sybil. We must name vs some King, if we wil liue in safetie. And yet al men know how hateful a thing the name of King was both to all the Romaines and to Cicero himselfe. Also he maketh mention of Sybils Acrosticke, that is to say, of certeine verses of hirs whose first letters made the name of that King, of which sort we haue some in the eight booke of the Sybils, whereupon he concludeth, that they had a sound and wel setled mind. Moreouer, the Emperour Constantine affirmeth, that Cicero had translated the booke Sybil of Erythra, & that Antonie would haue had it abolished. In these bookes it was said, that as soone as the Romaines had set the King of Aegypt againe in his state, by & by should be borne the King of the whole world. And therefore Cicero writing to Lentulus who sued to haue that charge, doth mention that Oracle vnto him: and the Romanes made doubt whether they might restore the King of Aegypt or no, by reason of that matter, whereof the Sybils do make some speach in these second bookes. Neuertheles when the Romanes had well ruminated the case, Gabinius conueyed home Ptolomie King of Aegypt into his Kingdome, and at the same time was Iesus Christ borne. Virgil who by the fauour of Augustus had accesse to those bookes, made an Eglog (which is but a translation of certeine of the verses of those Sybils) concerning the happy state which Sybil behighted by Iesus Christ the sonne of God: saying that Virgil not looking deepely into the matter, applyed it wholy to one Salonine, in fauour of Augustus whom he meant to flatter: After which manner the

Suetonius in the life of Augustus. cap. 31

Cicero in his first booke of Diuination.

Cicero in his first Epistle to Lentulus. li. 1. epist.

In the second booke of their Oracles.

Virgil. ēglog. 4

Romanes

Romanes wrested this famous foresaying of Syria, to the Emperour Vespasian, That out of Iewrie should come the Souereign of the whole world. But we reade that one Secundian a notable man in ỹ time of the Emperour Decian, and one Verian a Peinter, & one Marcelline an Orator, became Christians vpon the onely reading and conferring of those Oracles. And therfore the first writers among the Christians, as Iustine, Origen, Clement, and such others, do common the Heathen to the books of ỹ Sybils, because they would not with their good willes haue beleeued ours, and also to a former prophesie of one Histaspes, which spake plainly of the comming of the sonne of God into the world, and of the conspiring of all kingdomes against him and his. And therefore all those bookes were forbidden by the Heathen Emperours, vpon peyne of death. But God of his wounderfull prouidence had prouided for the Saluation of the Gentyles, by scattering the Iewish nations with their bookes and prophesies, into all the foure quarters of the World: howbeit that wee read not of any other Linage or Nation to haue bene so scattered without losing their tytles, their bookes, their name, and the very knowledge of their original which prerogatiue ỹ Iewes had, to the intent they should be Preachers of the comming of the Mediator, and witnesses of the antiquitie, truth, and vncorruptnes of the Prophesies, against the effect whereof neuertheless they set themselues with all their power. For what better witnesses I pray you could the Gentiles haue, than the Iewes themselues: namely in that they being the putters of Iesus and of his disciples to death, were readie notwithstãding to dye for the truth & soundnes of the bookes wherein he was foreshewed, foretold, and forepromised vnto them at all times? Furthermore, that this King promised by the Prophetes and the Sybils, should deliuer the Lawe of good lyfe to the whole world, Cicero seemeth to haue had some vnderstanding (howsoeuer he came by it) or els I cannot tell wherto I should apply this godly sentence of his in his third book of his Cõmon weale, Soothly the very Lawe in deede (saith he) is right reason, shed into all men, constant, euerlasting, which calleth al men to their duetie by commaunding, and frayeth them from fraud by forbidding, which yet notwithstanding neither biddeth nor forbiddeth, in vaine to the good, nor by bidding or forbidding moueth the bad. From this law may nothing be taken, to it may nothing be put, neither may it be wholy abrogated. Neither Senate nor Pope can discharge vs of this Lawe, neither needeth there any interpreter or expounder thereof to make it plaine. There shall not be one Law at Rome, & another at Athens: one to day, and another tomorow: But one selfesame Lawe being both euerlasting & vnchangeable, shal conteine all Nations & at al times: and there shal be but one common maister & commaunder of all, euen God, He is the deuiser, the discusser,

Vincent. lib. 11. ca. 50.

Iustine in his Apologie. Origen against Celsus. Clement in strom.

Cicero in his third booke of his Common weale. Inſ Lactantius lib. 6. ca. 8.

cuſſer, and the giuer of this Lawe: which who wil not obey ſhall flee from himſelfe as if he diſdayned to be a man, which dooing of his muſt needes be a ſore puniſhment vnto him, though he were ſure to ſcape all other puniſhments. Who ſeeth not here, that this Heathen man eſpyed, that all Lawes of man are but vanitie, and that he looked that God himſelfe ſhould come openly into the ſight of the worlde, to giue a good lawe to Mankinde? Now, Ieſus hath manifeſtly giuen this Lawe, cauſing it to be publiſhed by his Apoſtles, and their voyce ſounded to the vttermoſt bounds of the earth. And for proofe hereof, what is more conuenient and meete for man in the iudgment of conſcience, than to loue God with al his heart and all his Soule: and his neighbour as himſelfe? which yet notwithſtanding doth more ſurmount our abilitie to performe, & more bewray our corruption, & more condemne whatſoeuer is in vs of our owne, than doth the Lawe it ſelfe vniuerſally in al mankind. On the contrarie part, what find we in al the writings of the Heathen, but a Hierling vertue, and a teaching to cloke vice, that is to ſay Hypocriſie? But as this Law is verily of God, ſo let vs ſee whether the bringer therof be God. And I beſeech al worldly wiſe men, not to harken vnto me by halues, nor to looke vpon things at a glaunce, (for I come not to dally with them: but to yéld me both their eares, & to looke wiſly, and to bend all their wits aduiſedly: for the nérer they looke vnto the matter, and the more deliberatly they conſider of it: the ſoner wil they yéld to our doctrine as to the vndoubted trueth, yea & as to very nature it ſelf. Ieſus therfore is borne in the little Countrie of Iewrie ſubdewed by the Romanes, of poore parents, in a ſorie Village, deſtitute of friends and of all worldly healpes, and yet was he to be Emperour of the whole world, to giue the Law to the whole world. Let vs ſée the proceding of this Emperour and of his empyre. Amend (ſayth he) & beleeue the Goſpel: for the kingdome of Heauen is at hand. If we conſider the maieſtie of the Romane Empyre, the eloquence and learning of the great Clerks, & the pride of the Sophiſts and Orators of that time, what greater fondnes could there be to all ſéeming, than to talke after that manner? Who would not haue thought folly both in Chriſt and in his Apoſtles for their preaching ſo? But what addeth he? Whoſoeuer wil come into this kingdom, let him forſake goods, father, mother, wife, children, yea & himſelf too. And let him take vp his Croſſe and follow mee. Let him think himſelfe happie that he may ſuffer a thouſand miſeries for mee, and that in the end he may die for my names ſake. What maner of priuiledges are theſe I beſeech you, to draw people into that kingdome? What a hope is it for them that ſerue him? What are theſe promiſes of his, but threatnings? and his perſuaſions, but diſſuaſions? What say wee to a friend whom we turne from ſome other man, but thus: eſchew that mans compa-

The proceeding of the kingdome of Ieſus beyond nature and againſt Nature.

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panie, for ye shal haue nothing with him but trauel and trouble? And what worse could the veriest enimies of his doctrine saye, than he him selfe saith? Also what a saying of his was this to S. Paul a man of reputation among the Pharisies, & greatly imployed afore in following the world? I will shew thee how great things thou hast to indure for my names sake? And yet notwithstanding, what a sodeine change ensued, frō apprehending & imprisoning, to be apprehended & imprisoned: from being a Iudge, to be whipped & scourged: from stoning of others to death, to offer himselfe from citie to citie to be stoned for the name of Iesus?

Let vs heare on the contrarie part the voyce of a worldly Conquerour. Who so euer wil follow me (sayth Cyrus to the Lacedemonians) if he be a footman, I will make him a Horseman: if he bee a Horsman, I will giue him a Charyot: if he haue a Manor, I will giue him a Towne: if he haue a Towne, I will giue him a Citie: if he haue a Citie, I wil giue him a Countrie: and as for Golde, hee shall haue it by weight, and not by tale. What odes is there betwéne the spéeches of these two Monarches, and much more betwéene their Conquests? And therefore what comparison can there be betwixt the Conquerours themselues? This Cyrus as great an Emperour as he was, could not haue the Lacedemonians to serue him for al his great offers. But Iesus being poore, abiect, and vnregarded, did by his rigorous threats, euen after his owne suffering of reprochfull death, and his manacing of the like to his followers, draw all people and Nations vnto him, and not only Souldyers, but also Emperours, nor only Cities, but also whole Empyres. Cyrus dyed in conquering: and Iesus conquered by dying. The death of Cyrus decayed his owne kingdome, as a bodie without a soule: But the death of Iesus inlarged his kingdome euen ouer the Empyres. And how could that haue bene, but that the death of Iesus was the life of al Empyres & all kingdomes? Who séeth not then, in the mightinesse of the one a humaine weakenesse: & in the weakenesse of the other, a diuine mightinesse? Wee wonder at the Conquests of Alexander. And why? Because that being but a meane King of Macedonie, he passed into Asia, and conquered it with fortie thousand men & no mo. Had he carryed a hundred thousand with him, we would haue had the lesse estimation of his deedes. But how much greater account would we haue made of him, if he had done it with halfe his number? And had he done it with the tenth man, O how we would haue wondered! And if we made a God of him for conquering so: what diuine honour would we think sufficient for him now? At leastwise who would not haue thought him, if not a God, yet (at the least) assisted with the power & might of God? But had these souldiers ouercome their enimies by being beaten at their hands: had they conquered by causing themselues to be killed: had they brought kingdōs

Plutarke in the sayings of the kings of old time.

in obedience by submitting themselues to their Gibbets: had it not bẽn a cryme to haue left them vnworshipped for Gods? For if betwẽne the able man and the vnable man, the skilfull and the vnskilfull, the difference be that the vnskilfull can do nothing vnlesse he haue very well & abundantly wherewith: but the skilfull can worke much vpon little, and by his cunning ouercome the awknesse of his stuffe: What is the difference betwẽne the skilfullest man and God, but that the man can of a little make somewhat, whereas God can of nothing & without helpe of any thing make great things, yea and euen one contrary of another & by another? Which is as much to say, as that he is of infinite power, able to fill vp the infinite distance that is betwẽne contraries, and specially betwẽne nothing and something. Now, let vs sée what Iesus hath done: and let vs bring with vs the same eyes and the same reason, which wee did to the iudging and discerning of the Historie of Alexander. First, our Lord Iesus was born destitute of al worldly helps. From ten to tenthousand, and from ten thousand to ten millions, men doe atteyne: but who can atteyne from nothing, to so huge a thing. He was accompanied by a fewe ignorant Fishermen of grosse wit. And yet is it no smal matter that he could cause them to giue ouer their Trade to follow him. But what instruments were they to make Preachers to the whole world, being rather cleane contrary to such a purpose? and to incourage them, he sayes vnto them: Blessed are ye when ye indure all manner of aduersities for my names sake. This had bin enough to haue driuẽ them away, & yet they follow him. At length, he sendeth them of Ambassage to all Nations: And what was their message? He that taketh not vp his Crosse & followeth me, he is not worthie of me. What is he that would at this day take such a charge vpon him, no though he were well rewarded for his labour? They shall whip you in their Synagogue saith he. Who would vndertake to deale in such a case? Specially vpon such a persuation as this, He that wil saue his life shall lose it? In the end, he dieth. And how? Crucified betwẽn two Théeues. Those fewe followers of his are at their wits end. He leueth neither Children nor kinsfolke behind him to vphoulde his fillie kingdome. The kingdome of Heauen that he had talked of séemeth to be buried in the earth. What worldly kingdome had not perished in this plight? How long did the throne of Alexander reigne, notwithstanding that it was vphild with the hope of some Children, with the policie of great Captaines, with the force of victorious Armies and with the very terrour of his name? In the meane while, those fillie Shéepe of Christ came together, and went and Preached to Hierusalem, and afterward to all the world. And what Preached they? That Iesus had bene crucified, and that it behoued them to beléeue in him. Ah thé was a man: what was more

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vaine? If he was a God; what was more absurd? Yet notwithstanding, if they may haue audience, they teach men to suffer for him: if they be shut out, they will rather die than forbeare to speake of him: and if they bee accused for it, they preach their crime before their Iudges. Malefactors are tormented to make them tell their fault, and these are tormented to make them to conceale it. Those hold their peace, to saue themselues from death; and these die for speaking. Their persecutors cry out, what a miserie is this, that we cannot ouercome an old man, or a woman: what a shame is it for vs, to be more wearie of tormenting them, than they bee of the torments? Yet notwithstanding, in lesse than fortie yeeres the world is filled full of this doctrine, and the Countries are conquered to Iesus Christ by those fewe Disciples preaching his bloudshed, and shedding their owne, from Hierusalem to Spaine, yea and from Hierusalem to the Indies: And loke by what meanes this kingdome is founded, by the same also is it stablished, and from time to time increased and maintained. What man (if hee knowe how farre man can extend) can attribute these things vnto man? Hee is GOD (saith a wise man) which doth that which no creature can doe: And who euer did such things either afore Iesus or after him? Also Aristotle saith, that of nothing can nothing be made: that in deede is a rule in nature: But what els are these doings of Christ, but a making not only of some thing, but also of the greatest things, of nothing? And who can violate or ouercome the lawes of nature, but only he that created nature? Now God spake the word, and it was done: this surpasseth nature. But when Iesus saith, He that dooth not take vp his Crosse and followe me, is not worthie of me: to our fleshly vnderstanding it is as much as if hee should say, Flee from me; and yet men follow him, and seeke him. The word (say I) which were enough to driue vs away, draweth vs vnto him: by dissuading, hee perswadeth vs: in turning vs away, he turneth vs to him: in throwing vs downe, he setteth vs vp: and in killing vs, he maketh vs euerlasting. Who can draw one contrarie out of another, as, the effects of water out of fire, and the effects of fire out of water; but he that made both fire and water? And who can draw perswasion out of dissuading; and conuerting out of diuerting; but he that made both the heart of the man that hearkeneth, and the speech of the partie that speaketh? And what is the conquering of the liuing by the dying of himselfe and his; but as ye would say a working of an effect by taking away the cause? What is this subduing of the world by disarming, tying, and deliuering of himselfe; but a taking of away contrarie to his businesse, and a choosing of instruments most contrarie to his working? And he that doth a thing by instruments contrarie thereunto, may rather by such instruments as are directly hurtfull to it and can no way further it; doth hee not shew that

be could do it by his only word, without other helpe? But let vs see yet more. It is against nature to make something of nothing: Here the Philosophers muſt stope. It is against nature to make a thing by speaking the contrarie: Here the Orators are put to silence. What will thou say then, if besides all this, there be an extreame resistance in the thing it selfe: if thou be a Phisition, in the Complexion: if thou be a Captaine, in the Conquest: if thou be an Orator, in the willes of men? Alexander did great things with few men. I graunt. But if men had made head against him as they might haue done, in what case had he beene? Let vs see contrariwise what resistance men made both generally and particularly to shut Jesus out of the doores. If yee speake of force; he could scarslie preach without perill of death. His Apostles could not open their lippes, but they were by and by whipped, stoned, racked, crucified or burned. The cruellest Emperours, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and such others, wrought vpon them the chiefe deedes of their cruelties. If any of those Emperours chaunced to bee more milde, O what Justice vsed he? Forsoth, If they bee not seditious, (say they) let them not bee sought. But come they once in Question, wherefore soeuer it bee, let them not escape. I would faine learne what sect of Philosophers in all Greece, would not haue crealled at the least commaundement of a Magistrate. And of what truth doe we finde any monuments of Conquests ouer all the world; but of the truth of Jesus Christ? If yee haue an eye to policie; those that followed him were excluded from all promotions and offices: And what a hell is that to a man of an ambicious nature? Their Children were prohibited to goe to Schoole: and what was that but a cutting vp of the tree by the roote, if it had not growen by grace from Heauen? Also certeine counterfait Dialogues, forged concerning Pilate and Christ, full of witches tales and blaspheimies, were inioyned to bee read in Schooles, and to be conned of Children by hart, to staine the name of Jesus, and to make it odious and lothsome to all men forever. And what more pernicious politie could the Deuill himselfe haue deuised?

The Iewes worse than all others, (to whom notwithstanding he was promised) were false Traitors to him? and whereas they should haue preached him, they did most eagerly accuse him: in so much that there scarlie came any of his Disciples into any towne, but that they made Hew and crie vppon him to murder him. Nay (which more is) in euery seuerall person there was an inwarde incounter, and an extreame resistance against this word. Yea, (said men within themselues) shall I beleeue in Jesus? An abiect man? A crucified God? Shall I beleeue his Disciples, the offcourings of the world, and the outcasts of the Iewes? Shall I beleeue in him for a two or three dates, to leaue behinde me a wretched wife, a reprochefull remembrance of my selfe, and the report of a foie

to my posteritie? If the Emperours made so cruell warre against this doctrine both by sword & by their Lawes; we may well coniecture what warre euery man maintained against it in himselfe. And if wee haue knowne what persecution is, let vs here bethinke vs of the battels betweene the flesh and the spirit; & of the liuely and sharp arguments which a man in that case maketh against himselfe. Notwithstanding all this, in the end whole Nations yelded themselues to the word of these men, and euen Empires worshipped Iesus Christ crucified. If weakenes wrought this; why did not force get the vpper hand? If folly; why did not wisdome triumph ouer the? If manhood; why did not multitude preuaile? No surely it was Iesus the son of God, who repaired the world by his spirit as God had created it at the first by his word. Cicero could not wonder inough at Romulus, for that (saith he) in a time which was not rude, he had compassed so much as to be called a God. And truelie I marueil at Cicero, that he shewed himselfe so grosse in that behalfe. For if he were called a God, who euer beleeued him to be so? And what was Rome at that time, and a long time after, but a rout of ignorant and silly Shepherds? But therby we may deeme, what iudgment he would haue giuen vpon Iesus. Romulus was called a God; but the Senate beleeued it not. The Senate did put the people in feare, and by that meanes made them to say it. But all the whole Empire of Rome could not feare vs Disciples from professing of Iesus. What resemblance then is there betweene them two? The same may be said of Alexander as greate an Emperour as he was, when he made men to worship him as God. For euen then did his army fall to mutinies, he lost his estimation, he disdained his victories, and his owne household seruants were contented to be beaten rather than they would kneele downe to worship him. And as for Caligula, Domitian, Heliogabalus, and others, they were Laughed to skorne as long as they liued; and they were not so soone dead, but their Godheads were dragged in the mire like dogs, and men vouchsafed them not so much as a Toombe to be buried in. But what say ye to Iesus, who being despised all his life time, was worshipped as God after his death? Whose Godhead his Disciples preach euen vpon the racke, and whom the very Emperours Tiberius, and Antoninus, and Alexander honored in their harts and worshipped as God in their priuichambers? And in what time? Surely in the Learnedest time that euer was, and in the full flourishing state of knowledge in all arts, skils, and sciences: when Rhetorick, Logicke, and all Philosophy were at their pride and at such time as Magick and al maner of curious sciences had their full scope and were at their highest pitch. If he be worshipped for his wisdome; what a number of graue Senators were there at that time? If for Learning and Doctrine; what a number of learned men? If for Riches and parentage; how would those great

men haue yeelded to such an offcast? If so, his guiltlesse death, why not others also of so many which preached him and followed him? And why was not Gabinius worshipped so to, being a Citizen of Rome, a man of honour, and vniustly crucified, in whose behalfe Cicero vttered all the goodly eloquence that hee had? Nay surely, they sawe such a change in the World, so sodeine, so great, and so vniuersall; that they could not impute it to any other thing, than to the power and operation of him that ruleth the world, whose mightie power they perceiued in Iesus.

Records of the wonderfull proceeding of Christes Kingdome.

That this so suddein turning of Nations to worship a man: of Emperours to reuerence reproche, and of wise men to haue folly (as saieth S. Paule) in admiration, is verie true: I will take none other witnesses than themselues. We reade in Suetonius and Tacitus, that the name of Christ was knowne in Rome, and throughout all Italy: For they persecuted the Christians a fresh contrarie to the custome of the Romanes: insomuch that Nero made them to be put to the slaughter, as if they had bin the authors of the burning of Rome, which he himselfe had caused to bee set on fire. And we reade that in the same time, the Senate made certaine decrees, whereby many thousands of Christians, infected with the Iewish superstition, (so did they terme them because they had their originall from the Iewes) were banished into diuers Iles: Which thing the Senate would not haue done, (considering their ordinarie maner of proceeding in cases of Religion) if the hastie increase of that spirituall kingdome had not put them in feare. And within a while after, we se how all the Emperours were amazed at this flocking of people together vnto them, for counsell how to extinguish that louring: and how fires were kindled against them on all sides: and yet how Nations neuertheless were shaken at the voice of the Apostles, and the verie Courts of Princes with their Legions of Souldiers, were made to incline vnto Christ. Sufficient witnesses whereof be the Lawes of that age: wherein it was enacted that the Swordgirdle of a Souldier should not be worne of any Christian: that they should not beare any office or haue any charge in the Court, and such other. And Vlpian the Lawier did himselfe write foure bookes against the Christians. And truely wee read that a great many gaue ouer their charges, rather then they would forsake the Christian faith. Moreouer in the time of Marcus Aurelius, there was a Legion that was called the Legion of Malta, which was altogether of Christians: of which Legion hee witnesseth in a certaine Epistle of his, that being vpon a time brought to vtter distresse by the Marcomanes, this Legion obtained by prayer both Thunder from Heauen against the enemie, and Raine wherewith to refresh the whole Armie, whereupon that Legion was afterwards called the Thunderer. And therefore saieth

Tacitus lib. 5.

Xiphilinus in the life of M: Aurelius.

The Epistle of M. Aurelius in the Apologie of Iustine.

Ter-

Tertullian in his Apologie.

Tertullian in his Apologie, If as many of vs as be Christians should get vs away into some corner of the world: ye would woonder to see how few people yee should haue remayning to you, and ye should be faine to seeke other Cities to commaund; or rather you to flee away out of hand and to hide your selues: for yee should haue mo enemies than Citizens left ye. We haue filled now whole Cities, Ilands and Castles: Counselles, Palaces, and Courtes: Tribes, Legions, and Armies. What warre were wee not able inough to vndertake, if wee listed? And what is it that wee might not bring to passe, dying so manfully and so willingly as wee doe? Nay, the Lawe of our warre teacheth vs to die, and not to kill. Now what kingdome euer had so greate increase, in so short time? But (which is a greater matter) what a thing is it to vanquish by yeelding, to be furthered by retiring, and to conquer by dying? Wee reade of the Emperour Tiberius, that vppon a letter written to him from Pilate reporting the miracles of Iesus, his guiltlesse death, and his rising againe from the dead; he preferred a bill to the Senate with his assent vnto it, to haue had them proclaime Iesus to bee God; and that the Senate refused it, because they themselues were not the authors thereof: but that Tiberius abode still in his opinion. And therevpon Tertullian saith, Goe looke vpon your Registers and the Acts of your Senate: Also Vespasian the scourge of the Iewes, forbare the Christians: and Traiane moderated the persecution, vpon the report of their innocencie made vnto him by Plinie. Marcus Aurelius hauing felt the helpe of their prayers did the like. Likewise did Antonine, but to another end: namely, because that (as he himselfe writeth in an epistle of his) persecution did stablish the Church of the Christians. To bee short, Alexander the sonne of Mammea, did in his Chappell worship Iesus surnamed Christ, of whome also he tooke his * Poesie, and therefore the Antiochians called him the Archpriest of Syria. And it is reported that for Christs sake, the Emperour Adrian builded many Temples without Images. Finally, the good Emperours of Rome, Vespasian, Adrian, Traiane, Antonine the meeke, and such others, had Christ in estimation and allowed of the Christians. But how farre? Surely as to acknowledge in their hearts that they were good and honest men, and that Iesus had more in him than was of Man. But yet for all this, If they be accused, (say these good Emperours) let them bee punished: if not, let them not be sought. This is a good proofe and allowance of their innocencie: but surely it is but a slender release for them: Contrariwise, the wicked Emperours Nero, Domitian, Valerian, Commodus, Maximine, Decius, and such others, condemned them, and by their condemning of them did iustifie them. For what did they euer allowe, but euill? But what maner of condemning is this?

Egesippus in his Auacephaleosis.

Eusebius. Tertullian in his Apologie. Plinie in his Epistles. Iulius Capitolinus in Adrian and Alexander. Antonine the Emperour in an Epistle of his to the cities of Asia. Dion in the life of the Emperour Alexander.

*The deuice was this, Do not to another that which thou wouldest not haue done to thy selfe.

kill all, burne all, yea whole Cities, haue no respect of sex, of age, or of qualitie. Scarcely had the Christians any breathingtime, but a new counterbuffe came vpon them againe; they were no sooner from the torture, but they must to it againe. And yet God did so rule all things by his prouidence, to the intent the whole glorie in this mysterie should redound to himselfe, that the milde dealing of the good Emperours did indeede iustifie the trueth, but yet durst they not aduaunce or further it: whereas on the contrarie part, the malice of the other sort condemned it and persecuted it to the vttermost, but yet could they not destroy it. To be short, in fewe yéeres there passed ten horrible persecutions vpon that poore Church; and yet in the end the Emperours themselues submitted themselues to the Crosse of Christ, and their Empires sought their welfare there. Therefore we may alwaies come backe to this point, That he, yea only he which first created the world of nothing, when there was not yet any thing to withstand him: is able to recouer the world from Sathan and to subdue it to himselfe, without the helpe of any thing, euen by instruments repugnant to him, and in despight of the whole worlde bending it selfe against him.

The abolishing of the Folle Gods & of their Oracles.

But what will yée say if hee subdue, not onely men, but also their Gods? not onely the world, but also the soueregnes of the world; I meane the Diuels which at that time held the world vnder their tyrannie? Let vs reade the Historyes of the Grékes and Romaines that were afore the comming of Christ; and what shall wee finde in them, but the Oyracles and Oracles of Diuels? What els haue Varro, Cicero, Titus Liuius and such others among the Romaines; or Herodotus, Diodorus, Pausanias and the residue among the Grékes? On the contrarie part we sée, that euen euer since Christ was borne and preached (the world hath chaunged his hewe. Iesus was borne vnder the Emperour Augustus, and sée here what Apollo answereth vnto him.

Suidas in the life of Augustus. Nicephorus. lib. 1. Cap. 17.

An Hebrew Child which daunteth with his powre
The blessed Gods, doth straightly mee commaund
To get me hence to Hell this present howre;
Therefore of mee no Counsell now demaund.

Whereupon Augustus erected an Altar in the Capitol, with this inscription vpon it: The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God.

Iuuenal. Satyr. 3.

And Cicero saith that the Oracles whose answers he had so diligentlie registred in his bookes, did ceasse in his time: And Iuuenall reporteth the same of the Oracle of Delphos by name, howbeit that he beareth vs on hand, that Kings did put them to silence, who indeede were most inquisitiue to haue them speake. Likewise Strabo saith, that the Priests of Delphos were brought to beggerie by it. But Lucane giues this generall report of all the Gods of the Romanes.

The

The Gods by whom this Empire stoode, abandon euery chone
Their Temples, Shrines, and Sacrifice, and leaue vs now alone.

Also Celsus the Epicure saith, that the Oracles of Claros, Delphos, and Dodon were striken dumbe. And Iulian the Renegate writing against the Christians, confesseth and witnesseth the same of the Oracles of Aegypt. Yea and Porphyrius himselfe (for I alledge none heere but the deadly enemies of Christ) rehearseth these verses of Apollo.

Alas yee Trenets, moorne with mee: Apollo now is gone,
Gone quite & cleane: the heauenly light compels me to be gone.
Ione was, Ioue is, and Ioue shalbe: O Ioue, now welaway:
The light of all mine Oracles doth faile mee now for aye.

And vnto the Priest that asked him the last Oracle, he answered thus.

Vnhappy Priest, inquire no more of mee
The outtermost and last, concerning the
Diuine Begetter, or the onely deere
Beloued Sonne of that most mightie King.
Nor of his Spirit which vpholdeth all
Both Mountaines, Earth, Brookes, Seas, Hell, Aire, & Fire,
Now woe is mee: For sore against my will,
That spirit driues mee from this house of mine:
So that this Chappell where I prophesie,
Shall out of hand be left quite desolate.

Also being inforced by charmes and Coniurations, hee said againe as it were for a solemne Farewell; Eusebius in his booke of Preparation to the Gospell.

The Pythonesse shall neuer now her voice hencefoorth recouer.
Long tract of time hath withered her: The souereigne power aboue her
Hath loke her vnder silence fast, so as she can no more
Now vtter any Prophesie: which greeueth her full sore.
But you according to your woont, such sacrifices still
To Phœbus offer, as are meete for men to God to kill.

To be short, Plutarke hath made a booke of purpose, intituled why Oracles haue ceassed. But in the end hee commeth to this point, That the spirites which had the managing of those Oracles, are mortall, and that by their deaths their Oracles ceased, whereas notwithstanding he commonly vpholdeth that all spirites are immortall; but in deede he should haue said that they were shut vp as in a Jaile. Heereupon he rehearseth at length a notable storie of one Epitherses, who sayling neere the Vrchinyles, heard (and al those that were in the ship with him) a certaine voice comming from one of those Iles, which bad them declare that the great Pan was dead; And he telleth that after this voice followed an vnspeakable sighing, and lamentations without number. Which storie (saith he) was reported to Tiberius then Emperour; who being desirous to know Plutarke.

the trueth of the matter, enquired very earnestly the opinions of all the Philosophers, what that great Pan should bee. Nowe let vs marke that this was doone in the reigne of Tiberius, vnder whome Christ was crucified, and that this Pan was one of the cheefe Idolles of the Heathen, as appeareth by this his Oracle in the Bookes of Porphyrius.

The Golden horned Pan which serues the grizly Bacchus, stalks
Among the Mountaines clad with woods, and keepes his wonted walks.

In deede Apollo aunswered vnto Diocletian, that The Righteous made him dumbe: and the Priest told Diocletian, that by the Righteous he meant the Christians. Wherevpon Diocletian fell to persecuting them. Also the same Apollo told Iulian (who would needes waken him vp againe by Coniurations) that hee could say nothing till he had first remoued the bones of Babylas a Martyr of Christs away, which were an impediment to him: which is as much to say, as he could not open his mouth, but to pronounce the sentence of condemnation against himselfe.

Porphyrius against the Christians.

And therefore, It is no maruell (saith Porphyrius) though our Cities be smitten with the plague, seeing that Esculapius and the rest of the Gods are put so farre from them. For since the time that Iesus hath bene worshipped, wee haue taken no benefite by any of all our Gods. Then let this great Philosopher tell me, whether Iesus be a Man, and they Gods or no? What maner of Gods are those, which shrinke away at the presence of a Man? and what a man is hee, that maketh Gods to hide their heades? May further, what a man is he whose Disciple commaundeth their Maisters, and whose seruant commaundeth their Gods? Will ye see how it is the name of Iesus whereat they tremble, and which they shun? Loe here the triall whereto the Christians submit themselues before the Gentiles. Let a man (saith Tertullian) that is possessed in deed with a Deuill, bee brought before your Iudgment seate; and at the commaundement of the meanest Christian, the Spirit shall speake, and confesse himselfe to be an vncleane Spirit. Let one of those folke be brought whom you thinke to be inspired of a God; bee it the same God that promiseth you raine, or be it Esculapius that playeth the Phisition among you: If he dare lie before a Christian, or if he confesse not himselfe to be a Deuil; take the Christian to be presumptuous, and let him die for it out of hand. Now, none will speake his owne shame, but rather that which may sound to his honour. Surely they will not tell ye that Iesus is a deceiuer, or of the common stampe of men, or that he was stolne out of his graue, as hath bin reported vnto you: but that he is the power, the wisdome, and the word of God; that hee sitteth in heauen, and that he shall come to iudge vs; and on the contrarie part, that themselues bee Deuilles damned for their naughtinesse, and waiting for his dread-

Tertullian in his Apologie.

full

full doomes and that is because that being afraid of Christ in God, and of God in Christ, they yeeld to God and Christ, and to the seruants of God and Christ. If Tertullians saying bee true, what els is this, but that Iesus commaundeth them as slaues, yea euen by his seruants? Or if it be false, how easie had it beene for the Heathen to haue giuen him the foile, by putting the matter in proofe? And why did they not put the Christians to shame, in the open face of the world? May (saith Lactantius) when they offered sacrifice to their Goddes, the presence of a Christian would haue dashed their mysteries: and thereupon came vp this speech which wee reade in Lucian: If there be any Christian here, let him get him hence. And when they asked any question of their Gods, their speech failed them: and it was as easie for a Christian to driue Apollo out of his Priest or Pythonesse, as to driue a Deuill out of one that was possessed. And Iulian himselfe (as Zosimus dareth not denie) found by proofe in his Magicall workes, how weake his Gods were, and how strong Christ is. Moreouer, some curious Princes haue by their Magicians caused Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcane, Mercurie, Apollo, and Saturne himselfe, that is to say, the Deuils that decked themselues with their names) to appeare: which thing they could neuer cause Christ to doe, with all the Conturations that they had: and that is because all those Gods of theirs were Deuils, ouer whome good men haue power by commaunding them in the name of God, and euill men by pleasing them. But as for Iesus Christ the verie sonne of God, he stoopeth not to any creature, but is serued by Angels and good men as by his Seruants, and by Deuils and wicked men as by his Slaues.

Lucian in his Alexander.

Also at the same time that Iesus came, there was scarsly any countrie in the world, where these Deuils had not men offered ordinarily vnto them in Sacrifice, as wee vnderstand by Porphyrius himselfe, and as I haue declared heretofore. But in the reigne of Tiberius, they were forbidden in Affricke, and the Priests that Sacrificed them were hanged vp in their hallowed Groues. And vnder the Emperour Adrian all Sacrifices and all Idols were abolished almost euery where. And therfore saith S. Austin to the people at Medaure; See how your Temples are partlie decayed for want of reparation, and partly shut vp, and partly altered to another vse. To worship your Idols, you haue put the Christians to death; and the Christians by their dying haue cast your Idolles downe to the ground. And in another place he crieth out; where be your Gods, where be your Prophets, where be your Oracles, your Bowelgazings and your Sacrifices? And we read not of any that reproued him of vntruth; notwithstanding that many (and among them one Zosimus) bewaileth the decay of them; and yet doth not any of them step forth for him, to shew any remainder of them. And whereas Iulian saith, As our Oracles are ceassed, so also

S. Austin in an Epistle to the people of Medaure.

also be your Prophets: Let him first shewe vpon what cause his Oracles are ceased, which many haue sought and none yet found. As for ours, they had an eie to Christ, and aimed at him as their marke: and now that he is come, the office of the messenger ceaseth in the presence of the maister, and the representing of saluation by Sacrifices ceaseth, because the Saluation it selfe is come.

Miracles which could not proceede but from God

Iesus therefore hath ouercome both the world and the Prince of the world, by a force (in outward shewe) cleane contrarie to all victorie, and by a way contrarie to the end that he intended; that is to wit by his word, which to the sight of the world is folly and feeblenesse. Let vs see now how in his workes he passeth all the abilitie of all Creatures, according to this saying of his, The works which I doe, doe beare witnesse of mee. And suthly it is a myracle that so many people haue beleeued at the preaching of the Apostles: but a farre more wonder that so few folke in these our daies should regard it, though Iesus Christ and his Apostles had neuer wrought other myracle than that, as I haue often said afore. But that they wrought very great myracles besides. I let few of the Heathen that dare denie it; and against the Iewes I haue sufficiently proued it alreadie. Wee haue a Letter of Pylats, wherein he witnesseth that Iesus gaue sight to the blind, cleansed Leapers, healed them that were diseased with the Palsey, deliuered men from deuils, ouerruled the waters, raised the dead, and rose again himselfe after he had bene dead three daies. Also our Diuines of olde time say vnto the Heathen, Read your owne Commentaries, and search your Registers, and you shall finde there the miracles of Iesus. And the Emperour Iulian speaking of him in skorne, saith this. What hath this Iesus done worthie of memorie or of any account in all his life; sauing that he cured a fewe blind and lame men, and deliuered some from Deuills that possessed them, in the Villages of Bethsaida and Bethania? To be short, as well the Turkes as the Iewes confesse and commend his myracles; and the Emperours would neuer haue esteemed of him, if it had not bin for his miracles. Apollo himselfe in his Oracles called him θαυμασιοεργὸν ἰησοῦν that is to say, The wise in wonderfull workes. But let vs take Iulian at his word, and his confession will bee enough. Put the case that he had done no more but cured the blind, and that hee had cured no moe than one. Who is so blind, that in this healing of the blind, seeth not this singular power of God? Is not the sight one of the excellentest substances in the world? And what is the restoring of sight, but the restoring of a substance? and what is the restoring thereof, but a newe creating thereof, euen of nothing? And what can make a substance (how small soeuer it bee) of nothing, but an infinite power? The which who can haue, but the only one God? or who can bee the instrument or disposer there-

of,

of, but only he that pleaseth God? To be briefe, is he not without the bounds of nature, which can create a substance? And whence hath hee then that power, but from the maker of nature, at least wise if he be not the maker himselfe? But our Lord Jesus wrought infinite miracles, as the Jewes that sawe them haue witnessed and doe witnesse still; and not only hee, but also his Apostles; and not onely his Apostles, but also their Disciples. And in deede they haue contriued certaine bookes vnder the name of Jesus, as dedicated by him to Peter and Paule, conteining an Arte of working Miracles; by likelihood because they had seene them painted together, howbeit that Paule (as is well knowne) kept not companie with Christ while hee liued in the flesh, but persecuted his Disciples a good while after. And S. Paule saith expressly, that he himselfe came in signes and miracles: wherein if he lied, it was an easie matter to disproue him. Againe, Christ wrought some such miracles, as Iulian being vnable to denie, falleth to railing and reuiling him, calling him the greatest Magician that euer was in the world. And of Saint Peter, they report that by his Magick hee made the Christian Religion durable for the space of three hundred three score and fiue yeeres, and that he did it without the priuitie and consent of Jesus. Whence rise these great slaunders, but of the greatnesse of the works of Christ and his Disciples? And if they had not done both great and manifest miracles; had not the shortest way beene to haue denied them? But let vs consider of what spirit these contrarieties proceede. Jesus (say they) did dedicate a booke to Peter and Paule: and Paule was a persecuter at that time and long time after. Likewise, Peter (say they) stablished Religion without the priuitie and consent of Jesus: and how then had he learned it of him? To be short, if there bee any such bookes, why doe they not shewe them? If they be good, why should they hide them? If they bee euill, why esteeme they him wise? Or if they bee effectuall, why doe they not put them in practise? As touching this point, I haue answered the Jewes already. But let vs come to the matter againe. Magicke neuer florished more in Princes Courts, than in the time of the Apostles. Why did not some bodie step forth to vanquish them or to conuict them? Denis & Origen were great Philosophers: and Origen was the disciple of Ammonius, & fellow-disciple to Plotin, that is so greatly allowed and so highly commended among them. Were these men such as would suffer themselues to bee led with illusions; or attribute that to Gods special working, which depended vpon nature? Specially Origen who had bin trained vp in Platoes Philosophie, & at that time professed Magicke, aswell the natural by the consent of dispositions in things, as the diuelish which they cal Theurgie by entering into fellowship & compact with spirits? Iulian also, (who to confound the miracles of Jesus, did what he could to reuiue Magicke by the helps

Austin concerning the true Religion.

of

of Iamblichus and Maximus) did hee euer cure a blinde man, or make a lame man goe? Nay, what got hee by it, but gastly feare, such as serued not to heale mens diseases, but to driue himselfe out of his wits? As for those which attribute the Myracles wrought by the Christians, to a strong and forcible imagination so vehemently fixed and fast set in the beleefe that Iesus is God, that it doth things wonderfull to our mortall nature: therein they followe the opinion of Auicen, who attributeth vnto fantasie or imagination, the operations that seeme to exceede nature. If it bee so, I would faine haue these good Philosophers tell mee, if of so many phantasticall Arabians as haue bent their whole force to imagination all their liues long, they can name me one that hath wrought any miracle? And of them all, who should rather haue done it, than the author of this imagination? Also say they, whether of these hath the greater force? an abilitie that is bred in vs, or a qualitie that doth but come into vs? fire as it is in it selfe, or as it is in a thing that it hath heated? Now, these Philosophers worke (as they thinke) by imagination applyed to naturall things, which imagination is an abilitie bred in man by nature: But the Christians (say they) worke by an imagination or perswasion that they haue concerning Christ, which imagination is not naturall, but commeth from without. Why then did not these Philosophers worke myracles in naturall things, yea and more euident than the myracles of the Christians.

In his sixth booke of the nature of things.

As touching Prophesying, which holdeth a very high place among miracles; and is much lesse subiect to the wrangling of Sophisters; Phlegon the Emperour Adrians Freedman, confesseth in the thirteenth and fourteenth bookes of his Chronicles, (confounding neuertheless S. Peter with Christ) that things to come were knowne to Iesus; and he witnesseth though with an ill will, that al the things which he had foretold were come to passe accordingly in euery point. And this kinde of miracles of his cannot be denied, specially at this day. For in our Gospels we read his foretellings, and in the Histories of the Heathen we reade the fulfilling of them. What will rise then of all this? Verily that Iesus hath conuerted the World by the bare preaching of his Apostles, and by his owne onely word; and that is, of nothing to make great things. This word considered in it selfe, could not but turne men away from him: and that is a drawing of an effect out of his contrarie. The diuels hid themselues away at the voice of his Seruants: and that is a power surmounting the power of man and Angell. He not onely made the Creatures obedient to his beck, but also created new substances of many sorts, and at many times: and this could not be but by a power that was diuine in deed.

The Prophesies of Iesus. Phlegon as he is alledged by Eusebius, Lactantius, & Origen.

But now omitting that such things depend vppon God alone; if the Lord Iesus had wrought by the Prince of the deuils, [as he was slanderously

rously reported to haue done, I would he haue preached innocencie and holinesse of life, reuerence towards God, charitie towards our neighbour, yea and that both in word and deede? For who could euer find fault in his conuersation? And seeing that the Gods of the heathen were diuels (as I haue proued afore): would he haue ouerthrowne their Idolls, beaten downe their Altars, abolished their Sacrifices, shut vp their Temples, and stopped the mouthes of the diuells themselues? Or if they were Gods, as the heathen reported them to be: were they not goodly Gods, that would flee away for the diuell, and ranke Traitors to the soueraigne God, that would forsake their places, and cast away their armour and weapon so cowardly? Or if (as the suttlest and cankeredst sort of them doe say) the diuell thought himselfe more worshipped in Iesus and more serued by his alene, against the glorie of God, than by all the seruices that had gone afore: (wherein notwithstanding I appeale to their owne consciences whether they speake as they thinke): would God (thinke you) haue giuen his spirit, and committed his power to the diuell or to the diuells instrument, to procure obedience and seruice to the diuell? Specially seeing that our Lord Iesus did such things as surmounted the nature, power and reach of all creatures, and which could not be done but by or from the Creator himselfe: May, seeing that God is altogither good; what a blasphemie were it? And seeing he is altogither wise, what an absurditie were it? And seeing he is our father, what a contrarietie were it? And seeing he doeth all things to his owne glorie, how should hee further his enemie, specially an enemy that laboreth by al meanes he can to bereaue him of his glorie? Surely therfore the working of Iesus was from God and for Gods glorie; insomuch that neither he nor any of his Disciples, did euer speake vnto vs of any other thing: and therefore God himselfe reuenged his death, both vpon Herod that had persecuted him, and vppon the Iewes which had betraied him (accordingly as he had foretold them) and also vpon Pilate which had condemned him; and likewise vpon the Neroes, Dominians, Valerians, Maximies, Diocletians and such others as had persecuted his Disciples; the end of all whome cryeth and proclaimeth with open and loud voice, Take warning at vs to deale iustly and to feare God. May further, this Iesus working manifestly by the power of God, telleth vs plainly that he was the sonne of God, that the father was in him, and he in the father, and that both of them were one. Also he did oftentimes of his owne authoritie command nature as Lord thereof, & cause men to worship him as God, euen among the Iewes who abhorred nothing more thã a strange God. On the other side the prophets of old time which prophesied of him, wrought miracles also, howbeit by calling vpon the name of God: & likewise the Apostles that preached him, howbeit in his name: & all they refused the honor that was offered them,

and

and rent their garments when men honored them, acknowledging themselues alwaies to be but his seruants and instruments of his glorie. And had he not bin the sonne of God; surely in so saying he had not bin Gods seruant, but his enemie, and a ranke rebell and Traitor and whatsoeuer worse is if any can be worse, and consequently vnder the extreame wrath of the creator as a person puffed vp with passing pride, which is the cause both of mans falling from his state, and of the diuels condemnation at Gods hand. Therefore let vs say that Iesus is the Sonne of God as he himselfe hath told vs, and that we ought to heare him, to yeld vnto him, to follow him; and to worship him as God, I meane God and man, the onely Mediator of mankind, who died for our sinnes and rose againe to make vs righteous; to whom be glory for euer and euer. Amen.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

A Solution of the Obiections of the Heathen against Iesus, the Sonne of God.

SVrely by those fewe things which the Heathen of old time either liked or durst speake of Iesus, euen at such time as it was an offence not only to speake well, but also euen not to speake euill of him; we see well that hee did put all the Philosophers to their Clergy; so as they wist not which way to turne them. In his life they could find no blame; of his doctrin they knew not what to say; and as for his power, they could not denie it for shame. All the shift they had, was but to say he was a great man, full of godlines and vertue, and wonderfull to all men: but that his Disciples did him wrong to call him God; seeing that neither he nor his Apostles had euer affirmed him so to be. But let those that doubt hereof, reade Saint Iohn, and they shall find in diuers

The witnesse of the Infidels

places,

places, that no man hath told vs more plainly that Iesus was God, than Iesus himselfe; God (say I) the euerlasting sonne of God, sent downe from Heauen, equall with the father, and all one with the father. Their so saying was to auoid the force of this argument of ours when we say, he could not do such things but from God: therefore he was not an enemy to God. But he had euidently bin so, if he had conueyed Gods glorie to himselfe and called himselfe God not being so in deede: Therefore followeth that seeing he himselfe said he was God, he is so in deede; and that our worshipping of him, is a worshipping of the very true God. Hereupon it is that the Philosopher Longinian in an epistle of his to S. Austin saieth, that he could not well tell what to deeme of Iesus. And as for Plotine, he impugneth not so much the Christians, as the Gnostiks and Manichies. And Porphyrius who fell away from Christ because he had bin reproued by the Churche, saieth thus; It is a greate matter that the Gods themselues should witnesse with Iesus, that he was a man of singular godlines, and that for the same hee is rewarded with blessed immortalitie: But in this the Christians ouershoote themselues, that they call him God. And Apollo being asked of one how he might withdrawe his wife from Christianitie, answered; Thou maiest sooner flie in the aire or write in water, than drawe her away from that. So strong was Christ in conuerting men to him, to haue nothing but aduersities in this life: and so farre to weake were the Deuils to turne them away from him, though they promised them all manner of good. And heere wee may not forget a subtile tricke of the deuill, worthie to bee noted in many of his Oracles alledged by Porphyrius. For commonly in the winding vp of them, he euer commended the Iewes, as worshippers of the onely GOD, and for that they continued deadly enemies to Iesus Christ, against whose Godhead they made what resistance they could, howbeit altogether in vaine.

S. Austin in his Epistles. Porphyrius in bookes of the praises of Philosophie.

As touching the Turkes, Mahomet saith, That Gods spirit was a helpe and a witnesse to Iesus the Sonne of Marie: That the Soule of God was giuen vnto him: That he is the messenger, the Spirit, and the word of GOD: That his doctrine is perfect: That it inlighteneth the old Testament: and that he came to confirme the same. But that he should be God, and specially the sonne of God, that he denieth: and yet it is not possible that he should be either the Spirit or the Word of God, but he must also bee God, considering that in God there cannot be any thing imagined to be which is not GOD himselfe: and that in the same doctrine which Mahomet himselfe doth so greatly allowe, our Lord Iesus affirmeth himselfe to be God, and the Sonne of God. But let vs heare farther of the Obiections which the Infidels make, why they should not receiue Christ for God.

Alcoran, Azoar, 1.4.11.13.

What

Iulians obiections.

What so great thing (saith Iulian) hath your Iesus done, that he may be compared with Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander? May surely may we say, and vpon better ground: what haue they all three done and put them together, that is comparable to the doings of an Apostle of Iesus? Socrates (saith Iulian) was an Innocent: but yet an idolater. A teacher and patterne of moral vertue: but yet (as his owne Porphyrie reporteth) leatherous and a louer of women: and so cholericke in his anger, that he spared not to say any thing were it neuer so wrong. Yet died he for the trueth of the onely God: but he had serued false Gods all his life long, and euen at his death he made vowes still vnto them. And let not Iulian boast here, that his doctrine continued after his death. For the Athenians acquitted him and honored him anon after: whereas open warre was maintained against the Apostles and their doctrine, by the space of three hundred yeres together. And yet in as great reputation as Socrates was after his death, his Disciple Plato durst scarce be so bold as to speake against the Gods. Such therefore were their examples of good behauiour, as these be. One Cimon was an honest man, but yet giuen to Incest. Aristides was an vncorrupt man, but a robber of the common treasure and ambitious. The Catoes were reformers of disorders in youths, but yet adulterers and murtherers themselues. But as for Iesus and his Apostles, what enemie of theirs was euer so past shame, as to carpe their conuersation? And if the forerehearsed men were so farre off from common honestie, euen by record of them that had them in chiefe estimation: how much further off were they from being Gods, yea or from resembling them?

Porphyrius alledging Aristoxenus.

Lycurgus.

In Lycurgus (to Iulians seeming) there was some singularitie. The people were so rude and headstrong that they put out one of his eies as he was proclaiming his Lawes: and yet notwithstanding those Lawes bare sway in Lacedemon many hundred yeres after. But Iulian must remember also, that the Phrasians being next neighbours to Lycurgus, and his confederates and companions in armes, would not admit them; and that the Lacedemonians themselues corrected them while he was yet aliue: vpon report whereof he died out of hand for pride, greefe, and disdaine. But what comparison is there betweene Sparta and the whole world? betweene dying for disdaine to see his Lawes corrected, and dying willingly to correct the Lawes of all the world?

Alexander.

What will he tell vs now of Alexander? He had a great hoste and power of men: so much the more weaker was he of himselfe. Iesus was despised and full of infirmitie: so much the greater is his mightinesse and honor. Alexander vanquished the Persians in battell: how much more commendable had it beene, if he had done it with a blast of his mouth? If he had liued, he would haue conquered the whole world: how much

more

more honorable had it bene, if he had tryumphed ouer the world by dying? Alexander increased his kingdome by oppressing, and Iesus by yeelding. Alexander by killing, & Iesus by dying. But Alexāders Empire decayed by his death: whereas the kingdome of Iesus was both founded and stablished by the death of himselfe and his. The difference therfore betwixt them is as great, as is betwixt him that dyeth, & him that quickeneth: or betwixt him that of all maketh a thing of nothing, and him which of nothing maketh all things. To be short, if ye loke for vertue man that excelled in vertue, was in olde time a wonder. The Philosophers themselues (sayeth Cornelius Nepos) condemned themselues in their owne teachings. But after the time that Iesus was once preached, what a number of men, women, and euen children, in Towne and Countrie, yea and in Wildernesses, taught vertue to the world by their example? If ye require righteousnesse: what were the first Christians but teachers of equitie, of vncorruptnesse, and of vprightnesse. Yea what enemie of theirs doe we finde, that once openeth his mouth to accuse them? If ye lacke the despising of death; indede they make a great a doe of one Zeno an Eleat, for spitting out his Tongue at a Tyrant, least he might confesse what the Tyrant demaunded: & likewise of one Leena a woman of Athens, that indured al manner of torments without vttering one word. If this be so great a matter: what a thing is it, that in one age, ye shall haue whole millions of al sexes, of all ages, of all states, degrées and conditions, go willingly and ioyfully to death: insomuch that the Historiographer Arrianus, makes a general rule of it, That al Christians made in effect no account of death: not to conceale any fault of theirs, as those others did, who had leuer to haue suffered torments than to haue dyed: but for professing the thing openly before all people, which they had learned of God, as folke that would haue thought themselues vnwoorthy to liue, if they had held their peace. To be short, what Disciples, what Subiects, what Souldiers had Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander in al their life, that came any thing nigh this? These (I say) which were taught, ruled, and trayned vp by Iesus euen after he was departed hence, & by his Apostles which were rude, ignorant, & weake as long as he was cōuersant with them, yea & euen at the very time of his death?

Besides this notable alteration, I sayde also that at that time the ceasing of Idols ceased in all places at once. Are they (thinke you) so voyd of wit as to say, that the ceasing thereof in so many places, in so notable maner, and in so great geyncstriuings, happened by chaunce? And must it not be that those Gods were made in greate hatte, which had perished by so sudden chaunce? No say they it came to passe by a Constellation (that is to say, I wote not what a méeting together) of the Starres in the Skye. Let vs examine this Astrologie a little. They suppose (& it is

The obiections of the Astrologers.

a common opinion) that according to the diuersitie of Images in the Skye, there are also diuers Religions and diuers Gods in diuers Nations: and therefore they diuide the world into seauen Clymates, and vnto euery Clymate they allot a seuerall Planet to haue the rule of it. But how will they answer to Bardesanes the Syrian, who (as they themselues cannot deny) was the wisest of al the Chaldees? Ye parte the world (saith he) into seauen Clymates, euery Clymate to bee gouerned by a Planet, and what a number of Nations are vnder euery Clymate? In euery Nation, what a number of Shyres? In euery Shyre what a sorte of Townes? All which do differ both in Lawes, in Gods, & in Religions: and that not onely according to the number of the twelfe Signes, or of the sixe and thirtie faces onely, but in infinite sortes. In India vnder one selfe same Clymat some eate mans flesh, and some eate no flesh at all: some worship Idols, and othersome admit none at all. Againe, the Magusians (carie them whither soeuer ye will) are giuen to Incest after the custome of their Mothercountry Persia from whence they descend. And the Iewes being dispersed ouer all the world, alter not their Religion nor their manner of life wheresoeuer ye bestowe them. To be short, a Nation departing out of one Clymate, carrieth newe Goddes and newe Lawes into another Clymate, and yet the Clymate neither troubleth nor hindereth the doing thereof. What vertue haue the Clymats or the Signes ouer Lawes and Religions: the differences wherof are made by Forrests, Riuers & Mountaynes, which are the bounds of Iurisdictions, rather than by them: and which they are brought into againe euen in dispite of them, by men, by custome, & by conquest? And in good sooth, wherof commeth it that in the Countries where Venus, Mercurie, & Saturne were worshipped in old time: the Gods are now abolished quite and cleane, & yet the signes are still in the same places where they were afore? And wherof commeth it that the Iewish Law beeing banished and vtterly rooted out of their owne Countrie, continueth vnder all Clymates still? How happeneth it that the Religion of Mahomet is now, where the Christian Religion was in time past? & the Christian is now, where somtime were the bloudy Altars of Saturne and Mars, & in some places many and contrarie Religions together?

Bardesanes the Syrian. Euseb. præpar. li. 6. ca. 18.

For the salaing of this absurditie, they runne into another. Not the Clymats in very deede (say they) do make the differences in Religiō, but the greate Coniunctions of the Planets: and yet euen about this poynt they be at greate oodes among themselues. For some say that the great Coniunctions of Iupiter and Saturne and none other, do dispose of Religion. Others say that properly Iupiter betokeneth Religion, and that after as hee is accompanied, so bringeth he forth the diuersities of them: as for example, accompanied with Saturne, the Iewish: with Mars, the

Albumazer.

Roger Bacon.

Chaldee:

Chaldee: with the Sunne, the Aegyptian: with Venus, the Mahometane: with Mercurie, the Christian: and with Luna, the Antichristian: & that there cannot be aboue fiue of them. If I should aske both of them a reason, or an experience of their saying, I doubt which of thē would be most graueled. But because I will shew my selfe more indifferent, I require first that they agrée among themselues, to tell mée which is a great Coniunction, which is a meane one, and which is a small one: for as yet they varie vpon that poynt. And likewise whether the ninth house or the seuenth house is the house of Religion. Herewithall I would haue them to set me down the beginnings of the great Coniunctions, that they might iump with the original springings vp of Religiōs, & with the chaunges of them: which thing they haue not hitherto done. Thirdly, if Religion depend vpon ý Coniunction of ý Planets: let them tell me whether vpon the ceasing of those Coniunctions, the Religion shall not ceasse also, or at least wise anon after, as light fayleth by the going away of the Sunne: and where vppon it commeth then that the Christian, the Iewish, & the Heathen Religions haue continued somany hundred yéres, séeing that there was neuer any Astrologer that once dreamed that a Coniunction should last so long? Fourthly, what great Cōiunction bred the doctrine of Iesus Christ, séeing there was neuer any change in Religion, so great, so vniuersall, so spéedie, nor so dureable: and yet euen by their owne confession, there was not at that time nor néere about that time, any Cōiunction either great or smal that could be perceiued. To be short, if only Iupiter & Saturne be the authors of such change, which of them maketh the difference in Religiōs? If Iupiter make the diuersities of them according as he is accompanied, how happeneth it that there be so many & so sundry sorts of Religiōs, séeing it was sayde afore that there can be no more than fiue? Againe, what great Coniunction was there at the chaunge of Religion made by Mahomet? or at the change that was made afterward by the Arabians or Saracens in Affrick? And when of two Countries, yea euen of two Cities that haue but a Riuer betwixt them, the one sticketh stoutly and wilfully to the ould Religion and the other imbraceth the newe: what Coniunction may be the cause of such disiunction?

But to come to particulars, I aske of them concerning the chaunge of Religiō ý was brought vp in the time of Iesus, whether they giue their iudgment thereof by the first vprising and originall of Idolatrie, which was so fayle at that time as a Clew of yarne that is wound out to the end: or by the Originall of the Christian Religion, which was to succéede and to smoulder the other, by the force and operation of some greate Coniunction then fresh and lustie to thrust it forth? Againe as touching the originall beginning or first vprising, be it of that Religion which

came vp; or of that which went downe: whence do they take it? from the first publishing thereof, as they iudge of a Citie by the laying of the first stone, or from the birth of the founder or inioyner thereof by Lawe, as if a man should iudge of the prosperitie & luckinesse of a Citie or house by the natiuitie or birth of the Maister mason, or of the owner or founder that causeth it to be builded? But if Idolatrie was to decay at that time, by reason that the force of the Coniunction that caused it was then outworne, did all sortes of Idolatrie being so many in nomber, spring all of one selfe same Coniunction, and therefore must néeds all fayle at once? Who can tel when the force of a Coniunctiõ shal vanish away, but he ỹ knoweth the first instant of the beginning therof? And where haue they euer marked or found out, eyther the very instant or any time neare the instant wherein Idolatrie was first borne, which béeing so diuersly shaped, and of so sundry sortes, must néeds (by their owne opinion) depend vpon many great Coniunctions: Or where haue they cast the natiuitie of the first founder thereof, who certeinly must néeds be mo than one? Or if they iudge it by the first vprising of the Christian Religion: if it depend vpon a greate Coniunction, let them shewe vs one that time: or if it procéede from the natiuitie of the setter vp thereof by Lawe, let them tell vs where they haue red it. For they wil not deny, but that the birthtime of Iesus about the casting whereof so many Astrologers haue bewrayed their owne folly, is vncerteine & without ground. To be short, eyther the springing vp of Religion is as vpon some great Coniunction, and at that time there was none such to be marked: or els at the springing vp therof, by the preaching of Iesus, some great Coniunctiõ matching therewithall, did giue force vnto it, but none such was séene about that time neither: or finally both the vprising and the force thereof depended vpon the birthtime of Iesus: and that is more vncerteine and lesse knowne vnto vs than both the other. But that the birth of one man should ouerrule so many natures and so many Nations, what Astrologie wil permit: séeing ỹ some one or other of euery Nation might be borne in the selfesame instant as wel as he? And ỹ such a natiuitie should ouerrule, not onely the Nations, but also the Gods or rather diuells of the Nations, what theologie or what Astrologie will graunt: séeing that by the iudgment of the best Astrologers, the Starres inforce not the mind of man, and much lesse the separated minds (as they terme them,) that is to say Spirits, & that euen by their owne diuinitie, men ought to honor and obey the Gods? Finally, what order is this, that the Starres should haue dominion ouer a man, and by the same man tryumph ouer all the Gods? But the vanitie of these contemplations or rather gasings, is plainely bewraied by the effect therof. For by their supposed Coniunctions they gaue their iudgment that the Christen Religion should not

continue aboue three hundred and three score yeres or thereabouts: and then did it manifest it self more and more to the ouerthrow of al maner of vngodlynes and superstition. Albumazar extended it afterward to the thousand fourehundred and sixtith yere, and yet, God be thanked, it lifteth it self vp againe & shineth forth still more and more. On the otherside, Abraham a Iew Prophesied that in the yere of our Lord a thousand fourehundred three score and foure, the Iewish Religion should get the vpper hand, the which was neuer more oppressed than at that time. This serueth to shewe that their iudiciall Astrologie is so vaine & fond that although ye graunted them all their suppositions (whereof in very deede they can make no proofe) yet they would confute themselues by the course of the times, and also by their owne consents. Neuertheless I would not haue any man thinke, that my speaking hereof is because I haue not matter wherwith to aduãtage my self in their Astrologie. For I could alledge here, how they say that Iesus in his natiuitie, had for his ascendent, the signe of Virgo in her first face, as they terme it, in which place of the Heauen, Albumazar the Arabian saieth that the Indians and Egyptians haue marked a virgin bearing two eares of Corne in hir hand, and a Child sucking on her breast, whom a certeine Nation (saieth he) call Iesus, & that the Starre which the Greekes and Latines in their languages cal an Eare of Corne, is called by the Arabians, The signe of the foode that sustaineth, as if ye would say, The substantiall bread or food: And that vpon the Starre which the wise men saw in the East in the time of the Emperour Augustus: the Astrologers deliuered matter enough: But in these earnest matters, I am loth to alledge any thing which is not substantiall, or which I take not to be so.

After Astrologie, Magicke biddeth vs battell. I sayde that Iesus in his miracles, surmounted the abilitie of all Creatures. Hereupon they set against vs Simon the Sorcerer, Apollonius of Thyane, Apuleius of Medaure, and such others: And sothly all these do yeld vs so much the greater record of ỹ miracles of Iesus, in that for to diminish the estimatiõ of them, they haue had recourse to false miracles, & giuen credit to such as were workers of them. Simon therefore reported himselfe to be a God, to haue giuen the Law to Moyses vpon Mount Sinay, to haue appeared afterward in the person of Christ, & finally to haue shed out the giftes of tongues vpon the Apostles in the person of the holy Ghost: wherin he confesseth aforehand the mightinesse of Christes name, and that hee would haue men beleeue that hee was Christ and beautifie himselfe with his works. To this end doth hée apply the grounds of Magicke, wherby he maketh ỹ people to wonder at him. Now Iesus had bin crucified: but vnto this man the Romanes did set vp a standing Image vpon the Bridge of Tybris with this title, To Simon the holy God. The Disciples

The Obiections of the magitians.

Simon Magus

Iosephus in his 18. booke of the Iewish warres. ca. 1.

sciples of Jesus suffered, and taught men to suffer, and were extreamly persecuted of all Judges. Contrariwise, he & his followers were much made of among the greatest personages. But hee did yet more: for he taught his Disciples that Idolatrie is an indifferent thing, & that men should not nede to suffer for his Doctrine, and what could be more delitefull and more enticing than this gere? Yet notwithstanding, in the end both he and his Lady Selene were quite shaken off at all mens hands, and all the cunning he had could not make him to take footing againe in the world, neither hath the remembrance of him had any continuance here, but to the glorie of the Lord Jesus, & to his own shame. And what els doth this giue vs to vnderstand, but that it is in vaine for Princes to cherish a wicked wed, whō Heauen is bent against it: & that they labour in vaine to plucke vp the good hearb, which God intendeth to prosper? They make greate braggs of one Apollonius of Thyanie How-

Apollonius of Thyanie.

fe we at leastwise among our learned men haue not heard of him? This man did call vp the Ghost of Achilles, that is to say, a diuell. What a nomber of Sorcerers can do as much as that? He asketh him whether he had not a Lombe? Whether Polixena were killed for his sake or no? Whether the things which the Poets report of him be true? What good hap should come vnto the world: and what good fortune was to befall to the Necromācer himself? He toke a Luckesigne at the sight of a Lyonesse and what a Superstition was that? He wore Rings made by the constellations of Planets: and what a vanitie was that? When a Plagne was begunne, he gaue warning of it: & when it grew strong, he slonke away. He fetched a yong wench to life again, but yet his counterfeit Euangelist Philostratus durst not auowe that she was starke dead. What is there in all these, that is eyther good or great? But now come we to the poynt. Jesus died for the saluation of the world, and Apollonius to driue a certeine disease out of a Citie, caused a straunger to be stoned to death as he passed by in the open Market stead. The Disciples of Jesus were slayne in all Cities, and Apollonius had images set vp vnto him, and was worshipped in many Temples for a God. The sayd Disciples did in the end ouerthrow both the Temples, the Idols and his Images to: Contrarywise, Apollonius liued til he sawe himselfe bereft of all honor, and his Images consumed into smoke: neither did the same of him ouerliue him three daies, insomuch that euen the booke which he had written of his consultations with the Deuils in the den of Trophonius, rotted and perished together with the Ceremonies of the same Caue. What are the myracles of this Apollonius, but proues of the Godhead of Jesus? For seing that hauing attained to the vttermost that man and nature could come vnto, he vanished away so soone euen of himselfe: and Jesus euen in despite of man, & of the world, & of nature, went through &

Philostratus in the life of Apollonius.

Dion in Aurelian.

gate

gate the vpper hand of him & of al others: how could this haue come to passe, if the working of Iesus had not béne by a higher power than the power of the world, of man, and of nature?

Apuleius.

Apuleius of Medaure hath shewed sufficiently in his bookes, ý he knew all the trickes of Magick: but what was he the better for them? He was of an honorable house: but did he euer attaine to the least degrée of dignitie? Some will say perchaunce, that he made no reckoning of it: what shal we say then to his pleading against the men of Choa (frō whence neuertheles he had maried his wife) for that they would not receiue an Image of him? But the Emperour Vespasian (saist thou) cured a blynd man at Alexandria: and those (saieth Tacitus) do beare witnesse of it, which had no gaine by saying it. And why then beléeue ye not the myracles of Iesus, witnessed by so many men which are content to forgoe all ý euer they haue, yea & their liues also, for saying it? And had Vespasian don so: who knoweth not the vaingloriousnes of the Romanes? O how wel would it haue matched with this Oracle applyed vnto him by his flatterers: namely, That the Monarke of the whole world should come out of Iewrie: & also with this other, That to be saued, it behoued them to haue a King? And as smal a myracle as it was, what a countenance would it haue caried, being vpheld by so many Legiōs, clothed by so many learned flatterers, mainteined by ý state of the Empyre, & confirmed by so many hangers on? For as for Antinous ý Emperour Adrians Minion, whom the Emperour endowed with Tēples & Sacrifices: to what purpose serued he, but to shew that it was not in the power of the great Emperour of the world, to make folk beléeue a man to be a God, what paine or cost soeuer he put himself vnto? Yea (say they) but to beléeue ý myracles of Iesus, we would sée myracles still. The time hath bén that they were séene, the time hath bén that they were beléeued, & time hath altered ý course of them. What a number of things do we beléeue which we sée not? And what reason or what benefit should lead vs to the beléeuing of any other rather than of them? But we should be the more assured of them. As much might the former ages haue said, & as much may ý ages say that are to come: & so should it behoue myracles to be wrought to all men & at al times. And were it once so, then should myracles be no myracles, for somuch as in truth they haue not that name, but of the rare & séldome sight of them. The Sunne giueth light daily to the world: he maketh the day, the yere, & the seasons of the yere. Trées hauing borne flowers & fruit become bare, & afterward shoot out their buds & flourish againe. The Vine turneth the moysture of ý Earth into wine: the graine of Corne turneth it into eares of Corne: and the Pippen or kernel of an Apple, into an Appletrée. And infinite men receiue shape and birth euery houre. All these are verie great myracles, and GOD and none

Vespasian. Tacitus lib. 20

Antinous.

Obiection.

ther is the doer of them, nature teacheth it thée, and thou canst not denie it. But forasmuch as thou séest them euery day, thou regardest them not, and yet the least of them would make thée to wonder, if it were rare. To succour thine infirmitie, the Sunne forgoeth his light, a drye sticke flourisheth, water is turned into wine, and the dead are raysed to lyfe: & all this is to shew vnto thée, that the same power which wrought in creating things at the beginning, worketh now still whensoeuer it listeth: and that if the effects liue, the cause of them is not dead. And if thou shouldest sée euery day some miracle in the Sunne, in Plants, and in man, surely in lesse than a hundred yeres miracles would be changed into nature with thée, and the helpes of thine infirmitie would turne thée to vnbeléef, and to make the world beléeue agein, God should be faine to create a new world for the world. An example whereof may be the people of Israel, who hauing their meate, their drinke, their trayning vp, and their gouerment altogether of miracle, did no lesse than forty yeres turne them all into nature, and like folke accustomed continually to phisick, which turne their medicines into nourishment of their bodies, they abused the stayes of their faith, by turning them into occasions of distrust & vnbeléef. Now, God created nature, and hath giuen it a Lawe, which Law he wil haue it to follow. Neuertheless, somtimes for our infirmities sake he interrupteth it, to the intent to make vs to know that he is Lord of nature. But if he should do it at our appoyntment, then should we be the Lords both of nature & of him, & if he should do it in all cases, we would make a rule of it, and we would make bookes and calculations of it no lesse than of the Eclipses of the Sunne or of the Mone, or rather than of the motions of the eighth Sphere, and we would impute al those interruptions and changes, to the nature of nature it selfe. Therefore it is both more conuenient for his glorie and more behouefull to our saluation, that nature should still followe hir nature, and that miracles should continue myracles still, that is to say, that they would be rare, as necessarie helpes to the infirmities of our nature, I meane not of one man, or of on age, but of al mankind, or at least wise of al the Church together, which is but as one commonweale and one man.

Mahomet. Yet remayneth Mahomet, and he séemeth to be a iolly fellowe: for he made a greate parte of the world to beléeue in him. He was an Arabian, and toke wages of the Emperor Heraclius to serue him in his warres anon after the declyning of the Empyre: and in a mutinie among the Arabian Souldiers, he was chosen by them to be their commaunder, as we sée diuers times in the bands of the Spanyards. Whether he were a good man or no, let the people of Mecha (who worship him at this day) iudge, which condemned him to death for his Robberies and murthers. And he himself in his Alcoran confesseth himself to be a sinner, an Idola-

ter.

ter, an adulteret, giuen to Lecherie, and subiect to women; and that in such wordes as I am ashamed to repeate. But he hath inlarged his Empyre by his successors, and laid his Lawe vpon many Nations. What marueil is that? For why? Auenge your selues (saith he) with all your hearts; take as many wiues as ye be able to kéepe; Spare not euen nature it self. What is he (though he were ẏ rankest Harlet in the world) that might not leuie men of that price, considering the corruption that is in mankinde? He reigned as a Lord say they, but yet by worldly meanes, yea and vtterly vnbecóming a man. If ye enquire of his doctrine, (say they) it is holy, conformable to the old and new Testament, and admitted of God. But as good as ye make it, yet may yé not examine it nor dispute of it vpon paine of death. And what man of iudgement woulde not haue some suspicion of the person (though he were very honest,) which should say, Behold ye be payed, and in good money; but ye may not loke vpon it by dailight? If ye loke for his miracles; In déed God sent Moyses and Christ with miracles; but Mahomet comes with his naked sword to make men beléeue, and as for other miracle he workes none. And therefore all his Alcoran is nothing else but kill the Infidels, reuenge your selues, he that kils most shall haue greatest share in paradise, & he that feighteth lastlie shalbe damned in hell. Howe farre is this geare off from suffering, & both from cõquering and continuing by sufferance? What wickednesse might not be stablished by that way of his? Notwithstanding, to allure the Iewes he exalteth Moyses and retaineth Circumcision: and to the intent he might not estrange the Christians, he saith that Christ is the Spirit, Word, and power of God, and that Mahomet is Christes seruant, sent to serue him, and prophesied of by him afore. Againe to please the Heretikes called Nestorians, he affirmeth that yet for all this, Christ is not very God, nor the Sonne of God, but that he hath in déede the Soule of God. Thus doe ignorance and violence in him incounter one another, the one to choke the trueth, and the other to inforce the falshood. What practises, what wiles, what counterfayings, what inforcements, what armies, what cruelties vseth he not to perswade men? And yet what hath he wonne by all this, but to be a Prophet without Prophesying, a Lawmaker without miracles, and (euen among his owne Bishops) a man without God, or Religion? What man of discretion would read his Alcoran twice, except it were for some great gaine, or by manifest compulsion, considering the absurdities, toyes, contrarieties, dreames, and frantike deuices that are in it, besides the wicked things, wherof I wil not speake? Farre off therefore is he from furnishing forth of a martyr, that wil die either for the preaching therof, or for not recanting it. To be short, Mahomets miracle is, to waste and spoyle the world by warre; Christs is to bring the world in

Alcoran. Azoar. 2. 3. 6. &c.

order

order by his suffering for it. Mahomet was assisted by a sort of Tutchrats like himselfe; Christ was followed by infinite folke dying and suffering aduersitie for his sake. The workes of Mahomet were such as euery man can do; and doeth daily: the workes of Christ are such as neuer any man did, nor durst vndertake to do but he himselfe. Surely therefore we may well conclude, without wearying the reader any longer about these vanities; That Mahomet was a man, and wrought but as man and by man, and therefore is to be examined as a man: and that Iesus Christ wrought by God and was (as he hath told vs) the sonne of God and therefore let vs heare him and beleue him as God.

An obiection against Christes Incarnation.

At this worde, beholde, they step vp againe and say; a man to be God? What an absurditie is that? Howe is it possible? Nay rather seing it is conuenient and agreeable both to Gods glory and to mans saluation, as I haue proued afore: why should it be vnpossible? God created man by his wisedom, which wisedom is his son. Now, what is more méete than that he should repaire man by him againe? Also it was a man that sinned, and in that man & by that man did all his offspring sin likewise. Now what is more rightfull, than to repaire him by man? Man rebelled against his father: who could appease this offence but God himselfe? and who could better pacifie the father, than his owne welbeloued sonne? Man (say I) rebelled through extréme pride, vpon desire to be equall with God. Now what thing is there which ought to humble man so much, as to sée his creator submit himselfe beneath man for the fault of man? Or which ought so much to make him to consider his sinne and to be sorie for it, as to consider the infinite greatnesse of his Maunsume, the exceeding greatnesse of his sin, & of his punishment due for the same? And if thou vrge me still, with how is it possible? I answer it is possible; because God listeth it, and euen in mans vnderstanding it containeth no contrarietie to say it. Also it is possible for we sée it is so; and so many Prowes cannot be wiped away by a bare question. It séemeth possible enough to thée O Iulian when thou listest: for thou sayest that Esculapius the son of Iupiter toke humane flesh to come down vnto the earth: and thine owne Philosopher Amelius doth vnder hand approue, that Gods eternal word toke flesh & clothed himself with the nature of mã, alledging the very words of S. Iohn for the matter. To be short, thou hast a spirit vnited to thy body; thou canst not denie it, & yet thou séest it not. And if thou wert lesse than man, thou wouldest also denie it to be in man: and yet for al that, what fellowship is there betwéene a bodie & a spirit? And what may séeme more against reason, than that a spirit which occupieth no place, should not only be lodged, but also imprisoned in a place? But he which made both the one and the other of nothing can do what he thinketh good with both of them. And séeing that to glorifie man, he

vouchsafed

vouchsafed to take him vp into heauen and to ioyne him vnto him, (Plotin saies so, and therefore thou wilt willingly heare it and allow of it:) why should he be lesse able to come downe if he list, & to vnite and ioine himselfe to man vpon earth, if he list to humble himselfe?

But why did God send his deare Sonne into the world rather in that time than in any other? Why sent he him not sooner or later? These are questions for maisters to vse to their seruants, & not for silly Creatures to vse vnto God, who by his onely power made vs to be borne, & by his onely grace hath begotten vs new againe. But (as I haue said afore to the Iewes,) man liued for a time without the Lawe, to make him to learne that he was not a law to himselfe: and a certaine time vnder the law to make him finde by proofe that he was not able to performe it, and afterward grace was offered vnto him, as vpon a scaffold where he sawe nothing but death: and so the knowing of nature corrupted made man the more able to receiue the lawe; and the law made him the more readie to imbrace Gods grace. Moreouer it is a wonderfull confirmation to vs, when we consider that from the beginning of the World vnto his comming, we haue alwaies had Prophets from time to time, agreeing in one minde and one voice, as Heralds and Trumpettors euerychone of them, to publish & proclaime the maiesty of this King, which was to come into the world. For had he come anon after the Creation of the world, this cõfirmation ofours had bene greatly abated, because they that were the first had bene surprised by his comming vnlooked for, and those that haue come after should haue bene in danger to forget it or to make the lesse account of it, as though his cõming had not belonged to them; whereas now all of vs are partakers both of ioy and of Gods admonitions; both afore the law, for he was promised to them; and vnder the lawe, for they likewise heard the Trumpets, and also in the time that he came, for he himselfe spake to them; and finally in our time, for his returne draweth nigh. Neuertheless, it was his will to come in the time when learning did most florish, & when the greatest Empyre was in the chiefest pride, to the ende that all worldly wisedom should acknowledge it selfe to be foolishnesse, and all strength and power acknowledge it selfe to be weakenesse before him.

Why Iesus came at the same time that he did.

Now, therfore let vs all conclude, as well Iewes as Gentiles, that Iesus Christ is the eternall sonne of God, the Redeemer, and Mediator of mankinde. And let no question or obiection withhold vs from it. Iewes; for he is such a one as he was promised to thē, borne in Bethelē of a Virgin of the Tribe of Iuda, at such time as the kingdom was gone from the house of Iuda, humbled beneath all, exalted aboue all, put to reprochfull death for our sinnes, and raised againe with glory to make vs righteous. Gentiles; for he did workes which could not proceede but from God; he

created

created thinges of nothing, driue one contrarie out of another, surmounted the nature of man, and ouercame the nature of Angels: his doing of which things (being not possible to be done but by God,) declared him to be very God. And both together; for all of vs desire eternall life, al of vs know the corruption of our nature, all of vs perceiue what Gods Iustice requireth, al of vs finde that we haue nede of his mercie, and al of vs see that betweene his Iustice and his mercie, none can (by reason) step in to be the Mediator but God, & to be the Sacrificer, but man, euen Iesus Christ, borne of the virgin, and the sonne of God. And seeing it hath pleased the father to giue vs his son, let vs imbrace him; and seeing he hath sent him to bring glad tidings to our Soules, let vs heare him. Finally let vs hearken to the rule and doctrine which he hath left vs, that we may indeuour to liue vnto him in all godlinesse, considering that he hath vouchsafed of his vnspeakeable Loue, to suffer here beneath, and to die for vs.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

That the Gospell in verie trueth containeth the doctrine of Iesus the Sonne of God.

NOw, as for our Lord Iesus Christ himself (for I thinke I may now so cal him without offence to the Iewes, or scorne of the Gentiles) he hath not left vs any of his owne life or doctrine written by himselfe. For sothly had he written it himselfe, mē would haue conceiued some suspicion ther of. Againe, had he set downe those high things in a high stile; the common sorte would not haue vnderstood them: and had he vttered them in a simple stile, they would haue concluded (for so farre as they had vnderstood,) that it had beene

bene but the woꝛd of a Man, and not the woꝛd of God himselfe; as we se it is a very common sondnesse in the woꝛld, to esteme moꝛe of the bookes that are darke by reason of their ouerhigh stile, than of those which stoope as low as they can to the capacitie of the readers, to instruct them. But his life and his doctrine be recoꝛded by his Apostles and Disciples assisted by his spirit, from whom we haue the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, all which together we call the newe Couenant oꝛ the newe Testament: And whether this testament ought to be of authoꝛitie among vs oꝛ no; I repoꝛt me to the iudgement of all the woꝛld. Foꝛ the writers thereof liued in the same time that the things were done, and sawe the doing of them. And although that at the time of their writing, they were farre asunder; yet agree they both in the Histoꝛie and in the Doctrine; and loke what they wꝛate, the same did they pꝛeach and publish openlie euerywhere, euen while those were aliue which could witnesse thereof, yea euen while their enemies liued which would haue bin very glad to haue taken them with an vntrueth: and in the end they signed it with their bloud, and sealed it with their death in al places of the earth: which thing we read not to haue bene done foꝛ any other writing oꝛ Testament whatsoeuer, though it came from neuer so great a State oꝛ Monarke, how authenticall so euer men laboured to make it. If we loke vpon the authoꝛs, their writing is not to flatter some Pꝛince, as some doe. Foꝛ had Jesus bene but a Man, what could haue bene gained by flattering him when he was crucified? Azaine, they were none such as made their gain of writing. And such would Cornelius Tacitus haue men to beleeue. Nay rather, they gaue ouer the woꝛld, and gaue their owne liues foꝛ the thinges which they wꝛate. If ye haue an eie to the stile, it is native, simple, plaine; pꝛeaching Christs Godhead without concealing his infirmitie, and confessing his infirmitie without granting away his Godhead. The weaknesse, the curiousnesse, and the ambitiousnes of the Apostles, that is to wit of the writers themselues, are registred diligently there. Of bragging, of boasting, of vanitie, oꝛ of the pꝛaise of Jesus himselfe; there is not one woꝛd. Peter stept aside, and denied his Maister thꝛe times: and Marke his Disciple (who wꝛate the Gospell vnder him) hath set it downe in writing. Iohn and Iames the Sonnes of Zebedie desired to sit, the one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of Jesus in his kingdome; and who urged them to tell such tales out of Schoole, which might seeme to abate their owne credite and authoꝛitie? Also Jesus himselfe was wearie, and thirstie, and wept: these are infirmities of man: yet do they pꝛeach him to be God & die vpon it. Might they not haue concealed these things without pꝛeiudice of the trueth: yes toour seeming, & euen with aduancement thereof; at least wise if they had not written in the behalfe of the trueth

The sincerite of the writers of the Newe Testament.

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it selfe, and that they had not bene sure that his mightinesse bttered it selfe in infirmitie. To be short, they set downe the particularities of time, place, and person, day, Citie, and house. The more particularly that they declare things, the more easie was it to haue discouered their vntruethe, and to haue conuinced them. For they spake not in Iewry of things done in the Indies, but at the gates of Hierusalem, in Bethanie, in Bethsaida, and in Hierusalem it selfe, in such a streate, at such a gate, by such a pole, and so forth. The witnesses were then aliue, the blind saw, and the dead walked vp and downe among them. Had the Apostles lied, how easie had it bene to haue disproued them? What weapons gaue they to their enemies to haue ouercome themselues withall? & yet for all this, how happened it that of so many Pharisies enraged against them, which take exception so precisely to the healing of a man vpon the Sabboth day, and to this saying of Christs misunderstoode, Destroy this Temple and in three daies I wil raise it vp againe; and of so many men which were readie both to doe euill and to say euill; none of them al stoode vp to gainsay them? Where was the zeale of Gods house become at that time, than at the which there were neuer mo zealouse persons to be seene? At leastwise how happeneth it that in that huge heape of nine or ten volumes of the Talmud, they bring not forth their exceptions and gainsayings, ne set vs downe some Countergospell? Seeing they that hatred picketh out proofes and testimonies where none are; and yet notwithstanding, the extréme hatred of the Pharisies findeth none, no not euen in the time and place where the things were done, and when their owne authoritie was strongest and at the highest pitch: what may we conclude thereon, but the infallible trueth of the Historie of the Gospell?

The Starre that led the Wise men.

Neuertheless, let vs yet satisfy vnbelæuers, by proouing the thinges vnto them which they estéeme to be most vncredible in the Historie of our Lord Jesus Christ. When Jesus was borne in Bethelem, a Star (saith the Gospell) was marked by the wise men in the East, the which they followed, and it guided them to the place where Jesus was. Some perhaps will flatly denie this Star to haue bene. Let any man iudge, how little credit to himselfe and authoritie to Christ, the Euangelist could haue purchased by beginning with a lie which all men could haue disproued, specially seeing he taketh the Scribes, and Pharisies themselues to witnesse thereof. But we reade that the very same time, (Augustus hauing then the cheefe charge of the Games kept in the honor of his mother Venus) at Rome there was seene a Blasing starre or Comet (that is the name which they giue to all extraordinarie Starres) whereof the Priestes of that Colledge gaue their iudgement, that for the singular markes which it had, it betokened not warre, plague, or famine, as other ordinarie Comets do; but the saluation of mankinde to be at

Plinie. lib. 2. cap. 25.

hand

hand. And vnto this Comet (because of the rarenesse thereof) there was an Image set vp in the Citie, And that onely Comet (saith Plinie) is worshipped ouer al the Worlde. Whereunto relieth this verse of Virgill in his fourth Eglogue, made to flatter Augustus by applying vnto him the appearing of that Starre; Beholde howe noble Cæsars Starre steppes forth with stately pace. After which manner he wisheth vnto Augustus, al the happinesse which Sibyl promised by the birth of the Redæmer. Also Cheremon a Stoike Philosopher, iudged the same Starre to betoken welfare and happinesse; and thereupon perceiuing his Gods to be weakened, he traueled into Iewry with certain Astrologers, to seeke the true God. And Chatcidius the Platonist saith expressly that the Chaldees had obserued that it betokened the Honorable comming of God downe vnto vs, to bring grace to mortall men. Here the Astrologers had matter whereupon to exercise their Contemplations. For this Starre appeared in December, when the Sunne was in Sagittarius, in which signe (say they) both Iupiter, the Sunne, and Venus were met altogether; al which three (by their principles) betoken a most righteous, a most mightie, and a most mercifull King, but yet poore, by reason of the Sunne which was come in betwixt them. How should he be mightie, if poore? Fruitfull also, because of Iupiter in the Angel of the ascendent; but yet barren and Childelesse by reason of the Moone which was in the first face of Virgo. Of these their Contrarieties we might, according to their arte, gather some profit. But I will let these curiosities alone to such as delight in them. But in verie deed, this Star appearing in December without rates, and being healthful, was not an ordinarie Comet, but a very Starre in deede. The like whereof we haue seene our selues in the same season of the yeare, in the yeare of our Lord a thousand fiue hundred threescore and twelue, the signification whereof God will reueale vnto vs when he sees time. Now had the former Star beene one of the ordinarie Starres that are fixed in the firmament; what a miracle was it that it shoulde leaue his place and charge, not to reigne ouer Iesus, but to serue him? And if it were newly then created; by whom could it be created, but by the Creator; and for whom, but for himselfe? And whereas Iulian the Renegate not being able to denie the trueth of the Historie, and the cunning of the wise men by the guiding thereof, woulde beare men on hand that it was the Starre named Asaph, which the Aegyptians haue marked to be seene but once at euery foure hundred yeares: besides that we reade not of any like to haue beene seene in al the former ages; it hath not beene seene any more in these ful fifteene hundred yeares which are passed since that time. Now by this inquirie of the wise men, Herod was moued to kil al the children about Bethelem, which were two yeares old & vnder, meaning among them to

Origen against Celsus.

Marsilius Ficinus in his treatise of the Starre that led the Wise men.

haue

haue killed the Childe whom the Starre betokened: in doing whereof bycause a Sonne of his owne was killed with the rest; we reade in Macrobius, that the Emperour Augustus hearing thereof gaue him this taunt, I had leuer be Herods Swine than his Sonne.

Macrobius in his Saturnals.

Againe, that Christ should be borne of a Virgin, they thinke it very straunge. I haue discussed this point already against the Iewes. God had foretold it; and what could then let him to bring it to passe? For who can doubt of his power, when he is sure of his will? But this was so true, that Simon Magus to the intent he might not seeme inferior to Christ in any thing, Preached to his owne Disciples, that he himselfe was the sonne of a virgin, which thing Iesus Christ neuer preached of himselfe. And we read that the same day that Christ was borne, the Temple of Peace fell downe at Rome; at the laying of the foundation whereof, Apollo told the Romanes it should stand till a Virgin did beare a Child; whereupon they thought it should haue continued for euer. And as touching Simeon, who hauing Iesus in his armes acknowledged him to be the Sauiour of the world, I haue declared what the Iewes say of him. And as for Iohn the Baptist our Lords foregoer, the History of his godly life and doctrine and of his death also, is set downe after the same maner in Iosephus, that it is in our Euangelists. If wee consider Christes workes, all the whole course of his life was nothing but miracles, the which I haue proued true long agoe. And this onely point, namely that they be described and set forth with so many circumstances, whereunto neuer any man hath yet presumed to take exceptions, doth sufficiently giue credit to the matter; and therefore let vs passe vnto his death.

Borne of a Virgin.

Clement in his Recognitions.

Petrus Comestor.

Iosephus lib. 18. cap 7.

From the sixth howre (saith our Euangelistes) vnto the ninth howre there was darkenesse ouer all the Lande: that is to say, at high noone and euen in the chiefe of the day. If they doubt hereof, Phlegon Trallian the Emperour Adrians Freedman, the diligentest of all Chronclers, noteth that in the fourth yeare of the two hundred & tenth Olympiade, there was the greatest Eclipse of the Sonne that euer was seene, and therewithall a very straunge Earthquake. And that was the very 18. yeare of Tiberius, in the which yeare Christ suffered his passion. And Eusebius saith he had read the like in the Commentaries of the Gentiles. Also Lucian a Priest of Antioche cried out to such as tormented him: Search your owne Chronicles, and you shall finde that in the time of Pilate the light failed in the chiefe of the day, and the Sunne was put to flight as long as Christ was a suffering. And Tertullian in his Apologie doth summon them to the same bookes. Now, that it was no naturall Eclipse, it appeareth plaine: For the Sunne was then so farre of from Coniunction with the Moone, that it was euen full against it,

The Eclips, Math. 27. vers. 45. Mark. 15. verse. 33.

Phlegon Trallian in the 13. booke of his Chronicles.

Origé against Celsus.

Suidas.

Tertullian in his Apologie.

according

according to the Lawe of the Passeouer, which was to be kept the 14. day of the Moone. And if they take exceptions to the Epistles of Dennis of Areopagus, wherein he describeth the spectacle of this wonder at length; Esculus the Astrologian a man of small Religion saieth, that at that time the Sunne was in the first degrée of Aries, & the Moone was newly entered into Libra. Others say, that the Moone was in Virgo and the Sunne in Pisces, which commeth all to one in effect: and therfore that there could be no natural Eclipse by reason of this opposition. To be short, some say it was vniuersal ouer al the world; and then was it a speciall worke of God, for the order of Nature can doe no such thing in the world. Othersome say it was peculiar to the onely Land of Iewrie; and then is Gods speciall working yet more manifest: for it is (as ye would say) a pointing at the cause of the Eclips with his finger; namely, the suffering of the Sauiour of the world. And as little also could that Eclipse be by the order of Nature, as the other. For who but onely GOD could dimme the sight and light of the Sunne in such sort without a Coniunction thereof with the Moone, that it should giue light to al places sauing onely Iewrie, as who would say, he sholed out Iewrie from all the rest of the world? And as touching the Earthquake that accompanied it, the foresaid Phlegon speaketh thereof, ioining it to the Eclipse as our Euangelistes doe. But these cases are so rare and vnséene, not in some one age, but in the whole course of the world, that séeing they be reported to haue bene in one selfesame yeare, and both together; they cannot be vnderstood of any other than those which our Euangelists and Authors speak of. To be short, the Veile or Courtaine of the Temple did rend a sunder. For the beléeuing or discrediting of this point, there néeded no more but to goe to the place and sée whether it were so or no. And Iosephus speaking of the foretokens of the destruction of the Iewes, reporteth the like thing. The Earthquake.

Behold, Iesus is now dead: but the third day he riseth againe as he himselfe had told aforehand. If he had said as Mahomet said, about an eight hundred yeares hence I will come sée you againe; he had taken a good terme for trial of his lie. But when he said I will come againe within these thrée daies; his deceit (if he had meant any) would sone haue béene discouered. Here they cry out and cannot admit the story to be true. And yet notwithstanding when they reade that one Erus an Armenian, that one Aristæus, or that one Thespesius rose againe to life; they thinke no euill of Plato, Herodotus, or Plutarke for reporting it. How vnindifferent are these people, which will néedes both beléeue and be beléeued of all men without witnesse and vnrequested; and yet no witnesse can suffice to make them beléeue their owne saluation? When men sawe Christ, men touched him, the vnbeléeuers felt him with their fingers; The Rising againe of Iesus from the dead

he did eate and drinke and was conuersant among them, diuers times and many daies: and yet all this they stoutly denie. But Pilate witnessed it; and the Apostles being earst astonished at it, did afterward preach it, publish it, and signe it with their bloud. He whom the Chambermaid had made amazed, & who had denied him three times in one howre when he was aliue; doth preach & publish him euen in Hierusalem, before the Magistrates, and before the Priestes; and no threates can make him hold his peace. If Christ rotted in his graue: what hope of benefit was to be had of his dead carkesse? May if he liued not in Peter; who urged Peter to preach him? And if he spake not in him; who would haue beleeued him? Who (say I) would haue beleeued it, at least wise so farre as to preach and publish it, and to signe and seale it with their bloud, vpon his report, and also after that he was gone? Verily, the very slanderers thēselues giue light vnto this truth. For therupō it is that ẏ Iewes haue fained, that his body was stolne away: for they found it not there: But Pilate proueth them liers expressly. And thereupon also did some of the Gentiles surmise, that they had crucified a Ghost or Spoyne in steade of him: which thing the Iewes vphold to be very false, who toke offence at his death, as which they knew to be a matter of trueth, in respect whereof they cal him stil the crucified. But he liued then, & liueth stil for euer and euer. And therfore as he had promised his Disciples afore his death, S. Luke saith that he sent them the holy Ghost in fierie Tongues within a fewe daies after his rising againe: wherby they receiued the gift of Tongues or Languages, yea & that in such wise, that the same gift came down vpō many others by their laying of their hands vpon them. This is one of ẏ things which they wil not beleeue, as who would say it were not as easie for God to giue one man the vnderstāding of many Tongues, as it was to diuide one language into so many whē he was displeased. But if it be a brag, as they surmise: to what end was it? and what might haue bene more easily disproued? The Magistrate had them in his hand: why did he not examine them before the people? Hierusalē was as the Musketring place of all the East: and where then might they haue bene disproued and made to recant it? May, the effect that followed vpon it confirmed it. For the Apostles, being but Fishers, and Publicanes, and at the beginning ignorant persons, men which ordinarily knew no more than their owne mother tongue, and that but grosly; did afterward write bookes, and trauel ouer the whole world, preaching in all places. Consider what liking either the Iewes or the Gentiles would haue had of such folke, to haue made them their spokesmen to the people. And yet the disciples did it so effectually, that in lesse than fortie yeares, the whole world that was inhabited, was replenished with the name and doctrine of Iesus. How could that haue bene done, if they had not had an extraordina-

The cōming downe of the holy Ghost.

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rie full of the Languages: Sothly the history thereof was so true and so commonly knowne, that Simon Magus to countenance himselfe withall, reported himselfe to be the same that came downe vpon the Apostles in fiery tongues, vnder pretence that by the helpe of the Deuill, he counterfaited after a sort the gift of tongues.

And as for some searchers and sifters of words, it is not for them to carp at the Hebrew phrases which they find in our Euangelists; seeing that in Horace or in Virgil they count Greek phrases for an elegancie. For to the intent they may perceiue that it is done to expresse Christs matters the more pithily, and to represent them the more nerely: let them reade S. Paul, & there they shal find so faire a Greek tongue, so ful of pithy words so full of excellent and chosen phrases, and so peculiar to the Greeke tongue it self, that the best learned do confesse he had the very ground of it, and alledge him for an example of eloquence. Let vs come to the historie of him. This S. Paule a Disciple of Gamalielles, was sent with Commission to persecute the Christians. In his way (saith Luke) a light shone about him, and being smitten to the grounde, he heard this voice, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? To be short, of a Iewe he became a Christian: and of a Persecuter, a Martyr. And if thou beleeuest not S. Luke; S. Paule himselfe toucheth his owne historie in diuers places. What hath vnbeleefe to bring against this, saue onely peraduenture a bare denial, according to common custome? If Peter sawe it: he is but a Fisher man say they. If Paul had it: he is an orator. So then belike, if God offer thee his grace in an earthen vessell, thou misliketh of it: and if hee offer it thee in a vessell of some valne, thou suspectest it: either the one is beguiled, or the other beguileth thee, saist thou. What wilt thou haue God to do to make thee to beleeue him? Examine this case well. Paule is in the way to grow great, he is in good reputation with the Magistrate and the Priestes, and sodenly he changeth his Copie out of one extremitie into an other, to be skorned, scourged, cudgeled, stoned, & put to death. But the case that neither S. Luke nor S. Paule did tel thee the cause ther of. What maist thou imagine, but that it was a very great & forcible cause, that was able to change a mans heart so sodainly & so strangely? Is it not daily seene (wilt thou say) that men are some changed and vpon light causes? Yes, fooles are. But he debateth the matter, he vrgeth his arguments, and he driueth his conclusions to an ende. The best learned of his enemies find fault with his misapplying (as they tearme it) of hys skil, & yet commend his writings. Yea, and he knoweth that vnto thee his preaching will seeme folly, and yet that (as much folly as it is) it is the very wisedome of God; and that by following it he shall haue nothing but aduersitie, and yet for all that, he doth not giue it ouer. How shal hee be wise, that counteth himselfe a foole? or rather which of

Acts. 9. & 22.

1 Cor. 15. 8.
2 Cor. 12. 2.
The Conuersion of Saint Paule.

the wiser sort is not ravished at his sayings and doings? But if he be wise, learned, and weladuised as thou seest he is; what followeth but that his change proceedeth of some cause? And seeing the change was great; the cause must nedes be great also: and seeing it was extréme and against nature; surely it must nedes proceede of a supernatural and soueraigne cause. Merely the reason that leadeth thee to this generall conclusion, ought to lead thée to the speciall also: that is to wit, that it was a very great and supernaturall cause that moued him: namely, the same which Saint Luke rehearseth, and which he himselfe confirmeth in many places, for the which he estéemeth himself right happy to endure the miserie which he caused and procured vnto others, and in the end after a thousand hurts and a thousand deaths, he willingly spent his life.

The death of Herodes Agrippa. Actes.12. Iosephus in his antiquit. lib.19.cap.7.

Also the death of Herod striken by the Angel for not giuing glory vnto God, is reported vnto vs much more amply by Iosephus, than by S. Luke. Herod (saith he) made shewes in Cæsarea, and the second day of the solemnitie, he came into the Theatre being ful, clad in robe of cloth of Siluer, which by the striking of the Sunnebeames vpon it, made it the more stately. Then began certaine Clawbackes to call him God, and to pray him to bee gracious vnto them. But forasmuch as he did not refuse that flatterie, he sawe an Owle sitting vpon his head, and by and by he was taken with so straunge tormentes, that within fewe daies after he died, acknowledging Gods iudgement vpon him, and preaching thereof to his flatterers. This Historie is set out more at large by Iosephus, which in effect is all one with that which is written by S. Luke, who saith that the people cried out, It is the voice of God, and not of a man: and that thereupon an Angell of God strake him, and he was eaten with wormes, and so died. These be the thinges which they finde scarce credible in the historie of our Euangelistes: which yet notwithstanding are confirmed by the Historyes of the Iewes and Gentiles, who report the thinges with wordes full of admiration, which our Euangelistes set downe simply after their owne manner. And seeing that in these thinges, which exceede nature, they be founde true; what likelihode is there that they shoulde not also deliuer vs Christes doctrine truely; specially being (as I haue shewed afore) miraculously assisted with the power of his Spirit according to his promises, and moreouer hauing witnessed the sinceritie of their writinges, by suffering so many tormentes, and in the ende death? Seeing then that the newe Testament containeth the trueth of the doctrine of Iesus, and proceeded from the spirit of Iesus, whom I haue shewed to be the Sonne of God; what remaineth for vs, but to imbrace the scriptures as the word of life & Soulehealth, & as the wil of the Father declared vnto vs by his Son, and to line therafter, and to die for the same, considering that by the same

same we shall be rayſed one day to glorie, & reigne with him for euer.

But forasmuch as we make mention of ryſing againe from the dead: that is yet one ſcrupie more that remayneth. What lykelyhod is there of that (ſay they,) ſeeing that our bodies rotte, Wormes deuour vs, yea our bodies do turne into wormes, and a number of other chaunges doe paſſe ouer them? This is a continuall ſtumbling alwaies at one ſtone, namely to ſtand gaſing at Gods power who can doe all things, when ye ſhould rather reſt vpon his will: He will doe it: for he hath knit the body and Soul togither to be partakers of good and of euill together, and he hath giuen one Law to them both together, ſo as they muſt ſuffer together and ioy together, yea and ſuffer on for another and one by another in this life: & what Iuſtice then were it to ſeparate them in another life? He will doe it: for he made the whole man: who if he were but ſoule alone, were no man at all. He will do it: for to the intent to ſaue man, his Sonne hath taken the fleſh of man vnto him. Now to ſaue the Soule, it had bin inough for him to haue taken but a Soule: but he that made the whole man, will alſo ſaue the whole man. To be ſhort: he will do it for he hath ſaid it: & he will do it for he hath done it alreadie. He hath ſaid it by his Sonne, and he hath alſo done it in his ſonne, and his ſonne adorneth vs with his victorie, & he will ſurely adorne vs with his glorie. Loke vpon the grayne that is caſt into the ground, if it rotte not, it ſpringeth not vp, if it ſpring not vp, it yeldeth no foyſon. Again, of one graine, come many Eares of Corne, of a kernell, a goodlie Tree, of a thing of nothing (as yee would ſay) a perfect liuing Creature. Which of all theſe things reſembleth the thing that commeth therof, eyther in ſubſtance, or in ſhape, or in quantitie, or in qualitie: To be ſhort, what ſtraungeneſſe is there in this? Of a handfull of Earth God made thée, and all the Earth of nothing, and of a handful will he make thée new againe: This body of thine which in time paſt was not, is of his making, this body which one day ſhall ceaſſe to be, he will one day make new againe. Verily this doctrine was cõmon to al true Iewes, & among al the Teachers of the Law, who had gathered it out of the old Teſtament, (as we reade in Ioſephus and in the Acts of the Apoſtles) for they agrée fully with S. Paule in that behalfe. And in the Talmud there are infinite places therof. Alſo the Alcorane (which is borrowed of their Rabbines) is full of this Doctrine. And as cõcerning the Heathen of old time, Zoroaſtres ſaid, that one day there ſhall be a generall ryſing againe of all the dead. Theopompus a Diſciple of Ariſtocles doth the like; & no man in old time (ſaith Aenæas of Gaza) did once gainſay them. The Stoiks held opiniõ, that after a certein time there ſhould bée an vniuerſall burning of the World, (which wée call Doomeſday,) and that immediatly after, all things ſhould bée ſet in their perfect ſtate againe, as they were at the firſt: and it was the

An obiection againſt the ryſing againe of the Dead.

Talmud. cap. Helec. treatiſe Sanhedrin. Aenæas Gaza concerning. Immortalitie. Seneca in his 75. Epiſtle, & in his bookes of Queſtions. lib. 3. cap. 26. 27. 28. &c. Ouid in his Metamorphoſis lib. 1.

Lucane the Nephew of Seneca. lib.1.
Lucretius.li.5
Lactãtius out of Chrysippus lib.7.cap.22.
Austin of the Citie of God. lib.22.cap.27.
Haly vpon the first Apotelesme of Ptolomie.
Nicolaus Oresmus concerning Proportions.
The Acrostiks of Sybill.
Lactantius. lib.7.

opinion of Chrysippus in his booke of Prouidence translated by Lucane the Stoick, which new Gate Varro calleth Palingenesian, that is to say, a Regeneration, Rebeegetting, or New birth. Plato saith expressly that mens Soules shall returne into their bodies. The astrologers following Albumazar, vphould that when the Starres come home againe euery one into his first place, al things shalbe set againe in their first original state, both men, beasts, Trees & al other Creatures: which opinion euen Arithmetick alone sheweth to be absurd in Astrologie, & the best learned men reiect it. Nevertheles it bewraieth our beastlines, which do attribute such power to the starres, to defeat the maker of them thereof.

As touching the iudgment which the Sonne of God shall giue after the saide Resurrection, although the same were not foretold by the Prophets of old time, and by so many verses of the Sybils, and finally by the mouth of Iesus and his Apostles: surely Gods giuing of his Lawe, not to the outward man but to the inward, nor to our dedes onely but also to our thoughts, sheweth sufficiently without other proofe, that there is another Iudge than the Magistrates of this world to iudge vs, & another Iudgment than their iudgement to be lokedfor, as whose iudgment here procedeth but to the outward dede and by proofes of witnesses, and therefore cannot in any wise pearce into the hart, to discerne what is within. Neither would our owne consciences sommon vs so often as they do, if we were not to appeare before other than men. For sith it is ỹ Soule that chefely receiueth the comandement & chefely breaketh it: it is the Soule that must come to examination and tryal: which cannot be done in this world, wherin there is but a shadowe of Iustice, & whose Lawes and Iudges extend no further than the outter side. And therfore we se that the auncient Rabbines speake very often of this Generall Iudgmẽt, & (which more is) do attribute it to the Messias, saying: Feare not God for your Iudge: For your Iudge is your own fellow citizẽ, your owne kinsman, and your owne brother. All the auncient Gentyles haue spoken so of this iudgement, which they say shall bee giuen in another life, in the field of truth, whereupon shall followe eyther endlesse life or endlesse death as I haue shewed afore. Yea and it semeth that by the leading of their auncient Oracles (which were a kynd of Cabale) they passed yet further For they called their great and soueregne God by the name of Iupiter, and gaue the iudging of mens Soules to his Sonne Minos, the King and Lawgiuer, and not vnto Apollo, Mercurie or any other: as who should say, they meant that the Iudge of the World should be the Sonne of God, and yet therewithall a righteous man that is to say, the Mediator, God and man.

Misdrasch. Psalme.118.
Esay.45.
Psalm 149. &c

The conclusion of the whole Booke.

I hope I haue now shewed the trueneſſe and substantialneſſe of the Christian Religion, and the vanitie & wickednes of al other Religions.

Of

Of the which Christian Religion, the Primitiue Church, for a Badge & comfort to the Christians, hath made a Summe which wee call the Creede of the Apostles. For wee beleeue in God the Father Almighty maker of Heauen and Earth, &c. To beléeue in him, is to trust in him, to trust in him, is to hope for all good things at his hand: but vaine were our hope, if it reached no further than to this present world. Now I haue declared heretofore that there is but onely one God, that the same God created the world for man, and man for his owne glorie, and both of them of nothing: That he guydeth them by his Prouidence, the one according to nature, which is a steady and sure settled Laiwe prescribed by him to the World; and in the other according to wit and will which hee hath giuen him, so that which way so euer man take, he frameth him alwaies to his holy wil, to such end as he hath appoynted: that man is immortall and created to leade an endlesse life: that in that life is the soueraigne welfare or good, which alonly can content mans will, and satisfie his wit; and therefore that he must tend and indeuer thither with all his heart, and bend all the powers of his wit to that end: And to be short, that the meane for man to attaine thereunto, is to serue the true God with al his hart, with al his Soule, & with all his strength, that is to say, to vow al his thoughts, words & deeds to the glorie of God. But I sayd also that man is faine from his originall, through the pride and disobedience of the first man, wherevpon hath followed frowardnes in his will, and ignorance in his wit: Ignorance making him vnable to discerne his owne welfare, and frowardnes turning him away from it, yea euen when it is shewed him, & making him vnworthy to atteyne to it, and finally causing him to abuse his abilities and powers to all euill, and so consequently plunging him in the gulfe of all miserie, both according to his owne desert, & according to the Iustice of God; Whereupon it insueth that man is forlorne in himself, vnlesse God recouer him by his mercie; blind, except God inlyghten him again; vtterly Lame to the doing of any good, & to the atteynemet of any good, vntil Gods grace do relieue him. And therefore I sayde, that he hath left vs a Religion for a guide, a Religion that turneth vs from all Creatures, as which are but vanitie; and conuerteth vs to him the only Creator of Heauen and Earth: & that the same is the Religion of the Israelites, & that in all other places there was nothing but the seruice of Diuels, & Idolatrie. That the Religion of Israell had the keeping and custodie of his worde, his Reuelations, and his promises, giuing vs his Lawe for a Rule to liue by, whereby it conuicteth vs of our naughtinesse, and inuiteth vs to call to God for grace. That the old Testamẽt is the Law of Moyses & the Prophets, which I haue proued to haue proceéded from God, & to haue bẽn inspired by him: that in the end hauing condemned vs, he offereth vs, his

Chapt. 1. 2. 3. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.

Chapt. 14. and 15.

Chap. 18. 19

Chapt. 20

Chap. 16. 17. 20

Chapt. 20

Chapt. 21. 22. 23

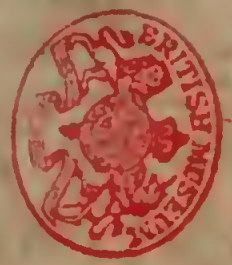
Chapt. 24. 25. 26.

grace:

grace, and hauing giuen iudgment vpon vs, he sendeth vs pardone, and
Chapt.17.18. steadeth vs of a Suertie that is able to pay our debts: that this Surety is the Messias promised to the Iewes for the saluatiō of the whole world, the Mediator of mankind, God and man, exhibited to the world in his due time, to be the Sauiour of the Iewes, and the light of the Gentyls,
Chap.29.30. 31.32.33. euen Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, in whome we beleeue according to this parcell of the Créde. And in Iesus Christ his Sonne our Lord, conceyued by the Holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Marie, crucified, Dead, & risen againe: and so forth. All which poynts we haue proued against both Iewes and Gentyles, against the Iewes by the Scriptures, and against the Gentyles by reason, which they themselues say they take for their guyde: and by their own Records. Our Créde addeth, I beleue in the holy Ghost. And I also haue shewed how there be three Inbeings in one Essence or Being, acknowledged by the Iewes and auowed by the Gentyles, namely the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, which are termed by them, the One, the Word, & the Loue, in the name of whome
Chapt.5.& 6 wee be Baptized. And finally we beleeue, that God by the desert of his sonne in the power of his holy Spirit, mainteyneth his Church spred ouer the whole world, knitteth vs in one Communion of fellowship together, pardoneth our sinnes and will one day rayse vs vp againe,
Chapt.34. to make vs inioy euerlasting life. To that end hath the Father created vs, the Sonne redéemed vs, the holy Ghost inspired vs. And therfore let vs loke vp with sighes, and with sighes trauel vp towards the kingdome whose king is the Trinitie, whose Lawe is Charitie, and whose measure is eternitie. And vnto him, who hath graunted me both to begin and to end this worke (whom I beseeche with all my hearte to bleese it to his glorie, and to the saluation and welfare of those that are his) be honour glorie and prayse for euer and euer.

Amen.

FINIS.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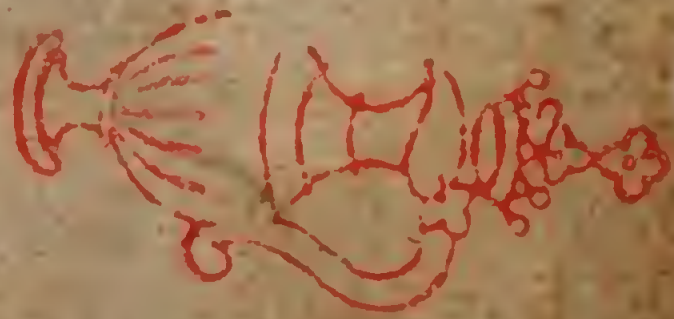

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